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The King's Representatives In Canadian Provinces*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

THE arguments that the British use to lull Indian clamour for high office sound hollow in Canada, where the people insist upon being their own masters. The Britons in India never tire of telling us of the advantages that we derive from having at the head of our provinces men experienced in British parliamentary affairs—men of front rank who come out to us with minds as clean as slates fresh from the factory—men who spend some of the best years of their life in conditions that cannot be pleasant for them so that they may help us forward on the path of progress. In a country where all but three of the provincial governorships are treated as plums for the non-Indian members of the Indian Civil Service, professions of this character are unrelated to reality. Through iteration and reiteration, in season and out of season, they have, however, acquired a hypnotic force that casts a spell upon the unthinking Indian.

The case is quite different in Canada, where the people do not wish to share the management of their affairs even with their

own cousins across the water. There such shibboleths sound singularly ineffective.

I have had the opportunity of visiting the Dominion several times during the last quarter of a century. I have yet to come across a Canadian who believed that a man from the "old country"—as Britain is called there—comes out with a fresh mind or that an imported person views matters from an impartial—if not a wider—point of vision than a son of the soil holding a high office.

Most Canadians would instinctively put down such talk as mere propaganda upon the part of Britons to reserve to themselves certain important positions in units of the Empire overseas. Experience has taught them that the corners have to be rubbed off a man from the "old country"—however keen he may be before he can be of any use to Canada—or Canada of any use to him.

Canadians would sooner trust, in the highest post in a province, a man who has grown up among them. He is not likely, at least, to be ignorant of the conditions that people round about him have to face. Nor will he run away from them just as soon as he, at their expense, has acquired an insight into their character, just when he is beginning to be of some use to them. Having himself pushed his way to the top

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despite obstacles, he is sure to be sympathetic with those who are battling with difficulties—and his advice is likely to be of real assistance to them. He will put his back into making a success of his job because his interests are all centred there—and he has nowhere else to go. So the Canadians think—and not without reason.

National pride, too, comes into play. Canadianism has developed to a point that it will not permit the people to be beholden to Britain, though she be the mother country, for men to run their provinces for them.

Canadians feel, moreover, that the highest office in each province is their birthright. Any man who possesses the requisite qualifications should be able to rise to it. Nothing would whet the ambition of youth quite so effectively as such knowledge.

All these causes have combined to make Canadians frown upon imported governors. The appointment of "native sons"—to use a significant Canadianism—to be the King's representative in each province of the confederation has, in fact, been the practice for so long that it has become a mere commonplace occurrence, and little notice is taken of it when one is made.

II

Some Canadians there are who feel that even the highest office in the Dominion—that of Governor-General—should also be held by a Canadian. As a matter of policy they may consider it premature to agitate about it strongly. The Liberals have to reckon with the Conservatives, who, in the past, have found that it profited them to raise the cry of "Empire in danger."

It has, in any case, become a convention having virtually the force of law that the Canadian Ministry is consulted before the appointment of the Governor-General. No Briton who is not likely to be agreeable to the Ministry has a ghost of a chance to be chosen. It is an open secret that without the support of Mr. Mackenzie King (the Canadian Premier) the Earl of Willingdon would not now be occupying the highest office in the Dominion.

Even the designation of the King's representative at Ottawa has recently been altered from Governor-General to Viceroy. That change came in the wake of an act upon the part of Baron Byng of Vimy (Governor-General from 1921 to 1926) to

assert himself. Instead of dissolving the Parliament, as advised by Mr. Mackenzie King, he (at the suggestion of a former Conservative Prime Minister, it is said,) sent for the leader of the Conservative party (Mr. Arthur Meighen) and asked him to form a Government. The Meighen administration crashed in a few months and the constitutional issue raised by the Governor-General's action was to the fore during the election held during my stay in Canada in 1926-27. Shortly after the Liberals, with Mr. Mackenzie King at their head, were returned to power, the Imperial Conference met in London. Among its more important decisions was the alteration in the title of the British Crown's representatives in self-governing Dominions. The creation of Viceroyalties in place of Governor-Generalships certainly emphasizes the fact that the holders of these offices are vested with executive power only in name, and that power is really exercised by the Federal Cabinet—that they are merely the constitutional representatives of a Constitutional Monarch.

III

The same is true of the King's representative in each province. Known as the Lieutenant-Governor and given the courtesy title of "His Honour," he is supreme in provincial administration in the same sense that the Viceroy is all-powerful in the Federal sphere and the King in the British polity. In actuality the government of the province is carried on by the Ministry, and the Lieutenant-Governor is merely the ceremonial head. His office carries no real power.

Unlike the Viceroy, the appointment of the Lieutenant-Governor is made in Canada. When the term of one of them is about to expire, or when some one of them dies while in office, the Ministry at Ottawa selects a "native son"—who, if not actually born in the province, is at least deeply rooted in it—to succeed him.

Canadians are impatient of legal fictions and the press despatches invariably speak of the appointment as having been made by the Prime Minister and his colleagues of the Cabinet. Even during the days when the titular head of the Federal Government was known as the Governor-General, there never was any pretence that he actually selected any Canadian to serve as Lieutenant-Governor.

IV

During my last Canadian tour I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the Lieutenant-Governors of nearly all the provinces that I visited. Most of them, in fact, invited Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and myself to one meal or another and I had the opportunity of discussing matters with them at some length.

I found that these Lieutenant-Governors were recruited from various walks of life. They went to the Government House directly from their farm or mine or factory or counting-house or law office. They all were constitutionally minded. They knew the limitations that the constitution and (what is more important still) constitutional practice placed upon their functions. None of them made the least attempt to encroach upon the sphere of action reserved to the Ministers.

All the Lieutenant-Governors that I met were men of substance. They had to be, for the salary that the province paid them was paltry compared with the emoluments that Governors in India receive, and they could keep open house, as they indeed did, only by dipping deep into their own pockets. Most of them had been the architects of their own fortunes and they had not the least hesitation about spending money liberally.

I must testify to the cordiality of the hospitality extended by the Lieutenant-Governors to their guests, as indeed to all hospitality in Canada. There was nothing ostentatious about it, however.

One of the things that impressed me most was the entire absence of "side". Not one of the Lieutenant-Governors that I met "haw-hawed" or swanked. In private conversation "His Honour" was soon dropped and social intercourse proceeded on the "man to man" basis.

I was likewise impressed with the good temper of the various heads of provinces that I met. They were men of tact and conciliatory ways. Their lives had been spent in taming Nature or overcoming difficulties of one kind or another: and obstacles and *contretemps* did not upset them or make them lose their balance.

Above all, the Lieutenant-Governors were proud of the provinces over which they presided. Except in Eastern Canada, where settlement is comparatively old, they had usually grown up with the country. There was not much in the way of actual achieve-

ment of which they did not know, and they liked nothing better than to talk of provincial potentialities. They were, in fact, natural born "boosters." I found their enthusiasm quite catching.

I propose to sketch here the life stories of two of the Lieutenant-Governors. I choose personalities that differ widely in nationality, religion, temperament, training and experience, so as to enable our people to know something of the type of Canadians who are considered fit to hold the highest office in a Canadian province and most of whom fill those offices to the complete satisfaction of their fellows.

I shall first write of His Honour Dr. Narcisse Perodeau, who, until a few months ago, was the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. When I first met him (in July, 1926) he had passed his seventy-fifth year. Nature had, however, given him a strong physique of which he had taken good care. For his age he was wonderfully hale and hearty and his mental processes were exceedingly quick. He had been educated for the bar and had either practised law in Montreal—the largest and richest city in the province,—though not its capital—or taught law at Laval (now the Montreal) University in Québec. He also was a director of several important companies, or corporations, as they are called in Canada after the American fashion. Toward the end of the last century he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council, or the Provincial Senate of Quebec, and a little later a member of the provincial Ministry without portfolio.

Catholic by religion, Dr. Perodeau is bi-lingual, perhaps a trifle more fluent when speaking French than English. He clings tenaciously to the culture evolved in that part of Canada—culture that in its essence, is French of the pre-Revolution period but has, during the centuries of Canadian habitation, developed along lines dictated by the rigours of the climate and the stern necessities of pioneering and conflict with people of British stock, most of them Protestant by religion. Numerical preponderance, derived from natural fecundity that until recently knew naught of birth control rather than through any great accession by immigration, consolidated and reinforced by a clergy whose life is an unceasing vigil, insures to it, for the time being at least, continuity of development. Wrangles with neighbours of Anglo-Saxon stock have

inspired in the French-Canadian a deep-rooted, almost pathetic, faith in the impartiality of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and other Imperial institutions in London. Out of these causes have sprung a loyalty to the British tie, mayhap even stronger than loyalty to Canadianism, that comes as a surprise to a stranger and that some day may possibly cause complications in Canadian national development.

I first met Dr. Perodeau in his office, a large, well-lit, quietly furnished room in the Government Building that is justly the pride of Quebec. At my request he outlined the nature of the duties that he was called upon to perform. After a few minutes' conversation he extended to my wife and me a cordial invitation to tea at his residence that afternoon.

One of the professors of the Laval University kindly motored me to "Spencer Wood," originally built to serve as the Governor-General's residence in Quebec. No longer required for that purpose, it was many years ago assigned to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, who, in consequence, is much better situated in respect of the historical associations of his official residence than Canadians occupying a similar office in the other provinces.

Compared with the "Lodge" in which Viceroy and Governors General live in India, or the palaces of the Maharajas and Nawabs that I have seen, this mansion looked quite unassuming. It had, however, been designed by an architect who knew his business. As I was conducted through the various rooms I found them tastefully decorated and furnished. The walls were hung with paintings of past Lieutenant-Governors and reminiscent of the happenings of other days. The conservatory at one end of the long, low building, stretching along the top of a green hill that rolled right down to the banks of the mighty St. Lawrence, seemed to be the pride of Dr. Perodeau, who particularly admired the bougainvillea with which the walls were covered. I could easily imagine that when the snow covered the landscape during the winter, the palms and ferns growing in it must have offered a welcome relief.

I visited "Spencer Wood," however, on a balmy, midsummer afternoon. The sun was shining brightly with almost tropical warmth really too warm for woollens. His Honour had arranged for tea to be served on the verandah.

A little King Charles spaniel played at His Honour's feet or nestled on a cushion beside him, and, now and again, without interrupting the flow of conversation, he would lean over and give it a morsel of food from the tea-table.

After tea we walked about the grounds, Dr. Perodeau conducting us to spots from where the best views of the river could be had. As we went along he pointed out to us places of historic interest in the vicinity and related the stirring events that, in days of yore, had been staged there—events that had finally crystallized Canada into the Dominion of to-day.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, I found, was exceedingly proud of his province. What French-Canadian—or, for that matter, British-Canadian—is not? Potentially it is one of the richest among the provinces of the Federation. Development of some of the resources has proceeded farther there than in some other part of the Dominion. Industrial expansion has been greatly accelerated during recent years.

Stupendous schemes of water-power were in hand at the time of my visit, and we talked of them. Americans were, I was told, investing \$100,000,000 in developing one site alone. They intended to bring bauxite from somewhere in South America and, with the aid of electricity, which would cost them practically nothing, they were going to fuse it into aluminium. They intended to make paper, also—there were almost limitless reserves of forest all round the plant.

Dr. Perodeau was not a bit afraid of the American capital that was pouring into his province. He, in fact, was happy that money was being brought into Quebec. It provided development, made for prosperity. I must not forget to add that the province exercised control over it and made contributions to the provincial treasury.

American tourists, too, were coming in and spending large sums of money in Quebec. The natural beauties of the province attracted them. The roads were good for motoring. The money spent upon the highways was, indeed, proving to be a good investment from this point of view alone. The tourists from across the line were, in fact, indirectly paying for them.

The *habitant* (farmer) constituted the backbone of the province. He was hard-working, patient, persevering, frugal. He thought of the morrow, and did not live

merely for to-day. During recent years he had been shaking off conservatism, largely owing to the vigorous propaganda that was carried on by the Ministry of Agriculture, under the direction of the Hon'ble Mr. J. E. Caron, who had held that office for almost twenty years, and was ably assisted by Mr. Narcisse Savoie, the Deputy Minister.

Conversation shifted from one department of provincial activity to another. I found His Honour keenly interested in every line of endeavour--exceedingly well-informed on all topics. Though quite old, as years counted, he had managed to retain much of the enthusiasm of youth. His faith in the potential prosperity of the province over which he had been set to rule was unbounded. Just the man for the place, I thought.

V

How different from this French-Canadian was His Honour Theodore Arthur Burrows, who died a few weeks ago while in office as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba! I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance in a very informal way. It happened thus.

Some three years ago I was travelling from Ottawa, the Federal capital, to Winnipeg, the capital of the province of Manitoba. I was seated at the rear end of the "observation car," in the open air, taking in all that there was to see of the countryside. Many areas which during the first decade of the present century, when I first set eyes on them, had been a wilderness had, I found, been converted into farms. Trim-looking buildings bespeaking prosperity dotted the landscape.

These areas under cultivation, even in the immediate neighbourhood of the railway track, were, however, a mere nothing compared with those that still lay waiting to be brought under cultivation. The land, for the most part, was just bare waste, though in places it was covered with scraggy scrub. Now and again the train glided into long stretches of forest. The tall pines, denuded by flames, perhaps years before, of all the green that had decked them, pointed brown, skeleton fingers to the sky.

I was so absorbed in studying the scene that I did not at first notice that the seat next to me had been occupied by another passenger. Presently he cleared his throat and in a pleasant voice made some remark about the landscape.

"Your first visit to this part of the world?" My neighbour enquired, with the ready *camaraderie* characteristic of the Canadian West. There is no stand-offishness in that region--no waiting for an introduction before total strangers begin a conversation which is likely to deal immediately with the most intimate details of life. Even Canadians of British stock have somehow managed to rid themselves of the frigid ways that make Britons travel in forbidding silence seated next to each other for hours at a time.

Within a few moments of beginning conversation I learned that the man sitting next to me was a Canadian of English descent. He told me of an ancestor of whom he was exceedingly proud. This ancestor must have been somewhat of a rebel, judging by the tales he related about him and his doings. "He held opinions that were not popular in the old country," said the Canadian. "He was for the people before democracy was heard of. He believed in the force of public opinion--in Government with the consent of the governed. He was as courageous in giving expression to his opinions as he was liberal in his views. This ancestor of mine, therefore, got into trouble with the people in his own station of life who adhered to the old-fashioned notions. They, in fact, regarded themselves as the cream of the English nation, as the ruling caste which Providence, in its wise dispensation, had created for the good of the country and without whose domination dear old England would go to the demnition bow-wows. England finally got so hot for him that his people sent him out to Canada."

A Canadian who worshipped the memory of an ancestor who was a democrat before democracy had been born in Europe naturally interested me. He noticed my interest and as the train sped westward we two became friendlier and friendlier.

My newly made friend was returning from Ottawa, where he had been born and which city his grandfather, a Captain in the Royal Engineers, had originally laid out. His interests were, however, centred in Manitoba--Ontario's next-door neighbour. He had gone there while he was still in his teens. He had attended a college, such as it was, for Winnipeg, at that time--nearly a half century ago--was little more than a dot on the map. He had studied law intending to practise. His people had, however, much

to do with lumber (as timber is called in North America) and he took to the woods, tramped on foot from place to place, made a little money and set up in the lumber business. Later on his people elected him to the House of Commons at Ottawa, and he was their representative for many years when he grew tired of the job and went back to lumbering. This, in short, was the life-story of the man, related in a perfectly frank, good-humoured style, without the least trace of vanity or affectation.

Shortly before we reached Winnipeg this friendly Canadian came up to me and gave me his card. Printed upon it I found the name, "Theodore A. Burrows," and his address. "Look us up," he said to me pleasantly, "my wife and children will be pleased to see your good lady and you, just as I shall be."

Upon my arrival in Winnipeg I learned that Mr. Burrows, whose acquaintance I had made in this unceremonious fashion, was known as the "Lumber King of Manitoba." He had something like forty lumber depots in almost as many places in the province and drew supplies from forest reserves which he knew intimately, having tramped through them on foot when he was a young man. He was one of the wealthiest persons in Manitoba.

Success had not, however, spoiled this "native son." From his actions or talk no one could ever imagine that he could at any moment write a cheque running into several figures without winking. He ate the simplest food, dressed quietly, spoke softly, sang at socials and moved among his fellows without any ostentation.

Before I was able to avail myself of Mr. Burrows' invitation, he called on me at the Fort Garry Hotel, owned and operated by the Canadian National Railway, where I was stopping. One morning there was a knock at the door of my sitting-room in that hotel, one of the best managed hostelrys I have ever known. On opening it I found him standing there. He came in, chatted awhile and renewed his invitation with even greater cordiality than before.

"By the time we return your call," I remarked to Mr. Burrows, "you will have left your private home for the Government House."

Mr. Burrows was surprised that I knew that he was likely to be appointed to the highest office in the province. He did not deny that he was likely to be. The appoint-

ment, in fact, was gazetted almost immediately afterwards.

The official residence of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba was only a stone's throw from the Fort Garry Hotel. Hardly had he settled down in that mansion, nestling at one corner of the Parliament Buildings surrounded by trees and shrubbery and well-kept lawns, when he invited us to a luncheon there.

I found that Mr. Burrows, as the occupant of the Executive Mansion, was the same simple, informal Canadian whose acquaintance I had made on board the Canadian Pacific Railway train bound from Ottawa to Winnipeg several months earlier. Upon our arrival in the drawing-room, a large, airy, well-lit room tastefully but in no way ornately furnished and crowded with books which His Honour had brought along with him when he moved in, we found him waiting to receive us. He shook hands with us with great cordiality and presented us to Mrs. Burrows and their daughter and son.

We had been asked to come fully half an hour earlier than the meal hour. We sat chatting in a ring. All the family, we found, were staunch Liberals and Liberals not only with the capital L. They were broad-minded and progressive.

His Honour, I found, had taken pains to familiarize himself with the history of his own country. He had a good grasp of the constitution. The election, which had been fought only a short time before, had made one thing clear. The Canadian people were not disposed to permit the representative of the Crown to interfere with government by the representatives chosen by Canadians at the polls. Mr. Burrows was constitutionally minded and he made it quite clear that he had every desire to respect not merely the letter of the constitution but also its spirit; and furthermore the conventions and practices that had grown up in his own province and in the Dominion.

When the gong sounded we all walked down the stairs to the dining-room. The food served was wholesome and well-cooked. There was plenty of it. No attempt was, however, made to "show off." We were not treated as strangers, but were made to feel that we were members of the family.

The talk around the luncheon table had the same tone of cordiality about it that it had had in the drawing-room upstairs. Mrs. Burrows and her daughter related their

experiences during a visit that they had just paid to Eastern Canada, and some of the incidents were exceedingly amusing. Something that was said threw His Honour in a reminiscent mood and he told of his early days of pioneering in the province. After luncheon we returned to the drawing-room and chatted again for a long time. When we finally left we had a feeling of genuine friendship for the Lieutenant-Governor and his family—as if we had known them for years—a feeling of friendship that would last until death.

A day or two later I went up to the offices from which Mr. Burrows, before his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, used to transact his business. I found his son in charge. He was a chip of the old block, plain and informal. I did not have to talk with him long before I realized that he was thoroughly wide awake. He was familiar with every ramification of the big business—was at his desk the best part of his waking hours. Nothing could go wrong with him at the helm.

His Honour kept an eye over the business too. He got away from the Government House whenever he could to visit his out-station depots and also the supply depots in the interior. He dealt with his foremen and other employees on the same man-to-man basis that had marked their relationship before he was appointed the King's representative in his province.

A copy of the *Manitoba Free Press* that has just come to hand has made me remember all these incidents. It contained the announcement that Mr. Burrows had succumbed to an operation for appendicitis and was alas! no more. It seemed truly tragic that this good man, who had held his family so close to his heart, should have

passed away suddenly at midnight in the hospital, with not a single loved one beside him—and when he was supposed to have been well enough to go back to his home the following day. His body lay in state in the Parliament Building for days, watched over by a guard of Honour, and a steady stream of people from every walk of life marched slowly past the coffin to take a last look at the man they had admired, lying still in death, dressed in the red coat of his high office and with his sword lying beside him. His funeral was largely attended by rich and poor and his widow, son and daughter have received messages of sympathy from every part of the Dominion.

These are the type of men that Canadians choose from among themselves to serve as the King's representatives in provinces of the Canadian confederation.

In India it is different. In our provinces the Governor is the King, Prime Minister, and head of the bureaucracy, if not an actual permanent official. He, in any case, is neither a son of the soil nor rooted in it.

Once there was a war and 1,000,000 Indians served in it. An Indian who proved useful in war conferences and cabinets was made a Peer of the British realm and, some time afterwards, was sent out to rule Behar. He resigned without completing his term and died some years later.

In these days of piping peace more than one Indian member of the I. C. S. is, to my knowledge, eating his heart out pining for Governorships that men, fairer in hue but not more clever, get almost automatically. And we are told that India is advancing constitutionally—in fact, is almost a Dominion—and some there are among our people who cannot see the joke.

Shahji Bhonsle in Mysore

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

I N the September 1917 number of this Review I gave the early history of Shahji Bhonsle, the father of the famous king Shivaji, down to the year 1636, when his career first as a general under the Sultan of

Ahmadnagar and later as an independent king-maker ended, and he started on a new path as a vassal of the Bijapur Sultan in quite a different part of the Deccan. Shortly after the publication of that paper, I secured manuscripts of the contemporary Persian

official histories of the two Bijapuri Sultans whom he served, namely Muhammad Adil Shah reigned 1627-1656) and Ali Adil Shah II (reigned 1656-1672), by Zahur bin Zaburi and Nurullah respectively. These original authorities for the period were not available to Ibrahim Zubairi, whose Persian history of Bijapur named *Busatin-us-salatin*, written in 1824, had hitherto been our only source of information.

In the light of these first-rate materials and the annual Jesuit letters from Madura, it is now possible to trace step by step and in clear detail the story of how the Muhammadans seized the heritage of the recently shattered empire of Vijaynagar and crushed its numberless disunited, mutually jealous and warring Hindu feudatories, across the entire Indian peninsula from Goa to Madras. The Adil Shah of Bijapur conquered what are called in his Persian history "Malnad and Karnatak," *i. e.*, first the Kanara country of Bednur, then Mysore, starting from the Ikeri or Nagar district in the west, on to Sera and Bangalore in the centre and the north Salem district in the south-east corner, and finally descending the Eastern Ghats the Madras plains up to Vellore Jinji and Waligandapuram within sight of Tanjore. The Qutb Shah of Golkonda seized the Hindu principalities due south and south-east of his capital, *i. e.*, the country beyond the Krishna, lying north-east of these new Bijapuri acquisitions.

Between these two streams of invasion, Sri Ranga Rayal, the last representative of Vijaynagar royalty, was completely crushed out. He offered along and desperate resistance. But his worst enemies were his own people. The insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of his Hindu feudatories rendered all his efforts futile and the Muslims conquered Hindu Deccan piecemeal with the greatest ease and rapidity. As the Jesuit missionary Antoine de Proenza wrote from Trichinopoly (1659): "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite the conquest of entire India by the Muslims." [*Mission du Madure*, iii. 42].

II

The process of the Muslim conquest of Trans-Krishna Deccan in the 17th century affords an exact parallel to the method of the foreign subjugation of Northern India at the end of the 12th. The expeditions started every year in autumn from the settled

Muslim territory to the nearest Hindu States across the frontier. These were easily defeated, often with the help of neighbouring Hindu princes, and the victors returned to their capital before the commencement of the rainy season, laden with the plunder of the forts and the promise of tribute. Next year, the raid was repeated to a more distant quarter, the Hindu chief humbled last year, as in duty bound, aiding his new masters in the attack on the independence and wealth of his brother Hindus. Or, if he proved recalcitrant or irregular in the payment of his tribute, he was crushed and his State annexed in the second expedition and made the seat of a Muslim viceroy. Thus the map of the Deccan was "coloured green" and the Muslim boundary advanced very methodically from point to point by regular stages, in a succession of ripples arising from one centre of power.

There could be no central authority for the defence of the Hindus as the imperial prestige and military strength of Vijaynagar dynasty was now gone, and their local Rajahs (*samantas*), blinded by folly and greed, were bent solely upon enhancing their own prestige by throwing off their former suzerain's authority and enlarging their petty States by fratricidal attacks upon the neighbouring Hindu territories.

On the other hand, the Muslim forces were united under one recognized central authority, which marshalled them under a regular gradation of officers and co-ordinated the movements of the columns invading different parts of the enemy country, so that every hard-pressed division was promptly reinforced by troops from other quarters, or a repulse to Muslim arms in one place was avenged next year by an overwhelming concentration of forces there next year. The proud Hindu kings acted each for himself and perished piecemeal in self-sought isolation.

The Muslim raiders seized the accumulated treasures of the Hindu kings of the Kanarese country,—famous from the earliest times for its fertility of soil and richness in minerals and elephants,—and thus made "war pay for war." The Hindus being always on the defensive, could only lose, and each year they grew poorer and weaker, till the final stage of complete annexation was reached by an inevitable natural process. The Vijaynagar empire broke to pieces under the shock of the crushing defeat of 1565,—in spite of

some revival during the next fifty years,—and the antagonism between the Kanarese and Telugu elements, which had been the latent bane of the empire in the 16th century, openly asserted itself in the 17th and completed the disunion and ruin of the Hindus.

III

The partition treaties between Shah Jahan, Adil Shah, and Qutb Shah (May-June 1636) having clearly defined their boundaries and set an inviolable barrier to the ambition of the two Deccani Sultans in the north, they could now expand only in the southern and eastern directions, i.e., across the Krishna and Tungabhadra into Mysore and the Madras Karnatak. This extinction of Hindu rule in the south occupied the years 1637-1664 and is exactly covered by the life of Shahji as a servant of Bijapur. But the popular Maratha tradition that he was the leading general or conqueror of Mysore and Tanjore finds a complete refutation in the authentic historical sources described above. These sources prove that Shahji was not the supreme army chief, nor even the commander of an independent division, but only one of the many Bijapuri generals serving under the eyes and orders of the Muslim generalissimo, throughout the conquest of Mysore, and it was only very late in his life, in the invasion of Tanjore in 1660-62 (which was, however, followed not by annexation but by withdrawal), that he rose to be second in command.

The part played by Shahji in Bijapuri service will be described below in its natural setting of the general progress of the Adil-shahi arms, so that the reader may not lose a proper sense of proportion.

Campaign of 1638.—Rustam-i-zaman is sent to conquer Malnad, which he effects in the course of the next three years. Virabhadra (Rajah of Ikeri) and Keng Nayak (Rajah of Basavapatan) are humbled and heavily fined.

1639—Rustam sends Afzal Khan to attack the fort of Sera (held by Kasturi Ranga). The Rajah is put to death by Afzal Khan during an interview, and the fort is taken. Rustam advances to Bangalore, which is yielded up by Kemp Gonda, who enters Bijapuri service.

Rustam places Shahji in the fort of Bangalore for the purpose of administering and guarding the district, and advances against Srirangapatan. Its Rajah, Kanti

Rai, submits after one month of fighting and saves his kingdom by paying 5 lakhs of *hun*.

When Rustam-i-zaman returned from Mysore at the approach of the rainy season, Keng Nayak rebelled, and there was a general rising of the Hindu Rajahs throughout the Kanarese country against Bijapur. So, the war was renewed.

Keng Nayak defended Basavapatan, the fortifications of which he had strengthened, and also posted 70,000 foot musketeers in the broken country around it. The full armed strength of Bijapur was sent under Rustam-i-zaman to quell the rebellion. The general took his post on a hillock about two miles from Basavapatan, and sent Afzal Khan, Shahji, Madaji (MS. reads Badaji) and other officers to assault the main gate of the fort, Siddi Raihan Sholapuri and Husaini (or Habshi) Ambar Khan the second gate, and some other generals the third gate.

The garrison kept up a tremendous fire; but Afzal fighting most heroically, advanced, made a lodgment in the *peth* below the main gate, and beat back three sorties of the garrison. The other Bijapuri generals made a simultaneous advance, and after four hours' fighting captured the entire *peth*, slaying 3,700 of the enemy. Keng Nayak now submitted, giving up the fort and 40 lakhs of *hun*.

While Rustam halted in Basavapatan, he sent Afzal Khan in advance, who conquered Chik-Nayakan-halli (30 m. s. w. of Sera) and Bellur (50 m. s. of Shimoga). Venkatapati, the Rajah of Bellur, was given the fort of Sakrapatan (22 m. s. of it) in exchange for Bellur. Next, Afzal captured Tamkur (nearly midway between Bangalore and Sera.)

Rustam next conquered Balapur and Kulihal (? Kunigal, 40 m. w. of Bangalore.)

IV

The war was renewed in 1644. The fort of Tikri, situated in the midst of almost inaccessible hills and forests, had been surprised by Rustam-i-zaman, but Shivapa Nayak (of Bednur) wrested it from its careless indolent pleasure-loving Adil-shahi commandant. So, Adil Shah sent Khan Muhammad to recover the fort. He took both Tikri and Sagar (4 m. from it.)

In the autumn of 1645 Khan Muhammad again marched into the Karnatak (uplands) and gained a rapid succession of victories. Early in 1646 he reported the capture of

Nandiyal (Karnul district) and eight other strong forts in that region.

In all these wars Shahji did not take any part beyond what has been mentioned above. His achievements, if any, did not deserve to be "mentioned in the despatches."

V

In June 1646, the prime minister Mustafa Khan was despatched from the capital to subdue the Kanarese country. By way of Bakargunda he reached the fort of Gumti (or Kumti) on the Malprabha (?) river, which he took. Thence marching *via* Gadag and Lakmishwar, to Honhalli [12 m. w. of Basavapatan] he met (3 Oct.) Asad Khan and Shahji, who had gone ahead, by order of Adil Shah, for the defence of the Karnatak frontier. The next stage was to Sakrapatan (near the southern end of the Shimoga district). At this time Shivapa Nayak, Dad (or Dodda ?) Nayak (Rajah of Harpanhalli), Jhujjar and Abaji Rao Ghatge, Keng Nayak's brother, the desais of Lakmishwar and Kopal, and Balaji Haibat Rao joined the Khan with their contingents.

Thence in successive marches he reached Shivaganga,* a famous holy place of the Hindus. Soon afterwards Venkayya (?) Somaji, the Brahman *guru* and envoy of Sri Ranga Rayal of Vellore, waited on Mustafa Khan, with peace offerings, to induce him to turn back from the invasion of the Rayal's country. In the meantime, the Rajahs of Jinji, Madura and Tanjore, who had once been vassals of the Rayal and had now rebelled against him,—had sent their envoys to Mustafa Khan to offer their submission to the Bijapur Government. The Rayal had immediately set out with 12,000 cavalry and 3 lakhs of infantry against these rebels. But the Rajahs of Tanjore and Madura persisted in their war of rebellion.

Mustafa Khan refused to be dissuaded from his purpose by "the deceitful words of the Rayal's envoy" and hastened towards the Kanvi (?) pass near Vellore. He agreed to stop wherever he would hear that the Rayal had withdrawn from the war with the three Rajahs and agreed to make peace with them. Somaji promised to induce the Rayal to return to Vellore in one week. He took

leave of Mustafa Khan and was accompanied by Mulla Ahmad on behalf of Bijapur to settle the terms with the Rayal and induce him to visit Mustafa Khan near Nilipatan (?) in the uplands of Mysore. For the Mulla's return Mustafa halted before a difficult pass 28 miles from Vellore. At first he had wished to detain Somaji in his camp and send Mulla Ahmad alone on his peace mission, but Shahji assured him that he had taken from Somaji solemn oaths of fidelity to his pledge and himself undertook entire responsibility for Somaji carrying out his promise.

Immediately on his arrival at Vellore, Somaji advised the Rayal to prepare for war and block the pass. On hearing of this breach of faith, the Bijapuri wazir decided to make a detour and first enter the kingdom of Jagdev Rao by the Kanvi (?) pass. This country consisted of the northern corner of the Salem district (the Kaveripatan or Krishnagiri taluq) and the adjacent part of the N. Arcot district. The Rayal hastened to defend the Kanvi pass. The wazir, who was at Masti [30 m. e. of Bangalore], advanced and on 29 December 1646 sent Asad Khan ahead of himself with a strong force. These men forced their way into Jagdev's country slaying the defenders of the pass, and then halted at a tank five leagues from Masti, for 20 days to level the path through the hills.

The Rayal advanced with a vast army, by way of Guriatam and Krishnadurg, to attack the division left at the tank under Shahji and Asad's diwan, (Asad Khan having gone to Masti on account of illness). The wazir hurried up reinforcements, but while he himself was still six leagues behind Jagdev Rao, at the head of the Rayal's numerous troops, attacked the Bijapuris under Shahji. After a bloody fight the enemy were routed and Jagdev's mother was killed. The wazir soon afterwards arrived, rewarded his victorious subordinates, and then advancing, halted at the Kanvi pass, in order to ensure the safe crossing of it by his army.

Then by way of the tank where Asad had halted before, and the fort of Ankusgiri [40 m. s. e. of Bangalore], he reached Krishnadurg on 30 January 1647. After a siege Krishnadurg surrendered. Then the wazir sent a detachment to capture Virabhadra-durg, the capital of Jagdev, [25 m. s. of Ankusgiri]. It was taken after a severe fight and Balaji Haibat Rao left in it as commandant. Then the wazir resumed

* Shivagangapetta, a sacred hill in the north-west of the Nela-mangala taluq of the Bangalore district. 13.10 N. 77.17 E. *Venkayya* may also be read as *Yenganna*.

his march on 7 February. Next Dev-durg was surrendered by Jagdev's minister.

VI

The Bijapuri army marched by way of Anandbar, Amravati, and Guriatam (the last fort being stormed after slaying 1,700 of the enemy), and reached Uranjpur (or Daranchur ?), four leagues from Guriatam. This place, vacated by its Rajah, was plundered.

Then, after a halt to rest the troops, Mustafa Khan arrived before Vellore, the stronghold of the Rayal. Here a severe battle was fought on the plain between the Bijapuris and Vailuar, the general of the Rayal. In this battle Shahji was posted with the other Hindu officers in command of the Right wing of the Bijapuri army, which faced the enemy's Left wing (under Dilawwar Khan and Raghu Brahman, formerly of Nizam-shahi service). Asad Khan supported Shahji with a division from behind.

This was the decisive battle of the war ; the Rayal's general fled wounded, leaving 5,800 of his men dead on the field. Vellore was besieged, the Rayal submitted, promising 50 lakhs of *hun* and 150 elephants as his indemnity.

After a halt of one month at Vellore, the wazir set out for further conquests. Turning back from Vellore, by way of Guriatam, he proceeded conquering Ambur, Kankuti (Gangavati ?), Tirupatur, Kaveripatan, Hasan Raidurg, Raidurg, Kanakgiri, Ratangiri, Melgiri, Arjunkt, and Dhalinkot (?)—all in Jagdev Rao's country.

At the end of this brilliantly successful campaign, he returned to Court, leaving Asad Khan and Shahji with many other officers to hold the conquered country. He was welcomed by his royal master, who advanced to the bank of the Krishna to honour him !

VII

On 17 January 1648, Mustafa Khan was sent on his last and greatest campaign, the siege of Jinji. The siege was protracted for over a year and Mustafa Khan, who was now an old man stricken with an incurable disease, was greatly disturbed by the open disobedience of his chief subordinates like Siddi Raihan and Shahji. He had at last to place Shahji under arrest on 25th July, under

circumstance which I have described in detail in my *Shivaji* (3rd. ed., 35-38.) Mustafa himself died on the 9th November following, and the command of the Bijapuri army devolved on Khan Muhammad, the new wazir, who at last succeeded in capturing this almost impregnable fort.*

How Shahji was restored to liberty and his high position is described below on the authority of *Muhammadnamah* (pp. 386-393 of my MS.) :—

"After the capture of Jinji, Khan Muhammad sent Afzal Khan in charge of property beyond calculation and 89 elephants for the king. He sent with this force Shahji loaded with fetters on his feet, some of the tricks of which deceiver have been previously described....The Sultan received Afzal Khan in the Kalian Mahal which had been decorated for the *nauroz* festival....Shahji, whom Afzal Khan had escorted with every caution, was sent to the prison of warning. The nobles and gentry of the city were astonished at the graciousness of the king and began to say, 'Shahji Rajah deserves to be put to death and not to be kept under guard. Now that he has been ordered to be imprisoned [instead of being immediately beheaded], it is clear that he would [in time] be granted his life and liberty.' Some councillors did not at all like that Shahji should be set free, because if that faithless man were released, he would play the fox again. Many others held the view that to liberate this traitor and ruined wretch would be like treading on the tail of a snake or straightening the coiled sting of the scorpion with one's own fingers, knowingly and with the eyes open ; no wise man would rest his head on a hornet's nest as on a pillow...

"The Sultan, who was prepared to forgive the faults of a whole universe, placed Shahji in charge of Ahmad Khan, *sar sar-i-naubat*, and declared that he would be pardoned and restored to his former honours, if he gave up to the king the forts of Kondana (which he had seized during the dissolution of the Nizam-shahi monarchy), Bangalore, and Kandarpi [40 m. e. of Chittaldurg and the same distance s. w. of Handi Anantpur, in the Kaliandurg sub-division of the Bellary district.]

"Ahmad Khan, by the king's order, conveyed Shahji to his own house, kept him confined,

* The lithographed *B. S.* gives the date in figures and words as 22 Zihijja 1058 (=28 Dec. 1648) while two MSS. give the year in figures and words as 1059 (=17 Dec. 1649.)

imparted to him the happy news of the royal favour, and did his utmost to compose his mind. Shahji... decided to obey, and wrote to his two sons, who were residing in the above forts, to deliver them to the Sultan's officers immediately on the receipt of his letters. They obeyed promptly.

"Thus, all the numerous misdeeds of Shahji were washed away by the stream of royal mercy. The Sultan summoned Shahji to his presence, gave him the robe of a minister, and settled his former lands on him again."

After this we have no further mention of Shahji in *Muhammadnamah*, which stops abruptly with the capture of Vellore and the humbling of the Rajah of Mysore into a tributary vassal by Khan Muhammad, about 1650. There is thus a gap in our knowledge of Shahji's doings from 1649 onwards, which is very inadequately filled by the brief notices occurring in the Jesuit letters from 1659 onwards; but these letters deal solely with the history of Jinji and Tanjore and tell us nothing of what happened in Kanara proper or Mysore.

VIII

The letters of Abdullah Qutb Shah, drafted by Abdul Ali Tabrezi (British Museum, Persian MS. Addl. 6600) give some extremely valuable information on Karnatak history of this time. We learn from them that it was agreed between Bijapur and Golkonda that Sri Ranga Rayal's territory and treasures were to be conquered and divided between the two in the proportion of two to one,—two-thirds of them falling to Adil Shah and one-third to Qutb Shah. Then Abdullah writes whimpering to Shah

Jahan that Adil Shah had broken his promise and was forcibly taking away Qutb Shah's portion. On the other hand, the Bijapuri panegyrist Zahur complains, in his *Muhammadnamah*, that the ungrateful Abdullah,—whose forces had been defeated by the Rayal and who could not have won an inch of the Karnatak without Bijapuri support,—had formed a secret alliance with the infidel (i. e., the Rayal) and sent his general Mir Jumla to assist the Hindus in the defence of Jinji, but that Mir Jumla arrived too late. He was subsequently defeated, in another quarter, by the Bijapuri general Baji Ghorpare.

A letter from Abdullah Qutb Shah to Haji Nasira (his envoy at Bijapur) tells us that he had received on 6th Zihijja [probably in 1057 A. H.=23 Dec. 1647 and not in 1058 A. H.=12 Dec. 1648] a petition from Shahji Bhohsle, begging to be taken under his protection, but that Qutb Shah had then and repeatedly before this rejected Shahji's prayer and told him to serve Adil Shah. Another Hindu Rajah,—whose name reads in the Persian MS. as D-h-r-v-y-a-n (?)—had similarly offered to desert Adil-shahi for Qutb-shahi service. [Folio 29 b.]

The arrest of Shahji at Jinji was clearly due to these disloyal intrigues. He was coquetting both with the Rayal and Qutb Shah, and the latter sovereign divulged the fact to Adil Shah. We have seen how Shahji had been won over by the Rayal's Brahman agent Venkayya Somaji, during Mustafa Khan's first march towards Vellore, in November 1646.

[* Information on the doubtful place-names in the above paper is invited from local readers.]

Mrs. Naidu And Mr. Andrews In America

By Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

ON April 26th, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, India's eminent and honoured social and political leader and poet, sailed from America for England. She had thought to go from America to Japan, but changed her plans and went to Europe,—for how long a time I do not know.

She had been in America almost six months, had travelled in nearly all parts of our great land, from the Atlantic ocean to the Pacific, and had delivered two hundred addresses—to audiences large and small, some of them very large. She had spoken many times in New York, several times in

Boston, once or more in most of our larger cities, in a considerable number of our leading colleges, and in many churches, particularly Unitarian churches, which are more sympathetic than any others toward the thought, the religions and the civilization of the Orient. Her principal lecture subjects were "Interpretations of Indian Womanhood," "An Intimate Study of Mahatma Gandhi," and "Interpretations of the Spiritual Life of India." In all these lectures and in many addresses on other themes, she strongly defended India's Nationalist cause and made eloquent pleas for India's right to freedom and self-government.

The universal judgment seems to be that she is a woman of commanding intellectual ability, and one of the most impressive speakers that American audiences have heard for a long time.

Mrs. Naidu has done much to correct misunderstandings and misrepresentations of India. Without mentioning Miss Mayo's book, she has made it impossible for those who listened to her noble addresses, or who met her personally, to believe that Miss Mayo's "Mother India" is a true representation of India's womanhood or India's life.

I am sure Mrs. Besant is right when she says that England pays more heed to the public sentiment of America than to that of any other country, if not of all other countries combined; and that if a public sentiment could be created in America in favour of granting home rule to India, it would have a very great influence with England. We know that it was largely the strong public sentiment of America in favour of home rule for Ireland that caused England to give Ireland freedom. It is safe to say that Mrs. Naidu's lectures and personal contacts in this country have caused tens of thousands of thoughtful Americans to believe that the great civilized people whom she represents ought not to be deprived of their freedom, but should have a place among the world's great nations.

Mrs. Naidu is not the only representative of India who has been in this country of late. The Rev. C. F. Andrews also has been here, coming to us from England and making us a visit which was much too short. He spoke three or four times in New York, twice on the same platform with Mrs. Naidu. He spoke twice in Boston and

once in each of several other cities. He also went to Canada to give several addresses. Everywhere he told with impressive earnestness the story of Gandhi's powerful and uplifting influence in the whole life of India—social, political and religious. Also he declared everywhere clearly and courageously that India not only demands self-government but is abundantly competent to carry it on and ought to have it without delay,—adding that if it is not granted to her in the form of Dominion Status within the present year, the result is certain to be serious both to Great Britain and to India. He declared that India is thoroughly tired of her long and bitter bondage, and is determined to be free. She will retain her connection with the British Empire if she can have a place of freedom within it, like that of Canada. But she will not accept a place of subordination. He emphasized the fact that India's younger men are everywhere on fire for separation from Britain and for absolute independence; and he stated it to be his belief that in spite of Gandhi's powerful influence, they will strike for independence at no distant day—very likely at the beginning of 1930—if Great Britain continues to exasperate India with illusive promises given only to be broken with "dyarchy schemes" of government which are only the old autocracy in a new form, and with Simon Commissions which add insult to injury. Both Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Andrews have produced impressions in America which will not be soon forgotten. We need more such representatives of India to come among us.

I would like to add, if I could, some word about India's great poet-philosopher, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who a month or so ago came to Vancouver, in the Canadian Northwest, to take part in an international educational convention there. Some of us had been hoping that he might come to New York and Boston where he would have been welcomed by a great host of friends and admirers.

I see the happy announcement made in some of our papers that Dr. Kalidas Nag, Secretary of the Greater India Society, is to come to America, perhaps early next winter, to speak at different educational centres on Indian culture and India's Renaissance. This is good news.

The General Elections

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA.

Is it the unexpected that has happened in the General Elections of 1929? That is a question for the British public and British politicians to answer. When Parliament was dissolved the Conservatives in the House of Commons numbered 396 against a total combined opposition of 213. The Government majority of 183 was demoralizing. It gave the ministry a sense of complete security; it left the opposition in a position of complete helplessness. The Government became contemptuous of opposition in Parliament and in the country; it became contemptuous of its own adherents in the House; offices and preferments remained a close preserve for the immediate entourage of Mr. Baldwin, a Prime Minister of very average ability and possessed of neither insight nor foresight. The Government of Britain was as contemptuous as the Government of India; both were autocratic though the sources of strength were different. The British Government relied upon its overwhelming voting majority in the House of Commons; the Government of India relies upon the unlimited statutory power of the Governor-General to override the Legislature with the menace of force in the background.

On the eve of the elections the party leaders in Britain exhibited different attitudes: the smug complacency of the Conservative Premier was charming, if a trifle unwise; he thought he carried the confidence and the conscience of the country in his pocket and he asked for a blank cheque to carry on as he had done in previous years; among his other gifts the Liberal Leader has some histrionic talent and the gift of prophecy; the latter he exercised in predicting a fearful smash for the Conservatives, implying without specifying that the landslide would prove advantageous to the Liberals, and the former was noticeable in the roundrobin testimonial obtained from businessmen just when the zero hour was about to strike; in the triangular contest the Labour party displayed the greatest dignity, for the leaders avoided the cocksure impudence of

the Conservatives and also the hysterical extravagances of the Liberals. They looked like winners from the beginning.

There is no monopoly in pocket-boroughs. It is true that the Conservatives have such boroughs. The Universities are the safest of these. They do not change the complexion of their politics and vote solid for the Conservative candidate. But other parties have also pocket-boroughs. Labour has them and the number is increasing. The uncertainties of a General Election would be greatly minimized if there were a large percentage of safe seats, but it would strike at the root-principle of a contested election. Party Government means a constant fluctuation of the political barometer and a frequent veering of the political wind. The glass may be set fair at one moment and the next the mercury may be going down at an alarming speed. The pendulum must keep swinging or the clock marking the progress of political thought must come to a standstill.

The landslide came on or down with a rush. Constituency after constituency was captured by the Labourites and the air-castles of the Conservatives began tumbling down about their ears. But the wires are still held and pulled by capitalist agencies. When the Labour party was a long way ahead an absolutely unnecessary warning was sent out by telegraph and wireless offices that the returns must be accepted with caution as the Labour party was strong in the industrial centres but the decision of other important centres should be awaited. This was an abuse of the discretion possessed by news agencies for as a matter of fact the Conservatives never caught up with the Labour party which stands at the head of the poll. When this trick failed it was declared that Labour would not have an absolute majority as the Conservatives had on the last occasion. In the end it may be found that if the Conservatives and the Liberals unite they may have a very small majority over the Labourites; if the Liberals support the Labour party as they did in the

days of the first Labour Ministry there will be a larger and workable majority. That however, is a situation with which we are not concerned at the present moment. It may be noticed, however, that certain papers persist in calling the Labour party Socialists. Does that party call itself by that name? If not, the petty spitefulness of these papers stands self-condemned. If the free electors and electresses of Britain choose to have a Labour, a Socialist or a Communist Government it is their look out and the venom of party newspapers will make no difference.

To an interested student the General Election presents several important features. There is the huge increase in the number on the register of voters. The figures are not so staggering as those of the United States which have a much larger population than the little islands of Great Britain, but still there is the large accession of fresh voters and the significant preponderance of women voters. Nearly twenty-three million votes were recorded and counted in two days. Communist comrades must console themselves as well as they can, for they have been wiped out and even comrade Saklatvala has been given his marching orders. The Liberals are down and out; they do not represent even a tenth of the numerical strength of the House. Mr. Lloyd George has said that the Liberals hold the balance of power and they will use it fairly. What the Liberals were really hoping for was a come-back, but of that there seems to be no likelihood. Mr. Lloyd George has evidently had his day. When he thrust out Lord Oxford and Asquith from the Premiership he had his opportunity but he made the grave blunder of holding on to a Coalition Ministry much too long and that led not only to his own downfall but the complete disruption of the Liberal party. Party Government in England can be stable only so long as there are two parties and there is a straight fight between them. A triangular fight very often camouflages the real issue; besides a pendulum cannot swing in three directions, and a patched up truce between two out of three duellists does not make for the stability of the Government. When Mr. Lloyd George speaks of the balance of power he reminds one of another third party which played a powerful part in the House of Commons in the days of Mr. Gladstone. That was the Irish Home Rule party. Under the leadership of Parnell the

Irish Nationalists held themselves close together as a wedge which could be driven in to split and break up any Government which refused to come to terms with the Irish party. But there can be no analogy between any English party which must hope for office and an Irish party which seeks nothing in England. The Liberal party is doomed to extinction and will be absorbed by one or both of the other two parties. It is at present in the position of the tail wagging the dog.

There is some mystery behind the Conservative debacle. The Conservative rout has been complete and their humiliation has been undisguised. Bad generalship, miscalculation and misdistribution of forces and the confident assurance of security are apparent and there may be other causes of which we out here may not be aware. It is like a capitalist having a large amount of capital in hard cash being declared a bankrupt and putting up his shutters.

Two individual elections may be cited as representing the zenith and the nadir of the campaign. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who has become Prime Minister for the second time, left his old seat and contested a new borough, Seaham in Durhamshire, and bowled over his Conservative rival with a majority of over twenty-eight thousand votes. That was a signal triumph. On the other hand, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary in the Conservative cabinet and holding a position next only to the Prime Minister, nearly lost his seat in the ancestral stronghold of Birmingham. It was there that the nadir of Conservatism was reached, for Sir Austen retained his seat by a majority of only forty-three votes.

There can be no question that women have played a great and probably a decisive part in this election. We have the high authority of Mr. MacDonald himself for this statement. What the Suffragette movement had not succeeded in wresting from a Government composed of men the World War accomplished in four years. When the very existence of England as a free country was at stake the women and the apparently flippant girls performed the parts of men and they did it so well that it would have been the height of ingratitude to deny any longer the equality of their status with men. It was a Conservative Government that gave an extended franchise to women, and in the revised register the number of new women

voters exceeds that of the new men electors. The flapper is not merely fashionable and frivolous; she has proved herself a capable organizer and a promising politician. And she is certainly go-ahead. The sneering appellation of Socialists given to the Labourites has not alienated her sympathy with Labour, but quickened it. It is by hard manual labour, by driving motor cars and running buses, by working as porters and wireless operators, by helping to carry on the busy daily routine of national life that woman has obtained her rightful place in the electorate. Women have helped Labour to win and the House of Commons has a larger number of women to-day than ever before. In the new Labour Ministry Miss Bondfield holds the important office of Minister of Labour in the cabinet. Some day a woman may become Prime Minister. Why not? The hand that had been busy rocking the cradle will now take part in guiding the affairs of nations and steering the ship of state.

If the General Election has proved to be a rude awakening for the Conservatives it should serve to clear the air in India. The election campaign has been fought out without the slightest reference to this country. No election ticket bore the name of India. To all intents and purposes, so far as the election was concerned, such a place as India did not even exist. That is a true indication of the political feeling in England in respect of India. Tory or Whig, Labour or Socialist, no party as such cares a brass farthing for India. Out of office some politicians may speak a few words of lip-sympathy but they signify nothing. When the scramble for office comes India is let very severely and contemptuously alone. In office, scratch the most pleasant-spoken Labourite and you will discover a blood-red Tory. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Premier used more threatening

language towards Indian leaders than any Conservative or Liberal. Imperialism is the badge of political office in England and it makes no difference who wears it. All ministers and office holders are taired with the same Imperial brush. When the occasion comes there is nothing to choose between a Birkenhead and an Olivier. India is a milch-cow and she will be used as such. For the rest, all the talk about India being given Dominion Status and a seat of equality with the self-governing Colonies is mere moonshine. The British Government is like any other foreign Government, and human nature is the same, East and West, Rudyard Kipling notwithstanding. The most obtuse among us should have realized for himself, by this time that the Government of India Act was never intended to give any modicum of real power to the Legislative Assembly or Legislative Councils, nor need any such expectation be entertained from the labours of the Simon Commission. There may be constant tinkering and trimming at the edges, but the central seat of power will show no inclination to shift and the Government will reserve the right of trampling through any opposition like a behemoth. The Government will give what it cannot keep, and it will strain every sinew and every nerve before it parts with any stored shred of power. It is perfectly normal and natural. For any party in India to expect anything from any party in Britain and to rest in hope is to build a fairy castle in the air and also to ignore that very wise and pregnant saying about self-help. It was an Englishman, Sir Henry Seely, who said that India could obtain her full rights without any violence if she willed it. That will of India, which will enable her to win through, is still in the making.

Uncle Sam's Other Island

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

WHEN Colonel Lindbergh, the world-famous American flyer from New York to Paris, was in Porto Rico, he was entrusted by the Porto Rican legislature to bring home to the American people a plea for Porto Rican freedom. The two most striking paragraphs in this message from the American island possession read as follows :

"The good wishes of Porto Rico will go with you to the land of the brave and the free, and to your country and to your people and will convey a message of Porto Rico not far different from the cry of Patrick Henry—'liberty or death.' It is the same in substance with but a difference imposed by the change of times and conditions.

"The message of Porto Rico to your people is, grant us the freedom that you enjoy, for which you struggled, which you worship, which you deserve and which you promised us. We ask the right to a place in the sun of this land of ours brightened by the stars of your glorious flag."

This cry for "liberty or death" raises in the mind of an observer a number of questions : Why aren't the Porto Ricans content to remain under the control of Uncle Sam ? Hasn't America planted the fundamental ideas of liberty, equality, and prosperity hitherto unknown in Porto Rico ? Hasn't America introduced self-government, a gallant adventure in democracy ? Haven't Americans transformed more than a million Porto Rican subjects into citizens ?

For an answer to some of these questions I sought an interview with the Governor of Porto Rico, Honourable Horace M. Towner. I knew him years ago when he was a member of the United States Congress. He tried to mitigate some of the harsh features of the Indian Exclusion Act.

Governor Towner is justly proud of the political and economic progress that Porto Rico has made under his administration for the last five years. He points to the fact that the Island exports, ninety per cent of which is with the United States, have increased

annually from eighty-two million dollars in 1923 to one hundred and eight million dollars in 1927.

In finances, too, a similar progress is noticeable. The floating debt of Porto Rico amounted to only three million dollars in 1927, representing a reduction of nine hundred thousand dollars as compared with a year ago.

Hundreds of miles of new roads, and scores of new bridges were added during the last fiscal year. What is still more significant is that one-third of the income of the Island was expended for public education and progress made is "highly creditable", Governor Towner observed. He has full sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the natives ; but he does not want to "pull the millennium before it is ripe." He wants to train them by education.

Why then should Porto Rico, whose inhabitants had known only how to bend their necks to the Spanish yoke, wish to give up the advantages of a liberal government under the United States regime ? A conversation with Mr. Towner, who had recently been in the United States in connection with some insular affairs, would convince one that Porto Ricans are grateful to the United States for all it has done for them. Still, they wish to be free to control their own destiny in their own way. This attitude of the Porto Ricans, Mr. Towner intimated, is the revelation of how peoples, whatever the colour of their skins, whatever their race or religion, tenaciously cling to the ideal of independence. The longing for independence certainly exists in both of Uncle Sam's important island possessions : Philippines and Porto Rico. Perhaps this desire for freedom is inherent in human nature.

"At all times the Porto Ricans have been a peaceful people in ideals and desires," declared Towner. "Not once during the Spanish rule did they attempt revolt, and since the United States has been in control, they have never thought of revolt.

"For this reason the people have easily

and readily adopted the American form of government to suit their needs.

"Porto Rico, at the time of the Spanish-American war, saw the advantage of being under the control of the United States instead of that of Spain. When the American soldiers entered the Island, a friendly attitude was shown them by the Porto Ricans and instead of resisting the Americans they strewn flowers in their way."

Mr. Towner's talk betokened understanding sympathy. He had a thorough preparation for his duties in Porto Rico, while he was serving as the Chairman of the Congressional Committee of Insular Affairs. He is energetic (he was born, in 1855), hard-working, courageous, and a capable administrator.

Porto Rico lies in the warm waters of the Caribbean Sea. This Island is slightly larger than Sikkim State. Porto Rico, however, has a population of about 1,300,000,—65 per cent being white, the remainder, negroes and mulattoes. Porto Rico is overcrowded with a population approaching 400 to the square mile; but there has never been any famine since the country came into American possession. Indeed, the death-rate has been reduced by wise sanitation from 40 to 19 per thousand, and wages have been increased.

Porto Rico is mainly an agricultural country. Its chief products are sugar, tobacco, coffee, oranges, grape fruit, pineapples, and other tropical fruits. It is the country where "sugar-cane is king". Of all its exports, sugar products comprise more than half. Tobacco is the second important crop.

There are a few manufactures which are connected with cigars, cigarettes, embroidery, and straw hats. The industries of the people are, however, principally allied with agriculture. Indeed, two-thirds of the people are engaged in agriculture, and the agricultural experiment station at Mayaguez has reduced the ravages of plant diseases and is adding constantly to the list of crops which can be raised in that moist hot climate.

There is free trade between the United States and Porto Rico; but the regular United States protective tariff laws are applied in Porto Rico as against the rest of the world. America does not exact any direct tribute from the Island. All customs duties and internal taxes go into the treasury of Porto Rico.

I have met colonial rulers of French, Japanese, and English colonial possessions in different parts of Asia. My impression of a colonial governor is that of a cocky, shovel-hatted, stern-visaged man. What I saw in the Governor of Porto Rico was a slim, kindly man, in a dark, double-breasted plain coat. He is quiet and simple in manner. He may seem a bit reserved and aloof; but he is neither haughty nor pompous, the unmistakable ear-marks of European colonial satraps. I can well understand how this American won the hearts of the Porto Ricans the very first time he landed in their capital city (San Juan) with his Spanish greeting: "Viva Puerto Rico." Can you imagine an English Viceroy landing in Bombay with the Indian salutation of "Bande Mataram" on his lips?

Porto Ricans have been American citizens since 1917, when Congress passed the Jones Act granting all Porto Ricans the rights and privileges of citizenship. The Act also provided that those Porto Ricans who did not wish to accept American citizenship should remain citizens of Porto Rico. There were less than 300 rejections of this new citizenship. More than a million and a quarter of the Porto Ricans eagerly accepted the American citizenship.

The United States has tried to make the people of Porto Rico self-governing as rapidly as the United States thought it possible. Formerly the Porto Ricans had little or no participation in the government of their country. The Spanish Governor-General was usually a Field-Marshal. Sometimes he was an Archbishop. With the change of sovereignty from Spain to the United States in 1898, Porto Rico found a larger degree of self-government than it ever had before.

Porto Rico has to-day a legislature which is entirely elective. The Porto Rican legislature consists of two elective chambers; the Senate, composed of 19 members, and the House of Representatives, composed of 39 members. The Porto Ricans make their own island laws, expend their own revenue, and in almost every way conduct their government to suit themselves.

Porto Rico has practically manhood suffrage, there being no property or educational tests. It is interesting to note in this connection that voting is compulsory in the Island. A person not exercising his right to vote may be fined, or disfranchised.

The Governor of Porto Rico, who is appointed by the President of the United

States, has veto power, and he occasionally uses it. The Porto Rican legislature can, however, pass a bill over the Governor's veto. It can also make final appeal to the President of the United States.

A Commissioner from Porto Rico, elected by popular vote, sits in the Lower House of Congress at Washington. He has, however, no vote in that body.

Again, each municipality in Porto Rico elects its own officials to look after its own affairs. Indeed, local government is entirely in the hands of the people of the Island.

Porto Rico has its own system of courts. The judiciary of the Island, like its executive and legislative, is efficient. The judges of the higher tribunals are appointed by the President of the United States, and those of the lower courts by the Governor of the Island with the consent of the Porto Rican Senate.

"The Court records of the Island are remarkable," Governor Towner told me. "They show little time wasted, and proportionally few appeals to higher courts. This may be due to a higher type of judicial officers who receive their offices through appointment rather than by election. During the time that Porto Rico has been under the control of the United States, they have used well the privileges granted them and have made good."

Thus it will be seen that Porto Ricans have been essentially self-governing, at least for the last ten years.

It is often said that the only way to master the art of self-government is to practise self-governing. That the United States has hastened the process of self-governing is further attested by the fact that "to-day out of 8,905 in government employ in both classified and unclassified service, 8,632 are native-born. The non-natives include the Governor and a few other administrative officials, technical employees, teachers of English in the public schools and professors and instructors in the University of Porto Rico."

A hard-shelled element in the European colonial system is the general belief that subject peoples are inferior and incapable of self-directed advancement. The whole race of Curzons and Cromers with their itch for power has made that the basis of their political creed. Now the American proconsul in Porto Rico does not take stock in such a dogma. No superiority complex burdens Towner. He is not of the old school of

imperialist bureaucrats. He is at all times courteous, as a Porto Rican put it to me. The spirit of his statesmanship is democratic rather than imperialistic and bureaucratic. Perhaps it is in such a helpful attitude lies the solution of some of the vexing colonial problems of our time.

When Porto Rico was under Spanish rule, there were only parochial church schools. There was not a single public school in the Island. Since the American occupation, a school system was established and education made compulsory.

While education is fundamental, it is often neglected by European colonial governments. The United States has probably made more progress in this direction than any other colonial power in the world.

Towner is a warm friend of education, being a former Lecturer in the State University of Iowa. In Porto Rico the number of pupils in schools has increased from 18 thousand in 1900 to 219 thousand in 1927. One of the tasks of Uncle Sam has been to weld the new with the old. The Spanish language, which is the exponent of the Porto Rican history and civilization, has not therefore been eliminated from the schools of Porto Rico. And Porto Ricans, as I said before, are allowed to devote one-third of their national budget to education. Despite all this, about 45 per cent of the inhabitants of Porto Rico are illiterate. But Senator Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate, pointed out not long ago that even at that the condition of Porto Rico is not hopeless. He stressed the fact that when America won its independence from England, 80 per cent of the colonial Americans were illiterate. Senor Barcelo further rounded out his argument by saying that the illiteracy of his native country is to-day actually less than that of Spain, Argentine, Brazil, Chile, and several of the Southern States of this Federal Republic. Hence much of the routine ballyhoo about Porto Rican illiteracy is superfluous.

The yeast of new nationalistic ideas is at work in the Island, as it is everywhere else in the world. Men in all parts of the globe are stirred to their sense of nationality. And with this awakening has come the spirit of liberty in the hearts of the people. It is a great movement of destiny. The extreme wing of the Porto Rican nationalists, who represent a minority, do not like to see their country remain a mere "subjected colony."

They demand complete independence. The nationalists constantly carry on independence propaganda. No effort, however, is made by Governor Towner to interfere with this propaganda. Listen to these words from a leader of the Nationalist party of Porto Rico: "We have gained nothing with American citizenship. We continue to be the exploited colony, a sugar factory of American bankers with all of the duties but none of the rights inherent to the citizens of a free republic."

The large majority of the Porto Rican people are, however, asking for a greater degree of autonomy, including the election of the Governor by themselves. They even interpret the message handed to Lindbergh as merely a demand for more local self-government.

The political status of Porto Rico is at present in doubt. It is neither a free State nor a full self-governing territory of the United States. Shortly after his appointment as Governor, Mr. Towner himself headed a

delegation to Washington asking for an elective Governor for Porto Rico—an unheard-of thing for a colonial ruler to do. Since then the request has been frequently repeated. According to Mr. Towner, an elective Governor is the next logical step for the Porto Ricans to take in their advance toward statehood.

Some years ago the late "Uncle" Joe Cannon, a Speaker of the Lower House of Congress, remarked that to admit Porto Rico to the American Union as a State would be like wiping a pig's tail with a silk handkerchief. Porto Rico has better prospects now. The Towner administration seems to have prepared the way for something more than a vague colonial status. And so greatly are the efforts of Mr. Towner appreciated that one of the leading papers of San Juan *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, recently declared that if Porto Ricans are permitted to elect their Governor, Horace M. Towner would be their first choice.

The Task of the High School

BY DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A. (MADRAS), M.A., Ph. D. (COLUMBIA),
Professor of Education, Mysore University

MUCH has been said and written about the task of the high school, and so a little more from the point of view of one who has studied secondary education abroad may be graciously tolerated perhaps! The purpose of the modern high school will be discussed here with reference to certain specific heads. The divisions adopted cannot be claimed to be mutually exclusive, and so overlapping and repetition are inevitable. In fact, they are so related that they have to be taken all together. Limits of space forbid anything more than a brief and sketchy discussion.

The modern high school is playing and will continue to play, a very large part in the moulding of the younger generation. As time goes on, there will be a larger and larger proportion of the population passing through the high school.

TRAINING THE INDIVIDUAL

If what we have said above is true, then the training of the individual is one of the

tasks of the high school. When children have to depend on the school for their training, owing to the questionable character of the influence of some homes, or the lack of parental attention, its responsibility increases tremendously.

The problem of health comes first. The secondary school should provide health instruction, inculcate health habits, organize an effective programme of physical activities, regard health needs in planning work and play, and co-operate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests.

The individual will find growth difficult if he has not secured command of the fundamental tools of knowledge. This and more, the secondary school should give him. He should also be enabled to develop a democratic attitude towards the world's work and its relation to culture. "If any man will not work, neither should he eat."

The school should give him an acquaintance with the world he lives in, its peoples

conditions and needs. Tolerance and width of outlook may be cultivated thereby.

It would be of immense value to the pupil, if he could gain, while at school, the scientific habit of mind, and develop the critical attitude. The sway of emotion and unreason would then be perceptibly diminished. The habit of thinking would also make for solidarity and stability.

Another important direction in which the school should train the individual is in the proper use of leisure. It should equip the person to secure from his leisure the recreation of body, mind and spirit and the enrichment and enlargement of his personality. It should treat art, music, literature etc. so as to evoke the right emotional response and provoke positive enjoyment. With the decrease in the hours of labour, this problem will become increasingly serious.

Finally, the school has the heavy responsibility for the development of the character of its pupils. It has them for a much longer period, each week than any other institution. Employed in it are men and women who are more or less experts in this field. The future of any nation depends on the kind of foundation on which it is built. The school has also the means by which to develop character—wise selection of content and methods of instruction in all subjects of study, the social contacts of pupils with one another and with their teachers, the opportunities afforded by the organization of the school for the development of personal responsibility and initiative, and above all, the spirit of service and principles of true democracy. "It is difficult to over-estimate the need for stressing this aspect."

SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

Much of what has been said above naturally applies here too. The individual is a member of society and it is as true that he grows in and through it, as it is that it grows through him and his work. The separation of individual from society has always led to mischievous consequences. The relation that exists between the two is one of action and reaction. Education should not only fit a man for society, but also give him the skills and attitudes which will enable him to transform society. The pupils should learn to grow up in a changeable and living world—a world in which desirable changes can be effected.

Social efficiency as an educational purpose

should mean cultivation of power to join freely and fully in shared or common activities. Civic education, whereby he will be taught to act his part well as a member of the neighbourhood, town, city or nation and be enabled to understand international matters is invaluable.

The school should also recognize as one of its objectives the training for worthy home-membership. It could help the pupils to take the right attitude towards present home-responsibilities and interpret to them the contribution of the home to their development. The home has great potentialities for good or for bad and the school can do not a little to harness them for good.

The question of vocational training in the high school is hard to settle. We believe that it is best to leave definite vocational training for other institutions and to consider the secondary school as preparatory for such institutions, and colleges. In other words, the education should be general. But since it is impossible to keep pupils in the secondary school very long, it is necessary to make provision also for vocational education, so that no interests or aptitudes may be crowded out. The aim will be to make the individual a useful member of society, with a many-sided interest in its welfare, and to build up cordial co-operation in social undertakings.

GENERAL EDUCATION

The school should meet a variety of interests and should attempt to develop all-round persons. This can be done by subordinating deferred values as far as possible, by providing enough elasticity in the administration and enough flexibility in the organization of courses, and by a deep interest in individual pupils. In other words, the conditions for further growth should be guaranteed.

This principle is to guide the solving of the problem of specialization in school. Society has to see to it that no child is handicapped by not having certain essential requirements. When this precaution is taken specialization may be permitted.

A general secondary education would include matters relating to health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home-membership, citizenship, proper use of leisure and ethical character. The school should enable the pupil to get an appreciation of the significance of things and experiences and to be able to correctly evaluate them.

Neither languages nor formal mathematics should predominate as a rule. A symmetrical development of interests is to be desired, (individual variations not being ignored) and such subjects and activities as promise opportunities for growth should be included. Untrammelled by tradition, the work at school should be determined by a fresh investigation of the best means and conditions of growth.

SPECIALIZATION

This problem was dealt with somewhat briefly under general education. We laid down a principle that no child should be allowed to handicap himself by neglecting the mastery of the fundamental processes.

The secondary school is the place where specialization should begin. Modern psychology makes it possible to determine fairly accurately the aptitude and intelligence of children. With the advance of manual tests, intelligence tests, special aptitudes tests etc., specialization will be both encouraged and allowed with greater confidence. It would then be wrong and wasteful perhaps to detain a pupil strong in science because he happens to be weak in English. Individual difference should be definitely recognized. For safety, pupils may be allowed to try certain subjects provisionally, and then be asked to decide.

While a too early specialization* is undesirable specialization is both worth while and necessary. It may be said that the majority of people have some outstanding interest or ability. Capitalizing this ability is specialization. When life is so complex, men have to recognize the need for a division of labour. The need for specialists cannot be overestimated. We should encourage experts in every line and give every one a chance to make his unique contribution.

All that may be claimed for this treatment is that it has scratched the surface, and perhaps barely. that. It is a stupendous problem. Dogmatism is out of the question to-day. Abroad, educational philosophers are discussing these matters. Psychologists are carrying on experiments in various directions. The layman is conscious of a restlessness, and groping for something better. Here in India there is appalling need for a scientific approach to problems of curriculum and syllabus. And yet these matters are usually left to prejudice, ignorance and sectarianism. A Bureau of Educational Research which will make thorough study of Curricula, Text-Books, Methods—to mention only three—is an absolute desideratum. When funds are readily available for all kinds of commissions, committees, choultries etc., is it vain to hope that such a Bureau, equipped with an adequate research staff and capable of showing genuine and permanent results, will win for itself the necessary support and encouragement?

Economic Regeneration Of Turkey*

By KARL KLINGHARDT

IN considering the economic situation of post-war Turkey the thing which first of all strikes our mind is its loss of extensive territories and the consequent diminution of population. As the result of the Balkan war in 1912-13 Turkey lost her European provinces up to Adrianople and the World War robbed her of all her Arabian provinces: Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia and Egypt, the last of which paid an annual tribute of 19 million gold Francs to the Sultanate of Constantinople, the suzerain power.

Of course the loss of the provinces inhabited by non-Turkish populations or in which merely a few Turkish officers were posted, is in one sense a great relief to Turkey. If then, keeping equally in view the political and the economic situation of the country, it may be said that political advantages on the one hand and economic disadvantages on the other keep the balance straight, it must be admitted that the loss of provinces signifies a complete change in the economic life inasmuch as a complete reorganization of the trade and commerce in the separated provinces and also in the remaining part, is now necessary, even though the economic condition is more or less primitive.

* Abridged translation by Batakrishna Ghosh of the original German article in Deutsche Rundschau April, 1928.

Another point of great interest for this economic reorganization of Turkey lies in the complete change of the situation of the people in the Turkish parent land Anatolia itself. Following the diplomatic arrangements at Lausanne and some migrations, expulsions and flights caused by the war, over one and half millions of Greeks and about as many Armenians have left Turkey. Only in Constantinople they are represented in the strength of not quite a quarter million men. Now as the Turkish-Islamic population were inferior in trade and the Armenian and Greek elements were expert in it, even in Asia-Minor the trade and commerce was in their hands, including even the very handicrafts, and so the expulsion of this section of the people as the result of the exchange of population according to the treaty was a serious loss to the economic life of New Turkey. The magnitude of this loss will be easily comprehended from the opinion expressed in the European and Levantine circles of Constantinople during the post-war years (*i. e.* in and after 1923) that New Turkey would recall the Christian population which was expelled and alienated by way of exchange, in order not to see the trade and commerce and all technical skill destroyed in the country, however distasteful it may be to their Nationalism.

And lastly, it must be noted, in order to rightly characterize the task which the victorious Nationalists saw before them when they finally sheathed their sword in the late summer of 1923, that even during the war of independence disputes had also arisen among the Muhammedan population of Anatolia. Albanian and Circassian freelancers tried to fall upon the Kemalist movement from behind,—attempts which ended only with their discomfiture and partial destruction. Finally the Kurdish element (originally about one and a quarter millions in the Turkish territory) rose up in the well-known revolt of early 1925 which likewise miscarried and was quelled after right Asiatic reprisals.

We should also mention here the legacy of the eight years of war (1914 to 1922)—the robbers whose numbers were swelled by desperadoes of all sorts. The first work of reconstruction was that the regime of these robbers was put an end to in a few months with unusual dexterity and circumspection.

With the conclusion of the Lausanne Treaty the Muhammedans settled in the Greek territories or in the neighbouring separated provinces began to migrate back into the land. Nearly half a million men came in this way in course of this migration which extended over several years and which from non-Greek regions, *e. g.* Caucasus, North Persia, and Syria, partly lingers even to this day. In spite of the undoubted positive advantage of this migration the task of giving shelter to these fugitives was too difficult for the country which was exhausted and devastated on all sides and the reorganization of which had only just begun. This migration therefore caused many miseries and sacrifices in the motherland as was the case also with the Greeks. These are the facts which have drawn upon Turkey many unjust criticisms which may be right in some points but are certainly wrong on the whole.

The basic fact in connection with the population, budget and the balance of trade is that Turkey must remain for a long time to come an agrarian state, a land which pays for the industrial products

imported into the country from the profits of agriculture, although in view of the possibilities of war there is an effort to make the country independent by means of industrialization at least in respect of the chief articles of food, clothes and equipments of war in case of such a danger. So first and foremost, particular care was taken of the peasant population. The lands in the possession of the Greeks, particularly in the West and then in the so-called Pontus region (East), and the immovable properties of the Armenians which lay mostly in the cities, passed into the hands of parties of Turks. Greek lands were received in exchange for the lands evacuated by the Turks in Macedonia, Western Thrace and in the Greek Islands. With a single stroke of pen the Aschar, and other oppressive taxes were repealed and the farmer was relieved to the utmost degree whereas in pre-war times he was groaning under a great mass of taxes of all sorts. Further steps were taken to supply the peasants and the whole population in general with capital. Societies were established under compulsion as bases for the loans by official and semi-official banks. Depots of modern machineries and agricultural implements were established and the state offered very favourable terms for the use of those implements. Implements and seeds were given cost-free to the new-comers, the so-called Muhadschirs settled in the allotted land or on property which formerly belonged to the Christians or on lands lying fallow since the time of the war.

The ministry of agriculture is doing excellent work within the limits of a modest budget (193,727,000 Turkish pounds, proposed budget of 1927-28)—a department which in 'old' Turkey was almost a sleeping institution in a magnificent palace in Constantinople. European experts, among whom frequently German specialists are found, are giving a scientific turn to it. Young Turkey has endeavoured with patriotic zeal to widen the knowledge and improve the methods of the Turkish farmer in the newly established agricultural schools and experimental institutions. Besides a very successful international agricultural exhibition in the cotton province of Adana (May to August 1924; 12 countries, 46 non-Turkish firms exhibited), the model farm of the President of the Republic deserves mention, which was established in the year 1925-26 in the region to the west of Angora though there the climate is unfavourable and water-supply insufficient. Among other things, 18 German tractors are working there. The number of agricultural machines which is continually increasing, in summer 1925 amounted to 1035 tractors and 138 motor or steamploughs. The first agricultural exhibition of Adana was followed by another in Smyrna in the summer of 1927. It was well managed and visited by the people in large numbers. Germany and Poland evinced the greatest interest in it. Moreover an exhibition ship of the Turkish Government, the 7000 ton steamer "Kara Deniz," visited the ports of Europe in the summer of 1926 with Turkish produces.

Private model farms have been set up here and there mostly in the western part of the country also by the non-Turkish population but strictly as Turkish enterprises. These attempts on the whole have been crowned with success. The total area under cultivation is in some places much greater than in pre-war

times. Importation of American flour in the coastal towns have been badly beaten back specially in the Black Sea region. The devastating effect of the war which affected a full one-third portion of Asia Minor, has been for the most part made good since then. Certain retrogressions in trade, in the sphere of cotton for example, experienced even by the planters of Egypt, cannot naturally be avoided by the Turkish cotton producers in Smyrna and in the cotton district of Adana.

A few figures of the still incomplete statistics of Turkey give the following picture of the principal agricultural export products, (for 1926, then value of Turkish pound=2.30 R. M.).

Tobacco: Export of Smyrna tobacco (about 50 per cent of the production of tobacco) for 31.09 million Turk. pounds.

Raisins: Smyrna export (about 90 per cent of the total export) for 12.54 millions of Turkish pounds. This figure almost equals the pre-war export.

Opium: The post-war export fluctuates between 5000 and 3000 boxes=390 and 234 t., as against a pre-war production (of the greater Turkey) of 700 t. The Smyrna export in 1926 brought 3'053 million Turkish pounds for about 2500 boxes.

Cotton: Smyrna exported 32,000 bales worth 2'158 million Turkish pounds. That is about two-fifths of the whole produce, at least two-fifths come from Adana. A record harvest in 1924-25 brought alone there 100,000 bales which however caused a local fall of price and a discouragement of cultivation.

Figs: Smyrna export of 7309 million Turkish pounds, almost equals the total export, which in 1927 was calculated at 26,000 t against the 25,000t. in round numbers, of the pre-war days.

Tanning Materials: Here too Smyrna is the chief export harbour with an export for 1.53 million Turkish pounds corresponding to a harvest of 35,000 t. That is only 60 p. c. of the pre-war production. The fall is due to the competition of chemical methods of tanning employed in Europe.

Licorice: Chief export harbour is likewise Smyrna. The export figure for a steady harvest in the last years amounting to 25,000t of roots was 1'519 million Turkish pounds.

Gum: The produce of 1926 with a Smyrna export of 72'4t was bad. The corresponding figure in 1925 amounted to 249 t and in 1917 to 273. Before the war Anatolia produced 468 t of the whole produce of (the greater) Turkey amounting to 5460 t.

Olive Oil: The Smyrna region produces only 30 per cent of the whole production, by far the greater part of which is used in the country for the soap factories and for preparation of food. The port of Smyrna exported in 1926 olive oil worth 0'448 million Turkish pounds. The production of this region in 1926 amounted to 17,500 t. In 1927 it was only a quarter of it, 1924 brought a good harvest of 25,000 t.

Hazelnuts: Export harbours Kerasunt and Trapezunt on the Black Sea. They supply a large share of the world demand. In 1926 the produce was 15,000 t, in 1925 40,003 t, in 1924 however only 5,000 t.

Barley: For Smyrna the export of barley too

plays an important part. The export figure which amounts to about 96 per cent of the production and goes out as brewing barley, amounted to 1'6 million Turkish pounds.

Still another export figure is to be mentioned here: 4'709 mill. Turkish pounds for

Carpets: It is only a fraction of the carpet figure which is here restricted to the Turkish productions. The valuable export of carpets purchased from Persia goes out by means of the ports on the eastern Black Sea.

Mohair: Of the produces of cattle, besides the wool of sheep and goat's wool "mohair" too is to be mentioned, which, with markedly fluctuating figures, has often held the third place among export wares—after tobacco and carpets. Before the War the export figure was 18 mill. marks. As the result of the ravages of the Greco-Turkish wars the number of cattle sank to one-third of the original number; now it has again risen to two-thirds of the same.

These statistics show that the war losses have been restored for the most part and that without the assistance of the Greek element which was so important for Smyrna production and Smyrna export in the pre-war days.

The programme of transport stands in immediate relation with the programme of agriculture. The land structure in the west with its relatively broad river valleys rising from the Ocean is favourable for transport. From before the war four lines of roads have been here: Smyrna—Egerdir, Smyrna—Aidin, Smyrna—Afirm Karahissar and Smyrna—Panderma, altogether 1420 km. In the remaining portion of Anatolia the Ova-lands (ova=plain), i.e. smaller or larger agricultural areas surrounded on all sides by mountains, are most common, the products of which can be exported only at a freight of 2—300 per cent. The ministry is pushing on public works with wonderful energy, so that in 1926 a great road from Angora to Erzerum via Kaisari was made, exclusively under state management, only particular sections being entrusted to Turkish and foreign firms (non-French, non-English), and Erzerum is connected with Kars and Tiflis by the roads made by the Russians at the time of the War. Similarly the state is constructing the first road across the country, from the Black Sea port Samsun to Ulukyshla on Bagdad Road via Amasia—Sivas and to Adana and Mersina on the Mediterranean Sea. Till late in the year 1927 563 km. of this programme of 1706 km. had been constructed. The remaining portion has been entrusted to a Swedish, a Belgian and a German firm. As three other roads will be constructed, namely one from the Adana valley to Diarbekir, and to the copper mines of Arghana Maden, another from Kutahia through the mineral districts to Balikessir—Panderma and finally another from Angora to the inexhaustible coal fields of Songuldak on the Black Sea, the whole length of this based construction amounts to 1950 km. According to the agreement it will be finished in five years though the payment by instalments shall go on for 10 years.

In these plans also the construction of the harbours of Samsun and Mersina is included—projects which along with the present-day French Syrian harbour of Alexandretta, have been the bone of contention among the European powers and their economic exponents. The construction

of the two parts has been a hard nut to crack both technically and financially. However skilfully the Angora government may turn to its profit the hard competition in the world, yet it will make a big hole in the short purse of the government to see even one of the projects carried out within the five years; moreover the harbour of Samsun must be reconstructed.

Turkish Commercial Navigation experienced a great encouragement by the arrangements of the Lausanne treaty. According to these arrangements the coastal navigation has been reserved for the Turks. For this purpose 30 Turkish companies have been founded the capacity of whose ships in 1927 amounted to 124,000 Reg. tons. Among them there are 61 passenger-steamers with 40,000 tons and a park of sailing boats of about 2,000 vessels with 30,000 tons. All the companies will not last, but the big ones certainly will. The premier company is the Seiri Sefain aided by the state. It is quite modern and is able to compete in the world trade though the freights are higher than those of French and Italian companies, and it possesses a park of boats of nearly 30,000 tons.

The state takes the lead also in the general industrialization of the country. It encourages, gives support and privileges and, first of all, founds factories on its own initiative. Two great sugar factories (Apullu in Eastern Thrace and Ushak at Smyrna) were established. The factories for building materials (brick, cement etc.), those for the production of food (mills and breweries), those for soap and perfumery and further the establishments for the packing of the export articles such as grapes, figs etc. and spinning mills and weaving mills for carpets are being continually founded. Lastly there is the industry for war equipments, which besides the army budget of 58 mill. Turkish pounds (1927-28 [64 mill. 1925-26]), occupies 5 to 7 mill. in the general budget.

The private banks are more and more taking part in these enterprises, particularly in technical establishments in the cities such as electric works and water works. For European companies there are many attractions here, but they have to face many disappointments too. Attempts have been made to found mixed companies, i.e. nominally Turkish, with the introduction of European capital in the form of machineries. Every time it takes a long time until the Turkish capital is collected—so far as it is at all paid—and until every kind of assurance has been given to the cautious and suspicious men who place the orders and until they on their part have acquainted themselves with the quotations of all the European firms. In this field and in things for which no care was taken until the time of the war, the impoverished Turkish people is taking its first steps. In pre-war days these things were completely in the hands of the foreigners while the Turks themselves had to remain satisfied with a poor *bakshish*.

The greatest problem of Turkey is the problem of capital, that is, the problem of that capital which is necessary to carry out the projected necessary technicalization and partial industrialization of the country. The scarcity of money of the Angora government is revealed on all sides and for this reason many economists have grave doubts about the future of Turkey. Of course, a budget of 195 millions (1927-28) of which the sum

of 70 mill. Turkish pounds goes for war equipments while only 26 mill. are assigned for the innumerable public works to be done and only 2½ mill. could be devoted to the repatriation problem, is certainly very modest, especially when 780,000 square kilometres have to be re-peopled. But if in the first years after the war, with about this sum, the gloomy economic condition of the state could be successfully balanced, the present condition must be regarded as a great improvement on the earlier days. Since the beginning of the period of loan (1834) the Ottoman empire had been existing on loan. The debts increased and at the same time more and more sources of income had to be mortgaged to meet these debts. A terrible end would certainly have come. This system of loan and control has been finally broken by the Lausanne treaty. On the other hand among international financiers there is little inclination to grant loans to Turkey, at least so long as the question of pre-war debts is not satisfactorily solved. The Hague conference has imposed only 40 p. c. of these debts on Turkey. At the end of July 1927, after endless discussions, at last annuities were settled, the first of which with 14 mill. Turkish pounds will be due in June 1928. The full annuity which will go on till 1951, amounts to about 30 mill. Turkish pounds according to the present exchange value. For a budget of 195 millions it is indeed a heavy burden.

As in the national debt department the strait-waistcoat of foreign guardianship has been done away with, so also particular concessions, which in general may be regarded as treaties of exploitation, have been subjected to new regulations. Everywhere new settlements have to take place after the great National Assembly of Angora gets the right of annulling the pre-war agreements, so far as they have not already been provided for in the Lausanne treaty, as for example, has taken place with regard to particular enterprises of the Armstrong Whitworth and Vickers Company.

A well-known object of dispute in this field is the Anatolian and Bagdad road. Attempts at settlement have been up to this time always unsuccessful. Whatever that may be, one thing is certain: the extraordinary privileges such as of mining within forty km. to the left and the right of the road will never be fully redeemed.

It is understandable that the Turkish Government have injured European capitalists through these financial operations to strengthen the state. When however the Turkish government repeatedly declares that it does not wish to take loan from foreign countries, one is naturally reminded of the story of sour grapes. In any case this shutting up of capital on the one hand and the refusal of capital on the other render it necessary for the state to mobilize the capital in the country. The confidence in the state which was formerly regarded only as a tax-taking organization has not yet been sufficiently well-grounded to raise internal loans in large amounts. The banks on the contrary, those with state assistance and the communal and private ones, have arisen in a very promising manner. Immediately after the war the "Agricultural Bank" was founded with 30 mill. Turkish pounds as initial capital with numerous affiliated institutions. In 1926 it could count 2,282 milliards of Turkish pounds. The credit given for agricultural

purposes amounted in the years 1925 to 1927 to 15, 16 and 21 million Turkish pounds. In the "National Credit Bank" the state owns only 46 per cent against considerably stronger majority of shares in the Agricultural Bank. In 1927 this bank united with the "Commercial Bank" (Geschaefts-bank) which is more modern and is carried on more energetically though it was originally a private bank. In 1926 another bank was established with 50 per cent state ownership to meet the demand of 300 million Turkish pounds for agricultural purposes. Other new banks in Angora and Constantinople are: "Industrial and Commercial Bank" (est. 1925), "Industrial and Mining Bank" (est. 1926 with 5 mill. Turk. pounds), net profit in 1926 being 1 mill. Turk. pounds, and a "Trade Bank" (est. 1926). "The State Bank for Loans" gave a loan of 7½ millions in 1926. In most cases the initial capital was one or one and a half millions of Turkish pounds. Establishment of banks in the province is a very good sign though the initial capital is mostly only half a million or one million Turkish pounds.

The Turkish banks in their wonderful development successfully pursue two aims: beating back the advances of foreign banks and educating the people, particularly in the provinces, in money matters; this signifies mobilization of capital which till now was lying idle. The state agreement with the so-called Ottoman Bank (seat London) from the time of its establishment in 1863 has been renewed for 10 years in 1925. The Turkish state has not yet been able to replace this powerful institution, which holds, *inter alia*, the monopoly of bank-notes.

The commercial districts of Turkey are those in which Turkey and Europe meet. The transformation process of Turkey is seen here most clearly. Successful changes have been wrought from the standpoint of the state: monopolies such as that of the well-known Turkish tobacco are now in the hands of the state. New monopolies are to come and in spite of various defects of management they play an important part in the budget, thus tobacco with 17½ mill., salt with 9, alcohol with 6·8, petroleum and sugar each with 4·5 (all proposed for the economic year 1927-28). The monopoly is for the most part let on lease and that on very favourable terms. In private commerce lighter duties in favour of the Entente States are noticeable. It was the rule in former days and it was confirmed by Lausanne treaty. Turkey will be able to exact the full customs duties, in fact, only from the autumn of 1928 when the periods of the agreements on this point, arranged by the treaty, will expire. In the meanwhile attempts were made to form Commercial agreements with the parties which were not connected with the Lausanne treaty in the form of friendly and Commercial treaties, particularly favourable to Turkish export, with Russia and Persia and also with Greece, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland etc. Of the great powers of the West Germany made the first commercial treaty concluded in October, 1926 and coming in force on 22nd July 1927, in which on the German side some remarkable lowerings of certain duties took place. It is evident that the freedom from the clauses of forced commerce of the Lausanne treaty will bring about an important change in

the customs duties in favour of the Turkish government and also a variation in the import and export value between the partner lands. The balance sheet of trade during the last few years gives the following data:

	1923	1924	1925	1926
Turkish Import in				
Mill. Turk-pounds	134·4	190·9	255·6	214·8
" Export „ „	78·3	151·7	192·6	212·9

The general prosperity and the mitigation of dulness is clearly perceptible.

14 per cent of Turkish export goes to Germany which amounts to about 0·7 per cent of the whole import of Germany. 11 per cent of Turkish import comes from Germany (16 per cent from England, 18 per cent from Italy) which is about 0·8 per cent of Germany's export. In absolute figures our Turkish export in the year 1926 amounted to 75·4 millions R. M. and the import from Turkey to 54·7 millions.

Germany mostly imports tobacco, fruits, carpets, hide, tanning materials and various minerals while Turkey gets from Germany textiles (16 mill. R. M.), ironwares (16 mill. R. M.), machineries (12 mill. R. M.), chemicals (5 mill. R. M.), toys for children, glasswares, electric machineries etc.

The terrible diminution of population which has been referred to at the beginning, affects the sphere of commerce for the Europeans most palpably. Although in Constantinople perhaps still 60 per cent of the Greek and Armenian businessmen are settled (Constantinople was not included in the exchange of population), the business-world there is undergoing a kind of Turkishization as the result of the advance of the Turkish merchant and business element steadily supported by the State. It is self-evident that these new Turkish tradesmen should be inferior to their predecessors. If therefore in joint activities with the Turkish people of all classes with their newly inflamed sense of self-consciousness various difficulties arise in Turko-European trade which were quite unknown in former times, it must be admitted, it is only natural. How surprising for example are the demands that at least 50 per cent of the business personnel must be Turkish and that the account books must be kept in Turkish and that also the communications with Turkish firms must be carried on in Turkish language! It was the greatest defect and the worst mistake of the Turkish people that for centuries it had left the control of the economic life of the country in the hands of foreigners. Now, in order to repair this monstrous inferiority of the people in knowledge and experience, the whole foreign economic activity has been made subservient to this task of reparation. The Turks who formerly stood aside disinterestedly and who were thought incapable of doing even the lowest works are now taken under compulsion into the management of business.

In Constantinople, the great residence of all the non-Turks of Turkey, which contains about 260,000 non-Turks besides 510,000 Muhammadans (in pre-war days the number of the Turks was a little smaller and the non-Turks numbered 400 to 500,000), there rages a sea of complaints about the new epoch of Turkey and against the men of Angora—complaints which are just, that the development of New Turkey

is absolutely one-sided. The political importance of this disaffection shall be discussed in another place; here I touch one other point of much greater economic importance which overshadows the state and first of all the city of Constantinople. It is the decline of maritime traffic which is reflected also in the diminution of population. The tonnage of the ships counted in the harbour of Constantinople before the World War amounted to about 17 millions register tons annually. The corresponding figure per month which began to rise after the conclusion of the World War and the war of independence in 1923, fluctuated in the year 1925-26 between 700,000 and 800,000 which is equivalent to an annual traffic of 8'4 to 9'6 million register tons.

The decline of town-life is quite evident and it compares unfavourably for the Turks with the prosperity of other Mediterranean ports, particularly Salonica and Pireus; the latter in 1912 contained a population of 85,000 against half the number in 1896. Even Beyrūt and Haifa are showing signs of prosperity while Turkish Smyrna has not yet been able to fully get over the after-effects of the War.

Thus he who surveys Turkey from Constantinople will everywhere find signs of decline and fall. The successful process of Nationalization, which is being carried on with a fixed aim, in the midst of this decline on the torso the sometime capital of the world—the Eastern Rome,—about this the non-Turkish inhabitants are quite indifferent, if it is not obnoxious and hateful to them. Constantinople was once the State centre with much greater importance than Paris, for instance, in France, and it was also a sign which revealed at once how strongly the country was influenced by European civilization. Apart from the metropolis the economic life of the people was indeed not shrouded in slumber, but the Turkish people went on sleeping undisturbed.

A violent operation has now shifted the centre of gravity of the State. The new metropolis of Angora has arisen under the quite new signs of the civilization of the Turkish people and here is the city and every one of her attempts which have been directed towards every part of Anatolia has been crowned with success at every step. In Angora, and in the New Turkey in general, it is heard spoken by the Turks with all imaginable pride "Small, but mine!" The sunken Ottoman Empire was a wonderful organization in respect of commercial geography and world politics and presented a motley picture of different peoples and climates. But on the other hand, it was the "sick man" who retreated before the advance of his enemies who divided among themselves his lands and peoples. And the means of preventing this coming dissolution was to pass the control of economic life into foreign hands the horrors of which cast a dark shadow over the relations of this country with European enterprisers not only at the present day, but will continue to do so for a long time to come. National importance and putative national importance are indefaceably imprinted everywhere in the country and the people will rather forgo an advantage of her developments than endanger the autonomy also in economic life so gloriously acquired by the Lausanne treaty. Elated by this sense of victory, with a pulsating pride in ancient Turkish traditions, in spite of insufficient knowledge and experience the Turks imposed various kinds of obstructions and brakes which have been already mentioned, harming thereby European commercial men and bringing upon New Turkey many pessimistic ideas about economic life.

When the land gets peace the aims and processes of the country will more and more approach those of a civilized country.

Rammohun Roy on Religious Freedom and Social Equality

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

R. Rickards' *India; or, Facts submitted to illustrate the Character and Condition of the Native Inhabitants, with suggestions for reforming the Present System of Government*, published in London in 1829, contains three private letters of Rammohun Roy to an English gentleman, whose name is not given there (Appendix to vol. ii. pp. 414-15).

Robert Rickards resided in India for about 23 years as an officer on the Bombay civil establishment, "and passed much of that time

in intimate intercourse with various natives." Although he returned home in 1811, he appears to have been well acquainted with the activities of Rammohun. He is very eulogistic about Rammohun's wonderful power of English composition, and his remarks on the subject are well worth quoting:

"What is most surprising is, that there are several natives now in India, whose acquaintance with the English language is so perfect, as to enable them to write it with all idiomatic elegance, and

grammatical purity, of accomplished scholars. The writings of that extraordinary man, Rammohun Roy, are too well known to require encomium from me. His celebrated petition to the King in behalf of a free press for India; his *Precepts of Jesus*; his *Appeals to the Christian Public*; his *Defence of Hindoo Theism*; *Translations of the Upanishads*, and various other tracts, are works that will immortalize the name of Rammohun; and leave future generations to wonder, that English writings of so much beauty and excellence should be the production, not of a natural-born Briton, but of an enlightened, self-taught, Indian Brahmin" (ii. 385).

It will be seen from the above extract that the Petition to the King against the Press Ordinance of 1823 originated from the pen of Rammohun.* This statement of Rickards thus confirms the general belief prevalent among us on this point.

As Rickards' book is extremely rare and the three letters of Rammohun printed in it have not, to my knowledge, been used by any of Rammohun's biographers, I reproduce them here in order to make more extensively known one of the manifold activities of the Father of Modern India:

My dear Sir,

I have this moment the pleasure of receiving your note of this day. I beg to apologize to you for having kept until this time, the volumes which you very kindly lent me. Interruptions prevented me from completing my perusal of them so soon as I wished; I now return them with my sincere thanks, and if perfectly convenient, you will I hope oblige me by a loan of the third, and by allowing me again a perusal of the second after a month or two. I think it is incumbent upon every man who detests despotism, and abhors bigotry, to defend the character of our illustrious minister, Mr. Canning, and support his administration if possible. I will therefore embrace another opportunity of performing what I consider my duty. In the meantime I remain with sincere regard and esteem,

Yours most sincerely,
Rammohun Roy

October 9, 1827.—7 P. M.

Pray excuse haste.

* Robert Montgomery Martin—who established the *Bengal Herald* (in 4 languages) in conjunction with Rammohun, Dwarkanath Tagore and other distinguished Hindus—says in his *History of the British Colonies*: "But to no individuals is the Indian Press under greater obligations than to the lamented Rammohun Roy and the munificent Dwarkanath Tagore" (i. 254).

My dear Sir,

Allow me to return the volume containing the evidence on the state of Ireland, which you so very kindly lent me. It is, I presume, impossible for an uninterested person to peruse it as it is, and not come to a determination to second the cause of Catholic Emancipation; I content myself with an appeal to your humanity and good sense. I regret very much that I, who am heartily anxious to co-operate with you in all religious and secular matters, should be compelled to differ so widely from you in this single but important point. As there is I fear no chance of any change, in our respective opinions on this subject I hasten to conclude this with my fervent wishes for your health and success in all your views and undertakings in India, and remain

Yours very sincerely,
Rammohun Roy

November 23, 1827.

My dear Sir,

I have been with infinite satisfaction given to understand by Col. Watson, that you opposed the emancipation of your Catholic fellow-subjects merely for the sake of argument, probably to know what the other party could advance in support of it. I was however at a loss [to understand] till yesterday that a person like yourself, so liberal in every other point and so kind even to a humble foreigner such as I am, should be unfriendly towards his own countrymen, and should be indifferent about their political degradation under the *cloak of religion*. I am now relieved from that anxiety, and wishing you with all my heart every success both at home and abroad, I remain

Yours very sincerely,
Rammohun Roy

December 8, 1827.

These letters afford a glimpse into one most admirable trait of Rammohun's character. The opponent of idolatry and of guru-worship in India would naturally have been expected to have taken up a hostile attitude towards image-worship and the adoration of saints in Ireland.* But such was his

* R. M. Martin, in his *Hist. of the British Colonies*, (i. 305) records: "...the forms and ceremonials of the Roman Catholic Church approximate so closely to the Hindoo worship (as often observed to me by the late Rammohun Roy)."

wonderful liberality of mind that he preferred to leave education to work its own effect in removing superstitions, instead of teaching the right creed by force and penal disabilities. Our wonder is heightened when we remember that many Englishmen of the highest education and position at that time were passionately opposed to removing the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics, and in France the State was under the domination of the Church. Here too, as in many other spheres, Rammohun was in advance of his age.

In connection with Ireland, I may as well mention that when the East India Jury Act came into operation in India early in 1827, introducing as it did religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, Rammohun wrote a letter on 18th August, 1828 to Mr. J. Crawford (the Parliamentary agent to the inhabitants of Calcutta) complaining against the new Act and entrusting to him petitions for presentation to both Houses of Parliament. "In this letter", writes Miss Collet, "Rammohun shows once more how deeply the analogy between Ireland and the prospects of nationalism in both countries had impressed him. Had not Mr. Wynn seen misery enough result in Ireland from making civil discriminations between different religious beliefs? Why should he want to reproduce the same calamities in India?"*

Some interesting information on Rammohun's liberality of views is given in the following reply of Mr. J. W. Ricketts—the bearer of the East India Petition of 1830 signed by the East Indian or Eurasian community of Calcutta—on the occasion of his examination before the House of Commons in June, 1830:

"Rammohun Roy, 'a learned and respectable native in Calcutta,' associates with us as he does with Europeans, and so would any other respectable native."

This shows how Rammohun Roy was held in esteem by all communities of India, not on account of wealth or official position, but

for his sincerity of heart and catholicity of spirit.

Reference to Rammohun is also found among the speeches delivered on 30th May, 1830 by certain members of the House of Commons, the relevant passages of which are quoted below:

"*Sir James Mackintosh*.—...I shall not longer delay the House; but I have this day read an account of a meeting held at Calcutta on the 15th of December," and I read speeches delivered in the English language by two Hindus of rank and learning, and containing sentiments which would do honor to the members of any assembly. One of them, Rammohun Roy, has embraced your religion, notwithstanding the degradations you impose upon those who profess Christianity. He says, he is convinced that the more the natives of India come in contact and associate with English gentlemen, the more will they improve in every light,—whether political, commercial, or moral. I cannot but agree with him in this view; and, thinking that the abolition of distinctions is the best course to be pursued, I most heartily concur in the prayer of this Petition."

"*Mr. R. C. Fergusson*.—...My Right Honourable and Learned Friend has spoken of the case of Rammohun Roy; and of him I can also speak from acquaintance as one than whom there is no man of more intelligence. I wish I could say with my Right Hon. Friend that he is a Christian, but I do not believe he is. He has certainly shaken off his prejudices, and believes that there is but one God and not a thousand, as some persons believe to be the faith of other Hindus; but he is so far advanced that his faith would not disable him from the enjoyment of any office that his talents would entitle him to."

* This refers to the public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on 15th December 1829, which was convened to petition Parliament "to throw open the China and India Trade, and to remove the restrictions against the Settlement of Europeans in India."

The British inhabitants of Calcutta petitioned Parliament for the abolition of all restrictions on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in India. The zamindars, taluqdars, and other native inhabitants of Calcutta and its subordinate districts in a counter-petition, which was presented to the House of Commons in July 1832 by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, objected to this proposal as harmful (*vide* the Minutes of the House of Commons). It will be interesting to learn that Rammohun gave the following reply to a query of the Board of Control on the Colonization of India by white men: "Such a measure could only be regarded as adopted for the purpose of entirely supplanting the native inhabitants, and expelling them from the country."

* I have not seen this letter in its entirety, although an extract from it is to be found on p. 154 of Miss Collet's *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*.

Neither Fish nor Flesh

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

I

A pension and a pinjrapole (an asylum for old cattle and horses) are virtually the same thing, the only difference being that the first is intended for the benefit of bipeds while the second is for quadrupeds. All old animals do not find their way to the pinjrapole, nor do all old men get a pension. In this respect I am fortunate for I get a pension every month on the production of a certificate that I am still alive, but I felt that the deduction of income tax from my pension was a great hardship.

This was my first grievance against the Government, but it is as unwise for an old pensioner to rush into high politics as for an old animal to frisk about and butt against other animals in a pinjrapole. As the joints become gouty and rheumatic in old age so the mind also becomes stiff and rheumatic with advancing age. I would have been wise to have borne this fact in mind.

Before my retirement on pension the title of Rai Bahadur had been conferred upon me. A friend had explained to me that the title of Rai Bahadur was as good as Raja Bahadur for Rai meant Raja. I put up my name with my new title on a board and suspended it in front of my house. Whenever I entered or left the house my eyes rested on the name and title—Rai Bholanath Mitra Bahadur, and it also caught the eyes of passers-by. I knew a man who had been made a Rai Bahadur, and who was very much offended if any one failed to call him Rai Bahadur. I was not so particular but I certainly felt pleased when any one addressed me as Rai Bahadur.

No one ever knew when the country was flooded by an agitation with a long name. With the help of a dictionary one can make out what Non-co-operation means, but the difficult problem was who was to non-co-operate with whom. If we decline to co-operate with the Government all Government appointments must be given up and even the acceptance of pensions

becomes doubtful. Tenants may refuse to pay their dues to landowners, and eventually the barber and the washerman may refuse to co-operate with their customers. Why, if matters come to a head the mistress of my house and the mother of my children may turn round upon me and declare that she will not co-operate with me. What would become of me if she were to throw down her keys and ask me to look after the affairs of my household?

Some Rai Bahadurs returned their *sanads*, others returned the medals and decorations they had received. The board hung up at my entrance door began to attract unpleasant attention. My sitting-room was just over the street and I could see people passing and hear their remarks.

The remarks of the boys and young men in particular were very annoying. A glance at my board would set them talking somewhat in this fashion :

'Hullo, here is another Rai Bahadur !'

'These are the flatterers of the Government.'

'They are branded on the back like artillery horses.'

'Bells are hung round the necks of cows, but here's a bell round the neck of a name.'

After listening to remarks of this nature for some days I took down the board with my name and title one evening and put it away in the lumber room.

II

An army on a battle field acknowledges defeat by hauling down its colours and hoisting a white flag. My battle-flag was the board with my title on it, and the base white wall became my white flag. Non-co-operation won the battle and I lost it.

The process, however, was reversed when it came to suing for peace. Usually, the party defeated sends messengers to seek peace, but the order was different in my case. I kept quiet in my room while messengers began coming in from the victorious party. Some were timid messengers, others were loud-spoken while still others

reminded me of the messengers of death. All of them were not strangers because the people one knew formed the new party. A man called Gadadhar Pakrasi, who frequently joined card parties at my house, was one of the leaders of the new movement. I had not seen him lately, but the disappearance of my signboard was the signal for his appearance. He came in one day and congratulated me warmly. 'Well done, Bholanath,' he said, 'now begin to serve your country. Have you returned your *sanad* of Rai-Bahadurship?'

'It is merely a piece of paper,' I replied, 'is it particularly necessary to return it?'

'Of course, otherwise, how is the other party to know that you have joined us? The Government must know that you do not care for them?'

'What if they raise difficulties about my pension?'

'They cannot do that. And what does it matter if you lose your pension? Pleaders and barristers with incomes of thousands of rupees have given up their practice. Can't you make a small sacrifice?'

'I haven't given any thought to this matter.'

'What is there to think about? Did you think when you took down your signboard? And look here, how is it that you are wearing a foreign *dhoti*? Foreign clothes are being burned. You should get *khadi* clothes to-day. A deputation may wait upon you to-morrow.'

Gadadhar left humming the tune of a Swadeshi song. I hurried to the market and bought *khadi dhotis* and Punjabi shirts of *khadi*. The next day the deputation came. It consisted of two or three elderly people, but the others were youthful patriots. They began by congratulating me on my change of views and then the spokesman invited me to preside at a meeting to be held the following Saturday.

For twenty-five or thirty years I had been working in an office, what did I know of meetings? I suggested they should look out for another president. I had never attended a public meeting and was not accustomed to speak in public.

My objection was waived aside as due to my modesty and I was told it would not be necessary for me to make a long speech.

I pointed out I had no idea what I would have to say.

The leader of the deputation said, 'That

needn't not trouble you at all. Here, you Nitai, write out a speech for the president and give it to Bholanath Babu, who will commit it to memory. Bholanath Babu, we are now going elsewhere. The volunteers will come to you on Saturday afternoon and escort you to the meeting.'

After the deputation had left I began thinking that at school and college we had to commit whole books to memory, and now I would have to memorize a speech. I had no notion what the speech would contain, the C. I. D. reporters would take down every word and I might be run in for sedition for my very first speech. Why should I be prosecuted for repeating like a parrot a speech written by another man? Surely, I could write out my own speech. All these years I had been writing reports and judgments, and now I would have to write something else. Considering I had been serving the Government so long it would be rather awkward for me to attack the Government. However, I jotted down a few notes with the view of writing out a short speech later on.

When I returned home in the evening after a stroll in the *maidan* I found Nitai waiting for me and reading a newspaper. I said, 'Well, Nitai Babu, have you written out the speech?'

Nitai replied airily, 'How long does it take me to write out a speech? I have written out a very powerful speech for you.'

'Let us have a look at it.'

Nitai took out a roll of papers from his pocket. I turned over the sheets and remarked, 'This is a very long speech.'

'Where's the harm? It will be reported in all the papers and you will find yourself famous in a single day.'

I thought to myself it would be like Lord Byron.

When I tried to read the speech I found it difficult to decipher the crabbed handwriting and said so.

Nitai snatched away the papers from my hand and said, 'Yes, I write a rather bad hand. I shall read out the speech to you.'

He began reading at once. So vigorous were his gestures that I moved away to a safe distance; his voice attracted the children of the house while people passing on the street stood still to listen to the harangue. I said, 'Nitai Babu, this is not a public meeting. You have to read out your speech to me, and not to the men on the street.'

'Sir', protested Nitai warmly, 'I must read the speech as it should be delivered, otherwise how can it be impressive?'

'I haven't got such a powerful voice as you have, nor am I in the habit of addressing public meetings.'

'Very well, I shall lower my voice.'

Whether he read loud or low I had no mind to let Nitai go on and said, 'You need not trouble yourself to go on. What I want to know is, don't you think what you have read is highly seditious?'

'It may be so.'

'Would you make such a speech yourself?'

'I didn't think about myself. I wrote the speech for you.'

'But I have to think for myself.'

'Then you are feeling nervous?'

'I haven't the reputation of being a very courageous man, but that is no reason why I should also be a fool. I am prepared to face a charge of sedition for anything I may say, but I don't want to be run in for repeating something written by another man.'

'Then you will not deliver the speech I have written out?'

'I shall think over the matter, you may leave the papers with me.'

Nitai put down the speech and stamped heavily down the staircase in a temper.

III

The meeting was crowded. As I entered the hall following the volunteers there was an outburst of applause. There was more cheering when I was elected to the chair. I had written out my own speech and committed it to memory. I stumbled through it somehow. There was slight cheering when I resumed my seat but there was no enthusiasm. After the meeting I noticed Nitai standing near the platform and frowning. As I was leaving the meeting one of the leaders told me that my speech was not bad for a first effort and I would become more outspoken as I went on.

The newspapers came out the next morning with different comments. The Indian papers said that nothing bolder could be expected from a man like me. The Anglo-Indian papers were astonished that I had gone over to the disloyal party. I had served the Government with credit and it was ungrateful of me to join their opponents. The language of my speech was highly objectionable even if moderate.

The next day I got a letter from the Private Secretary to the Governor. He wrote:—'My dear Rai Bahadur, kindly come and see me to-morrow morning at 10-30.'

Is it generally known that in writing letters to titled Indians Europeans use only the titles in addressing them, and not their names? The name disappears under the title and the recipients of such letters are quite pleased. If a man is made a Rai Bahadur or a Khan Bahadur is the name given to him by his parents lost? This is not the practice in the case of English titles, for a man who has been knighted is not addressed as Sir Knight in letters. It now occurred to me for the first time that it was improper to address a man merely by his title, omitting his name.

I arrived at the Government House a little before the appointed time. The Private Secretary's Bengali assistant greeted me with an ironic laugh and said, 'Well, Rai Bahadur, have you become a leader of the new party?'

I replied somewhat dryly, 'Is there anything wrong in that?'

'You cannot live in the water and quarrel with a crocodile.'

'Does the water belong to the crocodile?'

A red-coated *chaprasi* came up and said, 'The Saheb has given you his *salams*.'

I went in to the Saheb. He said, 'Good morning, Rai Bahadur. Sit down.'

I took my seat on a chair facing the Saheb. There were some newspapers lying on the table, the Saheb put his finger on a passage in one of the newspapers and asked with a dry smile, 'Is this your speech?'

'Yes, sir.'

'Although not a very bad speech it is not quite loyal. You were an officer of the Government, who have honoured you with a title. It is not right for you to join the disloyal faction.'

I took out the *sanad* of my title from my pocket and placed it on the table in front of the Private Secretary. I said, 'I return the document of my title. I have served the Government long enough; in my old age I shall serve my country.'

The Private Secretary stared at my *sanad* for a minute and then said angrily, 'The Government rewards deserving persons, but it also punishes offenders.'

I quickly retorted, 'I am prepared for punishment.' Saying this I rose and walked out of the room.

When I got into my carriage I felt I had been hasty. I always acted with deliberation; why should I have offended these people in a fit of temper? There was no likelihood of my going about preaching sedition, for I was averse to it by temperament. I had no intention of becoming a leader. What was the good of my going to the Government House and quarrelling with the Private Secretary?

I was not in a happy frame of mind when I sat down to lunch. My wife said, 'What has happened to you in your old age?'

'Why, what has happened?'

'What do you mean by gadding about with a lot of madcaps?'

'Is it madness to endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the country?'

'What else do you call it? Will you be able to cope with the British? Besides, you have always served the Government, how can you oppose them now?'

'The British have paid me out of funds belonging to the country, not with their own money, while they have been draining the country of its resources.'

'You never thought of that before this. You are already passing into your dotage. Some day you will be sent to prison?'

'What does that matter? Some of the greatest men of the country have gone to prison.'

'Oh, you also want to become a great man by going to jail and grinding corn?'

There was no chance of my having the last word, so I made no reply and came out into my sitting-room. I began to realize that it was not an easy job to become a patriot. So far I had done nothing beyond making a speech and it was very mild pyrotechnics and by no means a bombshell. But it had proved enough to put my name in the black book of the C. I. D. Outside there were the frowning eyes of the *barra* Sahebs and inside the house was the scolding wife. For a mild man like me the ordeal became very painful.

A few days later the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued an order prohibiting all public meetings. Any violation of this order would be punished by imprisonment. Immediately, another deputation called upon me to announce that the Magistrate's order must be disregarded and meetings must be held regardless of consequences.

This course of action did not appeal to me

at all. What was to be gained by attempting to hold a public meeting when the people present would be arrested at once and sent to prison? The members of the deputation explained to me that an order of this kind was clearly an act of oppression and the best protest against it was to disobey it. I could not see the fun of seeking imprisonment without any resulting advantage and I declined to be present at the meeting.

The leader of the deputation said, 'We thought you had some courage and would be prepared to make some sacrifice for the country. That was our mistake. How can one give up the habit of a lifetime? It is not for a Rai Bahadur to oppose the British.'

The deputation angrily left my house and I was left stranded. My position became like that of a washerman's dog, which belongs neither to the house nor to the washing ghāt. I could not show my face to the Sahebs, at home my wife would scarcely speak to me and finally my name was struck off from the roll of patriots.

The next day a letter appeared in a newspaper exposing me to public ridicule. The writer declared that as a leopard cannot change his spots so the marks of service under the Government are indelible.

If as in the old times the earth were to open at my bidding I would have disappeared from the sight of men.

4

Being in a very dejected mood I left town for a few days and went to a mofussil station where there was an engineer named Haraprasad, whom I knew. He had acquired European habits but as I had known him for a long time I went and put up at his bungalow. After some conversation he asked me, 'Bholanath, what is all this that I have been reading in the papers about you? What has happened?'

'Nothing very serious. They tried to make me join the new party.'

'What made you suddenly become a patriot? You are a Government man, you have been made a Rai Bahadur, what is the meaning of this lapse?'

'Every nation in the world is free, why should we be perpetually deprived of freedom?'

'Where did you get this notion? Did you think of freedom as long as you were in service?'

'Is that any reason why I should not think of my country?'

'Let others think about it, what have you or I to do with it?'

While we were talking Mr. Chaudhuri came in. He was a Deputy Magistrate. Haraprasad introduced me to him. Mr. Chaudhuri shook me vigorously by the hand and loudly said, 'O ho ! we have heard a great deal about you. You are one of the new leaders.'

'That's all bosh. Far from being a leader I have been turned out of the party almost before I had joined it.'

'Bravo ! That's right. It is best for you to stick to your own old party.'

I kept back one or two little facts. I made no mention of my visit to the Private Secretary and of the return of the *sanad* of my Rai Bahadurship.

In the evening Haraprasad took me to his club. Some of the members were playing bridge. They chaffed me for some time but all the members were eventually satisfied that the reports about me were exaggerated and I was not an enemy of the Government.

After a couple of days Haraprasad told me that he had invited the Mullicks to dinner that evening.

'Who are the Mullicks ?' I asked.

'He is a barrister. He is well off and is doing well in the profession. He has an English wife and both of them will come to dinner.'

'Did Mullick marry in England ?'

'Well, no. She was a governess in an English family in this country and Mullick has married her lately. You will have to put on a coat and a pair of trousers this evening.'

'Why, what's wrong with the *dhoti* ?'

'You see, Mrs. Mullick is after all an English woman. It doesn't look nice to sit at table with her in a *dhoti*.'

I became very indignant and said, 'Our fathers and grandfathers always wore the *dhoti*, and now it is to be looked upon as an indecent article of dress because you are having an Englishwoman as a guest. She is only a governess but if it were the Governor with his wife I would refuse to wear anything but my *dhoti* in any house in which I may happen to be staying.'

Haraprasad was in a quandary. He said, 'You are hopelessly old-fashioned. If you don't take off your *dhoti* how can you sit at table with them ?'

'I don't care to sit with them at table nor do I care to meet your governess. I will have dinner in another room and I don't want your English dinner. I will take the food cooked by the Brahmin.'

I did not have an English dinner that night nor did I meet the Mullicks. The next day I returned home.

I never tried again to play the role of a patriot.

Rabindranath Tagore's Address to the Sikh Community in Canada *

I want to tell you what a very deep pleasure it has given me to meet you, my fellow-countrymen, who represent the Khalsa Diwan Society (The Sikh Community), both of Victoria and Vancouver, and indeed of the whole of British Columbia.

My sorrow was very great indeed when I became so unwell after my lecture on

Saturday night, that it was quite impossible for me to fulfil my engagement and come over to Victoria in order to be present at your annual festival on the Birthday of Guru Govind and on Baisakhi Day. You will know how eager I was not to disappoint you. But God's Providence ordered it otherwise and it was not in my power to make the journey to and fro without a serious breakdown in health which I was unable to risk at

* Reported roughly from memory by C. F. Andrews

so critical a moment in my travels. I assure you that it was only at the very last minute, and under strict necessity, that I refrained from going to Victoria ; and I thank you for understanding that necessity, and for sympathizing with me in my infirmity which makes all this travelling so difficult. I know how great the disappointment must have been to you and especially to the women and children. It is very good of you to show your affection to me in this loving manner and I can assure you with all my heart that it is fully returned by me to you all.

Ever since I was a young boy, I have had the greatest admiration for the Sikh community and the Sikh religion of which Guru Nanak was the founder. My father took me to Amritsar when I was quite a young child and we stayed there for some considerable time joining daily in your worship. He used to go early every morning to the Golden Temple and I used to go with him. He would sit for a long time listening to the reading of the sacred scriptures and the singing of the sacred hymns. It was a wonderful experience for me and though I was too young to understand, nevertheless, I could feel a deep emotional religious spirit and enter instinctively into the experience of those who were present. Then at evening time, again, each day, my father would take me to the Golden Temple. Thus I got to know and love the Sikhs even from a child, and the pure worship of the Sikhs with their beautiful music impressed my youthful mind.

Also, I used to listen with awe and wonder to the stories of heroism which I heard recited. I heard how the Sikh Gurus and their followers gave up their lives when their religion was persecuted and this won my heart. The stories of their great sacrifice without offering in return any violence, completely captured my young childish imagination and I would listen for hours to the beautiful story. Then my father took me to the Himalayas beyond Simla, hoping there to find a retreat where he could pass his days in solitude and prayer, but he could not find it, so he took me back to Bengal.

Nevertheless, even when I went back to Bengal, the memory of these weeks in the Punjab among the Sikh community, while my father worshipped every morning and evening with them, still remained fresh and

vivid to my mind, and when I became a poet I wrote different poems and songs about the heroism of the Sikhs.

It is a great joy to me to find that here in this distant land you still keep up your own religious faith and do not neglect your Sikh religion. That is the right thing to do, if you want to remain in this distant country with moral character and good social and family traditions such as those which still remain in India itself.

I am so glad to find that this Khalsa Diwan Society is the centre of your own life in British Columbia. That is quite right and proper and good. For without that binding link you are bound to fall to pieces. But if you keep this binding force of your own pure religious faith intact, then you will preserve your character also and your family life will be good and pure. You must cling together and help one another. Do not let any member of your community come to grief and ruin through your neglect.

Secondly, you must remember that you are guests in a new country and you have to observe the first law of hospitality, which is to accommodate yourselves as far as possible and pay every consideration to the manners and customs of this new country where your own children are being born and where you yourselves have elected to live. This is a necessity in every country where people emigrate if goodwill and friendly feeling are to be observed. This does not mean that you are to alter all your own good customs and manners of living, but rather that you are to seek at every point to find a common meeting place where your own life and the Canadian life coincide. To put what I wish to say in two words, you should do your very best to prove yourselves 'Good Canadians'.

If you do this and become proud of the ideals for which Canada stands you may be quite certain that in no distant period you will gain your citizenship. But if you dislike Canada and always speak ill of Canada, then you will be disliked in turn and you will not gain your full citizenship. Therefore, as one who has a deep affection for you I would urge you to follow your Gurus who lived a pure life according to the spirit. Guru Nanak sought to identify himself with everything that was good in Islam. He tried to unite the ideals of the two religions. So it is necessary for you

to learn how to unite the two ideals of Canada and India, and I am sure you will do it.

You must keep the spirit of your religion and not merely the letter of it. It is the moral value of your religious faith that is unchanging. Its outward observances may be modified in order to meet the new conditions of Canadian life, but on the other hand, there should be no change in the great moral injunctions which Guru Nanak and all the Sikh Gurus gave you. If you can thus fulfil the spirit of your religion you will be able to unite India and Canada together in your own lives and in the lives of your children. The best Canadians will understand you and will also respect your religion and thus there will be a growth in international friendship and goodwill.

I thank you with all my heart for the affection you have shown me and the love you have given me.

[Address presented to the poet Rabindranath Tagore by the Sikhs in Canada.]

April 15, 1929

Reverend Gurudev Ji :

We the representatives of the Khalsa Diwan Society have been asked to present to you on behalf of the Sikh community this slight token of our gratitude to you for the wonderful affection you have shown us by crossing the Pacific Ocean, enduring the storms at your very advanced age and in your enfeebled state of health in order to bring a message to Canada from our motherland and also to help us who are residents here and give us your encouragement and spiritual advice. We deeply regret that your ill health prevented you from being present in person at our festival at Victoria but we understand how difficult it has become for you to make incessant journeys in a kind of weather and we would spare you as much as we can.

We thank you for sending over to us your representative Dinabandhu Andrews who has conveyed your kindly message to us. We assure you that we shall take to heart the words of advice which he has brought us from you and that we shall do our utmost to prove ourselves worthy citizens of this land of Canada where we live, as well as India, the motherland from whence we have come. We would ask you to put our humble gift to any purpose in your own work in India which you yourself may choose.

We remain,
Your devoted admirers]

Educational Opportunities For Indians in German Universities

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

IT is a well-known fact that Germany's contribution to the fund of world-culture is immense. It may be claimed that modern Germany has done more for the cultural progress of the world than any other country. The Germanic people have themselves done marvellous things in fine arts, music, pure and applied science, literature, history, politics, economics, philosophy, medicine and other fields of human endeavour. German thought, German educational methods and institutions have influenced other nations, which have also contributed considerably towards modern civilization.

Dr. Schurmann, the present American Ambassador to Germany and formerly President of Cornell University, in a recent speech delivered before the students of Berlin

University, made it clear that, although at the present time great American universities can hold their own in Law, Medicine, Science and Engineering, yet it must not be forgotten that the very idea of the modern university with post-graduate studies and research facilities as exists in America to-day is derived from German cultural influence in America. According to President Thwing of Western Reserve University, the author of the interesting book *The American and German University ; One Hundred Years of History*, more than ten thousand American scholars carried on their higher studies (specialization) in German universities; and they in turn have done considerably to mould the academic life of America.

No less an authority than the late Lord



The University of Munich

Haldane, before the World War and after, preached the doctrine of thorough education of British youth on the German plan. Indeed, the modern British universities and technical institutions are adaptations of American and German universities, based upon British traditions.

Japan has made it a practice to acquire all that is best in the world. Japanese medical, military and technical education methods are largely borrowed from Germany, although much influenced by the American university system which is in turn a German product. If one compares the Technische Hochschule at Charlottenburg with the Higher Technical School at Tokyo, then one realizes the extent of German influence on Japanese technical education.

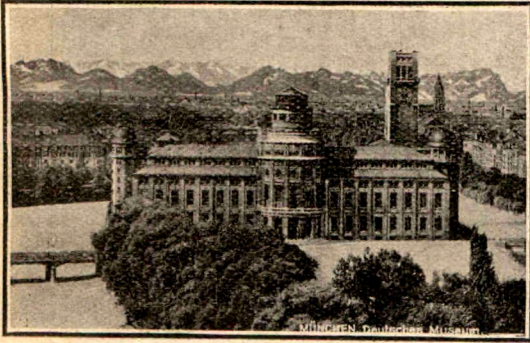
When one realizes the fact that Germany has influenced the United States of America, Great Britain and Japan as well as other countries culturally, then it becomes clear that the German claims for their culture (Kultur) are not unfounded. Germany's enemies, during the World War, to carry on anti-German propaganda, derided the Germans and debased themselves by spreading false stories regarding the German people. But the fact remains beyond dispute, so far as

an impartial observer is concerned, that the German people are the best educated and most civilized and highly cultured people of the world. The post-war achievements of the German people, struggling under all kinds of difficulties, imposed upon them, prove the above statement.

Just after the World War, Germany suffered terribly in all walks of life; but she attained her "Educational Recovery" much quicker than her economic or political ascendancy. In 1927 in an article on "Educational Recovery of Germany," published in the *Calcutta Review*, I discussed this phase of re-assertion of the German people. However, I wish to mention that foreign students, especially from the United States, Great Britain, Japan, China, South American Republics, have again begun to come to German universities in large numbers; and it is India alone which is lagging behind in the work of sending her best and representative scholars to German universities.

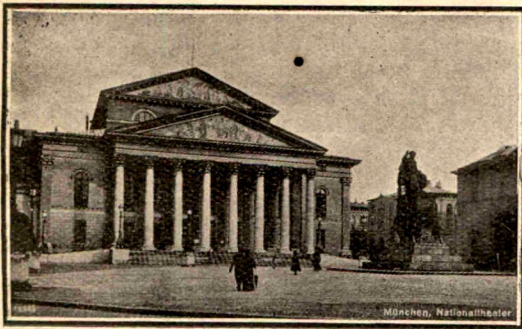
At the outset it may be mentioned that there are two definite reasons for Indian students not coming to Germany in large numbers; and they are (1) the language difficulty and secondly (2) concealed opposition of the British Government to Indian

scholars studying in German universities. The British Government is far too clever to oppose openly Indian students going to Germany ; but it is a fact that a Ph. D. from a German or an American University does not receive the same recognition from the Government of India as an Indian



Deutsches Museum, Munich

graduate from a British University. The first difficulty—ignorance of the German language among Indian university students—is due to a defect of the Indian educational system. This can be remedied by adopting such measures that there may be adequate facilities and inducements for studying German as a second language in Indian higher educational institutions. The second difficulty can be overcome by the spirit of self-help among



The Opera House of Munich

Indians. Those Indians who are not anxious to be dependent upon government positions, but wish to achieve recognition, through their work and achievement, will ignore the discriminatory attitude of the Government of India and come to German and other foreign



The Technical College, Munich

universities to acquire the best education possible.

The educational standard of German universities is higher than that of America. In fact, a graduate of a German gymnasium (higher school) can be favourably compared with an American student who has studied



The State Library of Munich

for two years in an American University. Thus it is safe to say that no Indian student who has not creditably passed the Intermediate Examination of an Indian university will be able to follow his studies in German universities. To secure a regular degree of Ph. D. a student must matriculate and fulfil certain requirements. These requirements vary according to the standing of students. An American university graduate is unconditionally allowed to attend a German university for a higher degree ; and it seems a graduate from Indian universities will not have any special difficulty in securing regular standing in German universities. It is my opinion that until the standard of

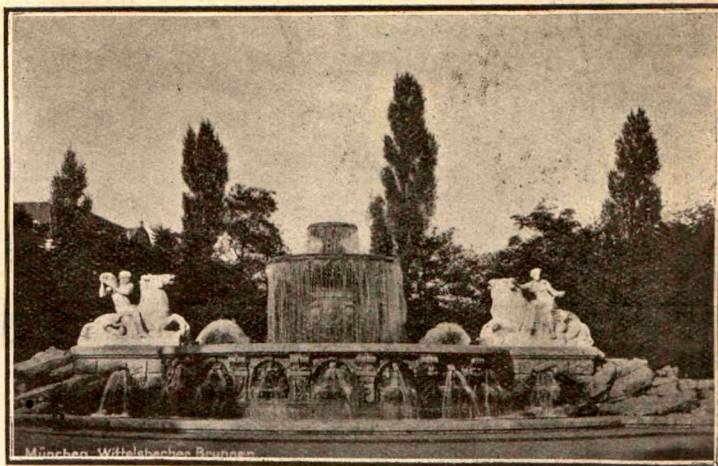
Indian Secondary education is raised it would be wiser and more profitable for Indian students to come to Germany after their graduation from an Indian university and they should secure some knowledge of the German language before leaving India. Although in most of the German universities there are facilities for foreigners to learn German, it is needless to say that no foreigner can master the German language within two or three months.

Full details regarding German university education is given in "The Hochschulführer" (the Guide to Higher Educational Institutions in Germany) published by the head office of *Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle* at Dresden A. 24. Kaitzerstrasse 2. The following information may be useful to Indian students :

"There are the following kinds of separate institutions of higher learning in Germany : Universities, Technical Colleges, Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges, Schools of Forestry, Schools of Mining and of Commerce The Universities generally have four Faculties : Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy. The philosophical Faculty embraces Philosophy proper, Philology, History, and, as a rule, Mathematics and Science. Some of the Universities have a special Faculty of Science. Political Science can be studied either in the Department of Law or Philosophy. Munich has a special faculty of Political Economy while Frankfurt and Cologne have faculties of Economics and Sociology. Veterinary faculties are included in the universities of Giessen, Leipzig and Munich.

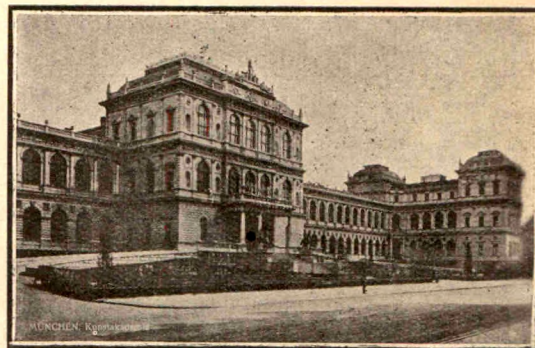
"In the Institutes of Technology there are departments of Architecture and of Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy and General Science. The Technical Colleges of Aachen and Berlin have, in addition, departments of Mining. Normally the Department of General Science includes the study of Economics. Darmstadt and Dresden maintain departments of Mathematics and Science, Braunschweig a Department of Pharmacy.....

"The study of agriculture can be pursued not only at the College of Agriculture, but also at the Technical College at Munich and at several of the Universities of Breslau, Giessen, Göttingen, Halle, Hamburg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg and Leipzig. Veterinary Science can be studied at the Veterinary Colleges and at the Universities of Giessen, Leipzig and Munich ; Forestry at the special schools and at the universities of Freiburg, Giessen and Munich ; Commerce at the colleges of commerce and at the Universities of Frankfurt and Cologne and Technical College of Munich.



The Beautiful Fountain at Lembach Platz, Munich

"The academic year consists of two semesters. Adjustment of the curriculum is simple, though at the Technical colleges it is generally advantageous to choose the winter semester for the commencement of study. The summer semester extends ordinarily from the middle of April to the middle of August, the winter semester from the middle of October to mid-March...."

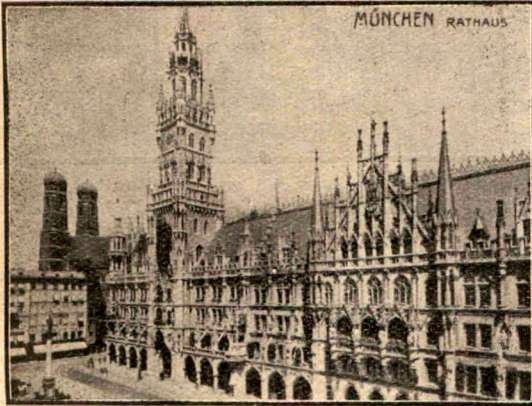


The Art Academy of Munich

Although Germany has a population less than one-fifth of that of India, she has a large number of first class universities and colleges. The list of German universities, with the date of their establishment is as follows : 1. Berlin (1809), 2. Bonn (1818), 3. Breslau (1702), 4. Erlangen (1743), 5. Frankfurt a M (1914), 6. Freiburg i Br (1457), 7. Giessen (1607), 8. Göttingen (1737), 9. Griefswald (1456), 10. Halle (1694), 11. Hamburg (1916), 12. Heidelberg (1386), 13. Jena (1558), 14. Kiel (1665), 15. Cologne (1916), 16. Königsberg i Pr (1544),

17. Leipzig (1409), 18. Marburg (1527), 19. München (Munich) (1472), 20. Münster (1780), 21. Rostock (1419), 22. Tübingen (1477), 23. Würzburg (1582).

There are Technical colleges at 1. Aachen, 2. Berlin, 3. Breslau, 4. Braunschweig, 5. Darmstadt, 6. Dresden, 7. Hanover, 8. Karlsruhe, 9. Munich, 10. Stuttgart. Special Agricultural colleges are situated at 1. Berlin, 2. Bonn-Poppelsdorf, 3. Hohenheim (near



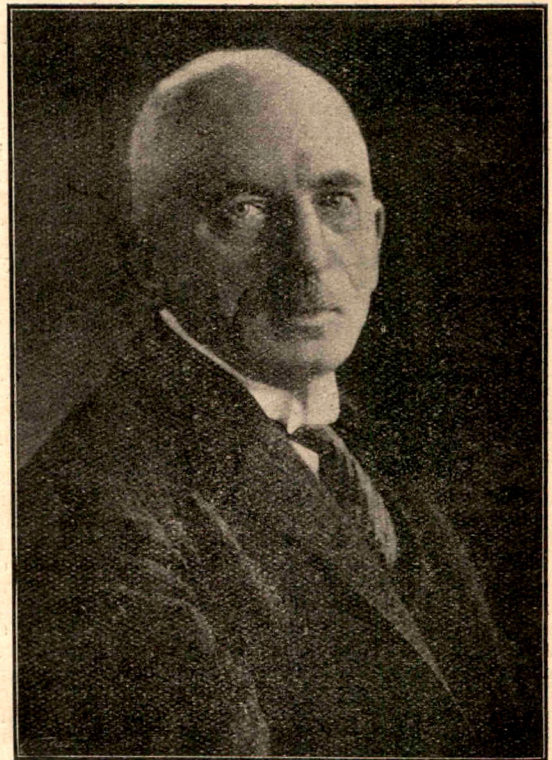
The City Hall, Munich

Stuttgart) Weihenstephan (near Munich). In Berlin and Hanover there are special Veterinary colleges. Schools of Forestry are situated in 1. Eberswalde (near Berlin), 2. Hanoversch-Münden (near Cassel), 3. Tharandt (near Dresden). Schools of Mining are at 1. Clausthal (Harz), 2. Freiberg (near Dresden). There are colleges of Commerce in 1. Berlin, 2. Königsberg i Pr., 3. Leipzig, 4. Mannheim and 5. Nürnberg.

Since the conclusion of the World War, the German people have redoubled their efforts in spite of the most difficult situation to recover their position of a great nation in the field of world-culture, and thus they are anxious to welcome foreign scholars in their midst. I may say with confidence that nowhere in the world can an Indian student find a warmer welcome than in a German academic circle and institution of higher education. To help the foreign students in German universities and colleges there are academic agencies, in all important German educational centres, which render all forms of assistance. From my personal acquaintance with the authorities of the *Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle of Munich* especially *Dr. Fritz Beck and Miss Helene Eichner and*

their work, I may say that prospective Indian scholars to German universities and colleges can secure all the necessary information from any of the agencies mentioned below. I am herewith giving the addresses of the information bureaus for foreign students connected with various German universities and Technical institutions :

1. Akademische Auskunftsamt, Berlin C 2, Universität.
2. Akademische Auslandsstelle Lennestrasse 26 Bonn, Germany.
3. Akademische Auslandsstelle, 2 Kurfürstenallee Bau 15 Charlottenburg, Germany.
4. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Bismarkplatz 18, Dresden A. 24.
5. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Mertonstrasse 17, Frankfurt Main.
6. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Neue Rabenstrasse 13, Hamburg 36.
7. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Marstallhof 5, Heidelberg.
8. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Universitätsamt, Jena.



Prof. Dr. Oswald Bunke
Rector of the University of Munich

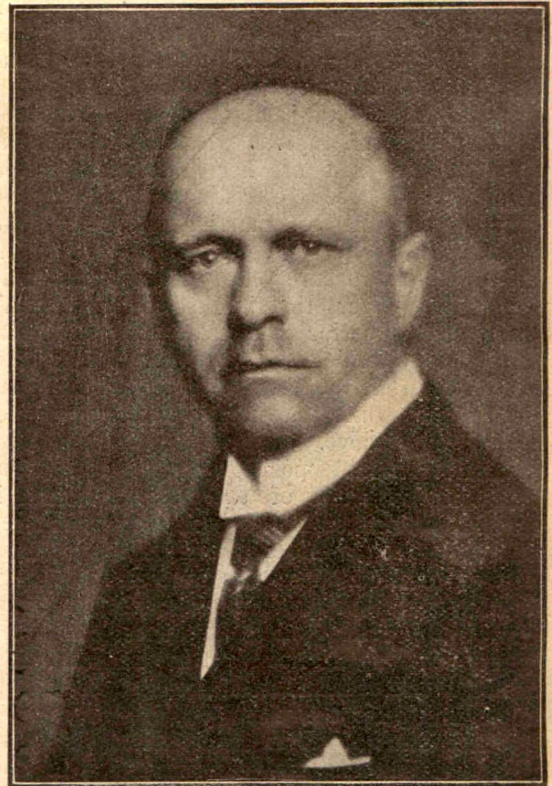
9. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Fassanenschloss-le, Karlsruhe.
10. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Claudiusstrasse, Cologne Rhein.

11. Akademische Auslandsstelle. Technische Hochschule Darmstadt.
12. Akademische Auslandsstelle. Fliess-Strasse, Königsberg Pr.
13. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Ritterstrasse 14, Leipzig c 1.
14. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Reitgasse 11, Marburg Lahn.
15. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Luisenstrasse 67, München (Munich).
16. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Residenz, (rechter Flügel) Würzburg.
17. Akademische Auslandsstelle, Hafengasse 6, Tübingen.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasise the point that Munich affords excellent educational facilities for serious students. Over and above the University, Technical College, Medical College and other institutions, Munich has the unique facility for scientific research in the world, the famous Deutsches Museum. Munich Botanical garden is possibly the best scientifically arranged garden of its kind and affords special facilities for research. The Deutsche Akademie in co-operation with the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle of Munich, in order to promote cultural co-operation between India and Germany, has offered three modest scholarships.

If the Indians who have studied in German universities and are now engaged in responsible educational and business work, organize themselves and establish an Indo-German Institute, in connection with an educational centre (such as Calcutta University) and do their share in a practical way to promote Indo-German cultural relations, by sending the most distinguished scholars for special research work to German universities, then there is every reason to think that the German nation will try to reciprocate this friendly attitude by taking such steps as sending exchange Professors to Indian universities and inviting Indian

cate this friendly attitude by taking such steps as sending exchange Professors to Indian universities and inviting Indian



Prof. Dr. Kaspar Dantscher
Rector, The Technical College, Munich

Professors to German universities. Those Indians who have received their education in Germany, have a spiritual obligation to promote cultural relations between India and Germany.

Reform of Hindu Marriage Law

By JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA

IT is fully established by competent Indian and European authorities * that in Vedic times the woman was an equal of man in all matters. She chose her husband after

she had attained the age of discretion and understood her interests. In the choice of a mate she appears as free as the other sex. The Vedas presuppose some love-making on the part of boys and girls before marriage. "In certain respects the woman of Vedic India was freer than the European woman even of to-day. In the real Hindu India of

* See *Unhappy India* by Lajpat Rai, chapter XII—"Woman In India—A Retrospect" and the authorities cited therein.

history, woman of any period enjoyed a better position in society than her European sister at any time before mid-Victorian era." Thus from the very earliest times the Hindu wife held property—dowry, presents and antenuptial property—in her own exclusive name and had absolute control and disposing power over it. Even to this day in some respects, at least in form, Indian woman's position is superior to that of her European sister. Thus unlike the Christian ceremony of marriage, the Hindu marriage rites do not require the wife to pledge obedience to the husband. There are clear injunctions of all Hindu Law-givers that in the home woman's position is superior to that of man and that only those families will prosper where they are honoured, adored, worshipped and are kept happy while that family quickly perishes where they grieve.

The present position of women as compared with that of the western women is as bad as that of Indian men as compared with Western men. But undoubtedly from about 500 B. C. there has been slow change in the status of women *vis a vis* the man. From that time onwards there has been perceptible a narrowness as regards the freedom and restriction as regards the rights of women *quae* the man.

Competent historians and ethnologists give many reasons for this backward tide in the woman's status. They are mostly ascribed to the Muhammadan invasions, the unsettled condition and subjection of the country from that time onwards. The Muhammadan invaders used to carry away unmarried girls but their religion prohibited captivating married women whatever their age. On account of continuous wars and economic dislocation the woman became more and more dependent on man and his position *quae* the woman improved.

With the end of wars, the restoration of peace (whatever it may be worth) and the general sprinkling of education there is a strong movement initiated by Hindu reformers to restore to the women the position which is her due. True this reforming movement is greatly retarded by Government and conservative opposition, mass illiteracy, economic and political degeneracy, but in spite of all these handicaps the movement is gaining strength every day. The formation of strong public opinion and spasmodic legislative measures have considerably raised the position of women, but much still remains to be done.

The Hindu Law has never been a static Code, it has always been dynamic, adapting itself to changing circumstances. It is meet and proper that it adapt itself to the present circumstances. It is from this point of view that I venture to suggest the following proposals for the reform of the marriage laws.

MARRIAGE BY VOLITION OF THE BRIDE

Under the Christian marriage rules, the bride is given away in marriage. At the present day this is a mere formality, the parents having nothing or very little to do with the actual choice of a husband; the marriage being purely the free volition of the bride. The mere idea and the mere form, however, conveys the idea of something inferior, something akin to a chattel, which is given away by someone who has, may be in pure fiction or mere form, the dominance over the thing given. The idea and the form itself is repugnant to the idea of two persons joining freely and of their own act in wedlock.

According to the Anglo-Hindu Law, as at present administered, marriage is brought about by their parents and the children themselves exercise no volition.

According to a decided case * betrothal and marriage is a contract made by the parents and the children exercise no volition, and there is no implied condition that the fulfilment of the contract must depend upon the willingness of the girl at the time of marriage. If the father has once betrothed his daughter in her infancy the prospective bridegroom can force the father either to marry the girl to him within a certain time, even if the girl be unwilling or wants a mere postponement of marriage by two years in order to prosecute her studies further. If the father does not want to be so cruel as to force his daughter, he must pay damages.

In ancient India, (a) some love-making on the part of boys and girls before marriage was always pre-supposed; the parties to marriage were grown up persons competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give consent and make choice; (b) the bridegroom was supposed to have a home where his wife could be mistress..... and (c) the object of marriage was mutual happiness. . . †

* I. L. R. 21 Bombay, page 23 (at page 30).

† *Unhappy India*, chapter XII—Woman in India—A Retrospect.

The position of the wife was that of the chosen friend (*sakha*)*

I would venture to suggest the introduction of a legislative measure by which, in consonance with the true spirit of Hinduism and modern notions, marriage may be a free act of free volition of the parties and any attempt to marry the girl against her consent may be made a penal offence.

MINIMUM MARRIAGEABLE AGE

This inevitably leads us to the very important question of fixing by legislation a minimum marriageable age. Fortunately, this question has been before the public for a very long time and has been discussed in most of its aspects and I need say no more about it in this article.

GIVING AWAY IN MARRIAGE

Even if the rule of giving away in marriage is retained, the order of relations, entitled to give away, should be changed. Under the present law, the following persons are qualified, in the order mentioned below, to give the girl in marriage :

(i) the father ; (ii) the paternal grandfather ; (iii) the brother ; (iv) other paternal relations of the girl in order of propinquity ; (v) the mother ; (The Bengal School places the maternal grandfather and maternal uncle before the mother.)

Fortunately, the Madras and the Punjab High Courts recognize the right of the mother to *select*, as distinguished from *give away*, the bridegroom in preference to the other relations.

But it is desirable that the law should be made clear and the same for *selection* and *giving away*, particularly as the difference sometimes leads to a deadlock. It is very necessary that the position of the mother and other female relations should be improved.

I would suggest the following order :

(i) father ; (ii) mother ; (iii) brother ; (iv) sister ; (v) other paternal and maternal (a) male, (b) female relations in order of propinquity.

MONOGAMOUS MARRIAGES

Usually Hindus have one wife, but the Hindu Law permits a man to marry any number of wives. It is high time that we make the general practice the rule of law.

MARRIAGE CONSIDERATION

In some cases the bridegroom's parents consent to the marriage only when a certain dowry is fixed beforehand as payable by the bride's parents. In some other cases the reverse is the case and the bride's father agree to give her in marriage only if the bridegroom or his parents agree beforehand to pay him a certain definite sum as consideration. Both these practices are against the true conception of a Hindu marriage, which was regarded as a sacrament, and should be put a stop to by legislative enactment. Such consideration puts undue influence on the question of proper selection and is highly prejudicial to the proper selection of parties to marriage.

SAME CASTE

Under the Hindu Law the parties to a marriage must both belong to the same caste, otherwise the marriage is invalid.

"Considered historically, the present caste system is a remnant of medieval times. In ancient India caste was by no means so rigid or exclusive. In Buddhistic and post-Buddhist periods the castes and sub-castes multiplied and gradually became more rigid. Originally there were only four castes. Then developed a large number of occupational castes corresponding to the medieval trade guilds." *

Caste had one great advantage in its favour in its early stages. It led to specialization in definite lines both by reason of heredity and vocational training. That aspect of the caste system has, for a pretty long time, been entirely neglected and perhaps it is not very desirable from the heredity point of view after a certain stage. Now the caste system is observed only in the matter of marriage and inter-dining. Whatever may have been the reasons for and the stages and processes by which the caste system as it exists to-day was established, it is certain that to-day it is beyond doubt an anachronism.

From the point of view of marriage it is open to two serious objections. The first is that it unnecessarily restricts the choice of a mate. It is the tyranny of caste which is responsible for so many wholly unsuitable marriages. Secondly, from the point of view of heredity, after a certain stage, close

* *Rig Veda*, Max-Muller's translation, Vol. 5, page 546.

* *Unhappy India*, Chapter VIII—"The Hindu Caste System."

inbreeding is prejudicial to the growth and improvement of the race.

In ancient India, we hear occasionally of inter-caste marriages, which show that as far as marriages were concerned, the caste system was not very strictly enforced.

Whatever may have been the justification in ancient times and whatever the extent to which it was followed, there is none at the present time and it is high time that inter-caste marriages became popular and fashionable.

SAME GOTRA

Under the Hindu Law two persons cannot marry each other if they are of the same gotra or pravara, i. e., if both of them are descended in the male line from the *Rishi* or sage after whose name the gotra is called, however distant either of them may be from the common ancestor. This was an eminently desirable rule in the early stages of the origin of the caste system, as marriages between near descendants of the same common ancestor are most undesirable. But this rule loses its importance with every succeeding generation. Now that there have been several generations from the original sage, there is no blood relationship whatsoever between persons of the same gotra from any practical point of view, and this rule is of no utility from any point. It unduly restricts the field of choice even within the limited ambit of the caste and community. The already existing rule that one should not marry within the prohibited degree, viz., the seventh or fifth generation from the father

and mother is a sufficient safeguard against marriages between near blood relations.

DIVORCE

Hindu Law does not permit divorce. Once married always married is the principle. But according to ancient custom which always overrides the general Hindu Law, prevailing in several castes and localities, divorce and re-marriage is permissible and is resorted to under circumstances which are not very different from the law of divorce applicable to England. Narada, an ancient sage and much respected writer on Hindu Law, allows the wife to remarry in the lifetime of the husband under certain conditions. Says he :

"When her husband is lost or dead, when he has become a religious ascetic, when he is impotent and when he has been expelled from caste—these are the five cases of legal necessity in which a woman may be justified in taking another husband."

Apart from the general texts and strict Hindu Law, I feel that the time has come when some provision should be made for dissolution of marriage when the marriage tie is broken to all practical intents and purposes, and the continuance in marriage means only uncalled for and unnecessary hardship or cruelty on the part of the State. It is no good keeping the form when the spirit is gone. Nobody will ever think of keeping the body when the soul has departed.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(25)

MOKSHADA Devi's worldly possessions did not amount to much. But on the morning of her departure, she became so frightfully busy over her luggage, that people could have easily mistaken her for a *Panda*, with hundreds of pilgrims in tow. Mukti was highly amused at her behaviour. The train was at four o'clock, but look at the old lady ! At three, the car was at the door and

the old lady's luggage, consisting of a tin trunk and a roll of bedding, was put on top of it. The servants could now breathe. But as Mukti came down, fully dressed, to accompany her grand-mother to the station, she gasped at the sight, the car presented.

"Why grandma !" she exclaimed "why have you put the luggage on top of the car ? Here Ram, go and fetch a hackney carriage and put those things in that."

Mokshada rushed out in her silk wrapper

and cried, "No, no, let them remain. I want my things with me. I cannot trust any rascally gharriwallah with them. He might drive off with the whole lot."

Mukti got into a temper. "But grandma," she said, "we always send our luggage to the station, in gharris, we never had anything stolen. Anyway, I am not going to have that trunk and bedding on top of the car."

"Very well," said Mokshada, "put them inside. You never had anything stolen, had you? Much you know about that! Do you remember about the new basket, we lost, that time, on our way to Darjeeling?"

Shiveswar came out at this juncture and the discussion was adjourned. The car started for the station. All through the drive, the old lady kept on enquiring anxiously about the safety of her trunk and bedding, and scolded Mukti for her carelessness about small things.

Shiveswar's clerk was going to escort the old lady to her village home. The man went and got the tickets. Shiveswar entered the platform with his mother and daughter. The train was already in and a porter showed them the way to the Intermediate Class Women's Compartment. Fortunately, it was not much crowded, only a few passengers had got in. An old woman of dignified appearance was seated by the window and a veiled girl was crouching by her side. She was peeping through a small opening in her veil, at the crowd on the platform. A small child, dressed only in a woolen cap and a pair of shoes, was howling out his misery to an unappreciative world. The other benches, too, were partially occupied.

As Shiveswar approached the compartment, to put his mother in, a gentleman rushed out hastily from the adjoining gents' compartment and took his stand by the veiled girl. "Turn away your face," he said, in a sort of fierce stage whisper, "what are you staring at? Have you no sense of shame?"

Mukti could hardly repress a smile at this burst of orthodoxy. The gentleman had a good look at Mukti, then went in and resumed his seat.

Mokshada had been busy, meanwhile, getting and counting her things and arranging them to her satisfaction. Then she sat down by the dignified and partly old lady and cast a leisurely look around.

The old lady condescended to open her

lips. "Where are you coming from?" she asked Mokshada.

"I am coming from Bhowanipore," said Mokshada. "My son lives there."

"Where may you be going?" asked the lady again.

"I am going to my native village of Shibpur," said Mokshada. "It is only a few stations from here." Mokshada felt very pleased at getting such a fellow passenger. She was tired of keeping her lips shut always. Even at Bhowanipore, there was nobody, with whom she could have a nice chat.

The old lady pointed at Shiveswar and Mukti, asking, "Who are these?"

"That's my son," said Mokshada, "and the girl is my grand-daughter."

"Very nice," said the lady. The veiled girl had begun to peep out again, notwithstanding the orders of her lord and master to the contrary.

Shiveswar as well as Mukti was getting tired of the hustling crowd around and thinking of getting away. But suddenly their attention was distracted. A young man was seen rushing through the crowd, with a suit-case in hand. He came to a halt by their side, opened the door of the compartment and threw his suit-case in. It was Dhiren.

"Hallo," cried Shiveswar, "where are you rushing off to?"

Dhiren looked a bit embarrassed as he recognized their party and said, "I am going to Shibpur. My examination is over; so I thought, I would spend a few days at home. If I am successful, I shall return and join the law college. Grandma is travelling?"

"Why didn't you tell us before?" asked Mukti with a laugh. "Father would not have had to send his clerk then. You seem to have been born to help us."

Dhiren edged a bit closer to Mukti and said in a sort of whisper, "I wish I could believe you. But I never had been fortunate enough to help you."

Mukti laughed at the seriousness of his voice and said, "Oh yes, you have, numbers of times. And you are going to, numbers of times, too."

The bell rang. Dhiren bowed down to Shiveswar and ran to Mokshada's window, saying, "I shall be here grandma, and I shall come and see you at every station."

"You need not get down at every station," said Mukti, "or you will get left behind."

Now, please get in. Whatever are you doing? The train has started!"

Dhiren could not resist the temptation of showing off a bit. He went on talking to her holding on to the door of the moving train. When at last the train was about to pass out of the platform, he sprang into the compartment and began to wave to them. Shiveswar and Mukti waved back, then left the platform.

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Three days later, Mukti was again on the platform of the Howrah station. This time it was to see her father off. He was going to Delhi.

After the train had steamed off, Mukti drove to the school hostel, straight away. She had sent on her things before, and therefore had no necessity to return to the deserted and gloomy house.

Mokshada, too, reached her village home, safe and sound. It was nearly three years, since she had been there, and her relatives welcomed her with an effusion that nearly suffocated her. This village was her father's home and the next village happened to be the home of her father-in-law. So she did not lack friends and relatives. The same railway station served for both the villages, which were separated only by a wide stretch of green field. Mokshada's father's village was called Shibpur, while that of her father-in-law was known as Uparpara. Country people are not fond of marrying their children to their neighbours generally, because both families know too much about each other. But as Mokshada was reckoned a great beauty in her days, this objection was passed over and she was betrothed at the early age of four.

The old village temple and the tank adjoining stood on the boundary line of the two villages. There were other tanks in the village, but none so beautiful. There were big gardens too, now run to jungle. A real jungle too, with towering *shal* trees, could be seen at a distance, while a chain of blue hills showed faintly on the horizon, far far away. A mile or so, to the right of Shibpur, ran a silver stream of water, with wide stretches of sand on both sides. It was named Rupeshwari, called Rupai, in short. The village people took their drinking water from this stream. The village maidens came every evening, with their brass pitchers, and carried away the water. Their anklets

tinkled, the water within the pitchers splashed and the sound of their sweet voices talking, filled the evening with music. The cowherds returned home through the fields, with their cattle and the village children played and shouted.

The village was beautiful, like a picture. But unfortunately its inhabitants were not what one would have expected them to be. Though it was Mokshada's native home, and she had returned to it, after a long while, she did not feel unalloyed pleasure at the company of her friends and relatives.

She had put up at her father's house, as her father-in-law's house was shut up. She had thought of going there once, to pay her respects to the old dignified building and to arrange about some necessary repairs. She had arrived late at night, and so had met very few people. Dhiren saw her to her house, then went off to his own. But the news of their arrival spread with the morning and everybody rushed to give the new arrivals a fitting welcome. Amongst the ladies gathered to greet Mokshada, old women and babies vied with each other in eagerness. A few boys, too, had mixed with them to get a share of the fun. Everyone had dressed up hurriedly, as Mokshada was the mother of a very rich son, and accustomed to fine things. The results had been deplorable in most cases, of which the persons concerned, were happily in ignorance.

As the welcoming crowd broke into the house, Mokshada came out of her room to greet them.

"Why didn't you bring your grand-daughter too?" asked one of the fair crowd. "We would have liked very much to see her."

Mohini, a friend of Mokshada's girlhood days, put in, "I say, Mokshada dear, where did you give the girl in marriage? You did not condescend to remember us."

A young woman pushed her way through and asked eagerly, "The bridegroom is very good looking, is not he?"

The first old lady asked again, "How many children has your grand-daughter got?"

They never waited for any answer, being content with the sound of their own voices. Mohini asked again, "Is not Shiveswar ever going to take another wife?"

Mokshada found herself in a maze, she did not know how to get out of it. Somehow she managed to make herself heard.

"No, he has not married yet," she said, "nor is likely to do so ever."

"How strange!" exclaimed the ladies in a chorus.

The young girl who had already spoken once seemed very much interested in Mukti. Seeing that the conversation was drifting away from Mukti to Shiveswar, she incited another girl by her side to attack Mokshada. The second girl pushed forward and asked, "I say, Granny, where does Mukti's husband live?"

Mokshada, driven to bay, had to answer at last, "Don't talk of her husband," she said, "the girl has got nothing of that kind."

Two of the ladies struck their foreheads simultaneously and exclaimed dismally, "Dear me! So sad! What an unfortunate woman you are! First your daughter-in-law dies, then this small slip of a girl becomes a widow!"

"Good Heavens!" cried Mokshada in horror, "What nonsense are you talking? My grand-daughter is quite young and has not been given in marriage yet."

"My goodness!" cried the old ladies in unison, "if this does not beat all. Not married yet? Why, she is almost an old woman? You townspeople are really amazing! See that you don't have to repent."

Mokshada grew furious at the ugly insinuation and cried out angrily, "Please control your tongues a bit. You need not bother so much about my grand-daughter. It is our concern, we shall manage it, as we think best."

The young ladies of the party came to the rescue. They wanted to hear more about Mukti, and here were the old women beginning a frightful quarrel. "I say Granny," put in one of them, "your Mukti is very accomplished, is not she? She knows how to read and write, knitting and crochet work too, I suppose?"

Mokshada was a bit mollified. "My Mukti is highly educated," she said proudly. Even if you sweep the whole village, you won't find a boy, fit to hold a candle to her. She does not bother about knitting and such like trash. She sings beautifully, plays like an expert, paints and draws like an artist. She can embroider with silk as well as with gold threads. She knows a thousand other things, of which I don't know the name even."

"How wonderful!" cried the girls. "What a jewel of a girl! In what school does she read?"

A child suddenly began to howl. He was hungry and quite unable to enjoy the interesting conversation. His mother was listening spellbound to the list of accomplishments possessed by this town girl. She grew furious at the stupidity of the child, and slapped his face soundly. The other ladies snatched away the child from the irate mother and soothed him somehow.

"Please Granny," cried a girl, "bring your Mukti here, once. We want to see her, and hear her sing."

"Bring her here!" said Mokshada, "no indeed. You will tease her to death."

"No, no," cried the girls, "we won't tease her at all."

A girl, named Toru, was the reputed blue-stocking of the village. She pushed forward and asked with an wise air, "In which class is Mukti?"

"Class?" asked Mokshada in a tone of superiority. "Why she is going to appear for the B. A. Examination, next year."

Toru's husband too was about to appear for the B. A. Examination. He was about twenty-six years of age. So Toru could not resist saying, "Oh, then she is quite old! What is her age?"

"She is not at all old," said Mokshada. "She is just past fifteen."

Toru laughed a laugh of unbelief and said, "Fifteen indeed! Granny thinks we know nothing. She must be twenty-five, if she is a day."

One of Mokshada's nieces by marriage was present. She had a daughter, who happened to have been born on the same day with Mukti. Seeing that Mokshada was rather in a fix, she came to her rescue. "You seem very wise, my dear child," she said to Toru. "But as it happens, Mukti was born on the very day, my Feli was born. Then if Feli is just sixteen, how can Mukti be twenty-five? There must be some rhyme and reason in words. My Feli became a mother early, but we all know that she is nothing but a child herself."

Toru had to acknowledge defeat, but she did it rather ungraciously. "Oh, everyone is a child to one's own mother," she said, and retired.

"Even if your Mukti is sixteen," said a lady, "it is high time to get her married. Have you arranged anything about it?"

Mokshada wanted to put a stop to this unpleasant discussion. So she said, "Certainly we have. We are not sitting idle."

After some more words, pleasant and otherwise, the ladies graciously departed. Mokshada was quite fed up. She wanted to run away from these terrible people. She was feeling furious with her son too. She could not blame the women. Mukti was really past the marriageable age, and they had a right to talk.

As days went on, she grew more and more troubled in mind. Village people are not famous for good manners and they did not spare Mokshada. Speeches, open and covert, hints and insinuations began to fill the old lady's ears. She heard many things about her family, which she had never dreamt of. She felt more and more clearly that her visit here had been a terrible mistake. She was so enraged and humiliated that she did not know what to do. She wanted to drag Mukti here, by her hair, and give her in marriage to the first man she saw.

Mokshada had two brothers. The elder was dead, the younger one did not live in the village. Her cousin Shyamkishor was the head of the house. He noticed Mokshada's plight and advised her; "Mokshada, get your grand-daughter married as soon as possible. We have the family prestige to keep up."

Mokshada wanted nothing better. But how to manage it? "Until my son comes back," she said, "how can I give his daughter in marriage?"

"Does your son object to having the girl married?" Shyamkishor asked.

"No, I don't think he has any objection," said Mokshada.

Shyamkishor felt encouraged. "Then I don't see what prevents you from arranging a match," he said. "If he does not object, why does not he himself settle about it?"

Mokshada sighed deeply. "You don't know my son, cousin," she said, "He is an amazing fellow. He does not care about these things at all. But he has got the devil's own obstinacy too. Nobody can act contrary to his wishes."

Shyamkishor laughed derisively. "You are a woman, after all," he said. "Your son is stupid, nothing more or less. Since he fails in his duty, you must act for him. I shall help you. If I, Shyamkishor Bannerjee, settle anything, your son would not dare to object. Leave everything to me. By the

way, is there any person your son prefers?" Mokshada hesitated. Then, "I am not quite sure," she said. "But you know Dhiren, son of Nilambar? My son said once that such a boy was a treasure to any man."

Shyamkishor nearly jumped with excitement. "Good Lord!" he cried, "You are really good for nothing. Since he had said it in so many words, what prevented you from grabbing the boy then and there? Nilambar's son Habla, you mean? I suppose he is called Dhiren now? Your son does not lack money. Give me five thousand and I shall bring over the boy this evening dressed as a bridegroom."

Mokshada smiled a bit proudly. "I can do that too, cousin," she said. "And ever without the five thousand. The boy holds me in high esteem. If I ask him, he will marry Mukti the next moment. But as my son is absent, I did not like to arrange anything."

"What if he is?" said Shyamkishor excitedly. "He is not returning within a year, isn't that so? But you cannot wait that long. We have to think of our prestige. Since the bridegroom is ready, let's celebrate the marriage. Write a letter to Shiveswar. That chap Dhiren is a good catch. If you don't grab him in time, somebody else will."

Mokshada became nervous. "No, cousin," she said, "I cannot take so much responsibility upon myself. My son will be frightfully angry."

"Get away," cried Shyamkishor with contempt. "Afraid of your own son! What a woman you are!"

Mokshada remained silent. "All right," said Shyamkishor. "Let's think it over, for a day or two." He went away to the outer apartments.

The village people went on discussing Mukti to their heart's content. Hints and insinuations poured in in never-ending streams. Old Shyamkishor, too, came in for a good deal of attention. He was the head of the house, and any sin of omission or commission reflected discredit upon him. Whispers of social ostracism, the most dreaded punishment, social law could inflict, began to float in the air.

(To be continued)



SHANTA NASHIKKAR, B. A., is a graduate of the Bombay University. She was a child-widow and remarried last year. A popular story-writer, she has written a novel "Lagnacha Bazar" for the famous *Mahila-vijaya-Granthamala* which is conducted by Mr. Vasant Marathe, Managing Editor of the *Grihalaxmi*,—the most popular high class magazine of Bombay, to which

she is a frequent contributor and by whose courtesy the illustrations in this section are reproduced.

DR. INDUMATI SENJIT, M. B. B. S. She received this year her final degree in Medicine from the Grant Medical College of Bombay, and has now been appointed House Surgeon in the Lahore Civil Hospital.



Shanta Nashikkar, B. A.



Dr. Indumati Senjit, M. B. B. S.

To America*

By V. V. OAK

IN planning the journey to America, sufficient time should be given for at least a month's stay in Japan. The hope of India lies in many ways in imitating Japan. It is, therefore, worth while to study these industrious people. The beautiful mountain scenery, the attractive gardens, the pretty women with their Japanese dress and their cheerful smile, the busy streets, the social intermingling of the two sexes, the dignified yet courteous Japanese labourers, the *Jinrikshaws*—small carts drawn by human beings, the Buddhist temples, and above all, the general courtesy shown by the Japanese to foreigners which makes him "feel at home", all these things will help us to broaden our outlook and make us realize that the world is bigger than the length and breadth of our own country. After visiting the important cities like Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo, and some small towns and villages, one might be able to get a fair idea of the hard-working Japanese and also understand the reasons why Japan has become the only powerful nation in the East. One intending to visit Japan would do well to take a Japanese steamer because by so doing he discovers a good deal of the Japanese customs and manners. All officers and servants on the steamers are Japanese. Besides, there are many Japanese travellers. The treatment to passengers is very courteous and contagiously healthy.

If one intends to attend a University on the Pacific coast, the shortest route for him is, of course, the Pacific route *via* Japan. However, there is a great advantage in taking this route even by those who intend to study in Universities located near the Atlantic coast. Japan, the land of the rising sun, is a miniature America in many ways. As the student-traveller passes Japan and reaches Hawaii, with its American civilization, he begins to learn more of American customs and manners so that by the time he reaches the shores of the Pacific coast he is fairly

well-acquainted with the American ways of doing things. A couple of months' stay on this side of the coast is enough to Americanize him with the help of our students already staying here.

February is the best time to start. This would take one to Japan just after the severe winter weather is over. After staying for two or three months, one might reach America by June. As almost all the Universities in the U. S. A. do not begin their regular term-work before the middle of August, there is plenty of time for the novice to acclimatize himself to the new social order. He may then join the University he has selected. He can profit more by his travel through Europe on his return journey than he would if he visits it before his stay in America. This country, being a mixture of so many races, gives one a chance of meeting all types of people. This westernization will naturally enable him to become an intelligent critic of Europe and her people rather than a "gaping admirer" of the life in Paris and London.

The best way to return to India *via* Europe would be to visit England and see not only the city of London but also the condition of the masses and the people living in suburbs and villages. From thence, one might go to Paris, Berlin, Genoa, Naples, Egypt, and finally to India.

After all is said, I must say that a student in choosing the route should be aided by his own judgment, the amount of time and money he has, and his intensity of desire to learn new things.

Students contemplating going to the United States or Canada to continue their studies cannot do better than consult an American travel agency, such as the American Express Company, about all their problems. Contrary to the usual opinion, the services of such agencies cost nothing, as they are allowed commissions by the steamship line and others whom they represent. Another advantage is that as they represent all lines, they are in a position to give the best and most impartial advice.

* Practical suggestions for travellers and students intending to visit the United States or Canada.

The American Express Company* which has offices in Bombay, Calcutta, and Colombo, and other Oriental ports is particularly to be recommended, as they have made a speciality of handling travel arrangements for prospective students, and have gone to the trouble of building up in their Bombay and Calcutta offices, collections of catalogues of American colleges and universities which have been accredited by the Immigration authorities for Indian students to study at. These files are for the convenience of prospective students and may be freely consulted at any time.

Besides obtaining steamship tickets for the traveller, this tourist agency can also arrange and provide American railway tickets and make hotel reservations in the cities where it is necessary to stay over night. They will further be glad to suggest and arrange sight-seeing trips in the different ports and cities to be visited, and, where they have offices they will, if requested, arrange for their local representative to meet the traveller and relieve him of any inconveniences.

If you are seriously contemplating to go to America, inform the nearest branch office of the American Express Company accordingly and request them to send you all detailed information regarding your passage expense. You will find these people very courteous, obliging, helpful, and without any additional burden to your pocket, except the moral obligation of booking your passage through them, if you decide to take the journey.

There are only two direct steamship lines from India to the United States, and both of these go through the Suez Canal to New York. One of these is the American and Indian Line, operated by the Ellerman and Bucknall Steamship Co. Ltd., a British concern, and the other is the Dollar Line, the well-known American Company which maintains bi-weekly sailings from Colombo. The Dollar Line is particularly to be recommended not only because of the democratic spirit to be found on American boats, but because of the fact that most of its vessels are new oil burning ships, 535 ft. long, built

just after the War, and have only two classes of accommodation, "cabin" and steerage. The rates for cabin accommodation, although little more than the usual rates for second class, entitle the traveller to the best there is on the ship. Moreover, all state-rooms are outside rooms and equipped with beds instead of berths, and more than half of all state-rooms are equipped also with private baths. The steerage or third class is not only cheap but the accommodation is in American style and hence far superior to the so-called Asiatic steerage carried by many other steamship companies.

The only direct line without change from the United States to India is the same Dollar service from San Francisco. If it is not desired to use this line, and for all passages from India to the west coast of the United States, it is necessary to go by one of the local lines to Manila, or to some Chinese or Japanese port, and there trans-ship to one of the several trans-Pacific services, such as the American Oriental Mail Line (American) to Victoria or Seattle, or the Toyo Kisen Kaisha (Japanese) to San Francisco.

It is desirable to dispose of all one's Indian currency before sailing, and to obtain at least about Rs. 150, in American currency for use immediately on landing. If it is contemplated to go ashore at the different ports *en route* small amounts of the proper currencies should also be obtained in advance, but care should be taken to dispose of all local currency before leaving each port.

All other funds should be converted into some kind of protected paper. If you know exactly where you are going in the United States, it may be well to take a cheque drawn on your Indian bank's correspondent at that point. The agent of the American Express Company will help you in this. Consult him freely and if you have any cause to complain against him, write to the head office at 65, Broadway, New York City. It would be much simpler and more satisfactory to take all your money in some form of travel funds such as Travellers' Cheques. These are issued by the American Express Company and are perhaps the best known and most widely used, and can be freely availed of on board the ship and at any ports *en route*. Travellers' Cheques protect your money in case of loss or theft. On arrival in the United States they may be spent as required, and the

*Addresses of the Indian offices of the American Express Company :

Bombay : 240, Hornby Road
Calcutta : 14, Government Place East
Colombo : 1, Queen Street

remainder deposited in your new bank or used to pay university fees, etc.

Until you are permanently located you can have your mail addressed to the care of any of the offices of this company and have it forwarded to any address you want to, free of charge, except postal expenses, if any. It is suggested that the words "Patron's mail" be placed in the lower left hand corner of the envelope and that if it is thought that any more mail will arrive after departure from any city a small deposit be left to cover payment for insufficient postage and for re-forwarding and save the annoyance and delay which is likely to cause.

If, therefore, you decide to go to America *via* Japan and select a Japanese steamer for reasons mentioned above, all you have to

do is to drop a line to the American Express Company and tell them of your plans, the proposed route, and the steamship line you want to take. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha has a splendid service line running from Bombay to Japan with a sister line the Toyo Kishen Kaisha running from Japan to the United States. A poor student can book a third class passage from India to Japan by the N. Y. K. line and thus make a considerable saving in his expense. It is advisable, however, not to travel by third class or steerage, if you can possibly avoid it. For those who prefer to follow the Atlantic route, the American Express Company will help you to select the best route if you mention to them as to whether you want a direct route to New York or whether you plan visiting Europe on your way.

Co-operation for Railwaymen

By R. G. KOTIBHASKAR, B. E., A. M. I. E.

"There is no more accurate test of the progress of civilization than the progress of the Power of Co-operation."

John Stuart Mill.

IT is known to few in India what benefits the co-operative movement has rendered to co-operators in the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark and other European countries. In India the co-operative movement is very largely restricted to co-operative credit, and it has not entered, to any appreciable extent, on the other two types of co-operation, namely, co-operative production and co-operative distribution. Co-operative Credit Societies are mainly intended to provide money to the agriculturist at a low rate of interest in order that he should not, poor as he is, have to be at the mercy of the money-lender. This form of co-operation has little or no interest for the railwaymen who are servants of the railway companies, and as such have a definite income within which they have to fit their budget. Temporary difficulties do arise, but they do not raise a general problem.

In Great Britain about one-fifth of the people are represented in the membership of the co-operative movement, and they carry on by a highly developed system of representative government, a trade of more

than 120 millions sterling per year with a share capital of about thirty-five millions and with a profit over ten to twelve millions sterling a year. By the advent of co-operative stores, poverty has been driven away from hundreds of villages in the United Kingdom, and similar results characterize the co-operative movement in other European countries especially Germany and Denmark.

There are certain important principles in co-operative production and distribution which have made the movement such a phenomenal success. The co-operative organization deals in goods which are in common and steady demand in the homes of people such as the standard forms of food, clothing and household goods. There is the least degree of risk in dealing in such goods, and it is known that co-operative sales suffer less than other forms of trade, in a time of depression. Again the risk of co-operative trade is lessened by the method in which its profit is distributed. The 2½ million of shareholders in the movement in Great Britain make an annual profit of 30 per cent on the share capital, but only 5 per cent of this is paid on the basis of share capital. The rest is distributed among the shareholders according to the volume of their purchases. This gives an assured market for

the goods of the co-operative bodies. The goods supplied are just those which the shareholder requires daily, so that it pays him both as a consumer as well as a producer to attach his custom to his own society; and because each new subscriber means more custom, the capital is fully engaged.

Each individual society is free to manage its own affairs and the central wholesale stores can buy cheaply because it buys on a large scale. Thus the bargaining power of a small individual society owing to its limited needs which is bound to be small, increases when they can join hands with other societies and purchase through a wholesale co-operative store. Over 1,600 such societies exist in Great Britain.

With an assured custom of 10 million people there is no wonder that co-operative production of the various necessities of life, such as the manufacture of bread, biscuit, jams, marmalades, margarine, boots and shoes, soaps and candles, clothing and various other articles should have been taken up.

What has been achieved in the United Kingdom and Germany should not be impossible in India; and especially when there is a clamour for higher wages a widespread co-operative movement will confer immense benefits on the members. I wish to deal here with co-operation as applied to railwaymen.

The organization of railwaymen's unions for the various railways in India has been proceeding rapidly of late years. Some sort of organized life in every department of national activity is to be welcomed in India, as it has got a great educative value in a country where organized life is only in its infancy. Communities built up with some common aim where the members of such communities work in harmony and in an orderly fashion sinking their individual greed and interest or differences, for the larger interest of the community as a whole, will inculcate several qualities which make for better society.

The Railway authorities offer certain facilities for co-operative distribution but with a few exceptions, the co-operative societies do not appear to exhibit any vigour or enthusiasm. The G. I. P. Railway, to take only one instance, has got about thirty-three centres all along the line where fairly large railway colonies exist and in most part the railwaymen in these centres live in congregations which offer a splendid

opportunity to run successful co-operative societies. The authorities offer a concession in the matter of transport of the goods of co-operative societies by charging such goods only at 1/3rd the usual rates or so. The Railway provides a capital for starting stores at a low rate of interest and even the facility of a free pass, I believe, would not be refused if *bona fide* cases were to approach the authorities for this concession. Then again the co-operative department of the Government is anxious to help with capital, any effort in co-operation conducted on sound business lines.

It is really a pity that railway servants should not make any better use of these facilities and I may here note that no co-operative society enjoys such benefits as are available to the railway servants when they themselves stand to gain substantially. The main reasons advanced such as the lack of public spirit, business ability and co-operative capacity are more imaginary than real. When it is possible to get men to work as secretaries of local unions without any remuneration, it is difficult to understand why men should not show sufficient public spirit to work a store which means to them, so many rupees, annas and pies. The Railway Institutes all over the line carry on several activities such as the conduct of sports clubs, dramatic clubs, reading-rooms and libraries. A co-operative store requires more or less the same public spirit or co-operative capacity and integrity as is exhibited by the Institute members at present.

A certain amount of business ability is necessary to organize and conduct a stores organization which is meant to derive some economic benefit for its members. Even here the difficulty should not be such as cannot be surmounted. Surely in each centre there can be found one or two public-spirited members who enjoy the confidence of a majority and can be trusted to organize and conduct the work of the stores efficiently and honestly. What does the work after all consist of but to buy in the cheapest market all the necessities of life which every one of us has to buy for our individual need and to distribute them according to the needs of each member? The work of collecting the bills from each member could be facilitated if the authorities are approached for permission to collect the amounts due to the stores from the salaries and wages of the

members. Instead of spending energies in organizing unions only to hold meetings for demanding higher wages or for reducing hours of work etc., would it not be a far better service if some railwaymen or such outsiders as are interested in the welfare of railwaymen were to devote a portion of their time in setting up co-operative stores in all the important railway centres working them efficiently and thus effect a palpable saving in the family budgets of their fellow workers? The benefits of association in all its various forms are too wellknown. The saving effected through an efficient stores organization will amount to about fifteen to thirty per cent of the monthly family budget. If individual stores at different centres are started first and run successfully the work of linking them up would be the next logical step and if the purchasing and distribution for such big organization were to be done by the central stores, many economies would be effected. All this work may not be possible for an honorary agency and it is a much better principle to engage paid servants even in the case of individual stores to ensure efficiency and proper attention wherever the size of the stores organization could afford such expenses.

If we imagine that in a centre, there are fifty members (and it should not be difficult to secure more members in most of the big railway centres) and if we assume that thirty rupees represent the amount that each family has to spend on the major everyday necessities, there would be a total business of 1,500 rupees per month in that centre. If the saving be fifteen per cent., fifty-four rupees would be the annual saving of each family. If we take this saving over a period of twenty years of railway service, would it not form another provident fund or insurance for old age? There are a number of different ways in which the railwaymen could invest these savings so as to provide for the education of their children, for their wives against accidents and for their old age. Specific rules could be framed to retain the profits of each individual member in the stores organization which after careful consideration should reinvest the savings or profits into some sound security—a Government loan or some system of insurance which will be useful to consolidate the position of the stores.

The modern wants of a family are varied and numerous and a careful choice will have

to be made of articles which should be stocked, in order that capital should not be locked up unnecessarily in goods which have a limited and desultory demand. Great care will also have to be bestowed in finding out the cheapest source of every article. The variety that exists in the quality of each of these articles will be yet another point which will require some understanding among the members, so that large scale buying in each variety should be possible to ensure economy, and fairly satisfy, at the same time, the individual choice.

The co-operative stores is an essentially co-operative organization and the co-operative principle could be carried one step further, as soon as the individual stores in more than one centre is established on a sound footing, by inviting the co-operation of one or more contiguous stores organization in purchasing and exchange of goods, so that every article need not be stocked by every co-operative store in large quantities. If the co-operative principle is thus applied in stages central co-operative stores could also be developed in due course.

The idea of developing co-operative stores is one that should appeal to every railwayman as it stands for the economic and moral benefit of every individual. The success in securing the general support of railwaymen to the stores organization would depend upon the organizing capacity of the organizers, their efficiency and integrity. It is easy to imagine the economic and moral benefit and the amount of constructive work that could be done by organizing co-operative stores for the 200,000 and odd workers of the G. I. P. Railway. Small co-operative banks for railwaymen could also be thought of at a later stage. It is not necessary to import any political bias into this work of co-operation. It is better to leave alone the disruptive forces aimed at fighting their battles with the Railway authorities. If the organizing ability of some railwaymen would be diverted towards this useful work, a great service will be rendered in solving the economic problem of thousands, in teaching them a lesson in co-operation and organization and also towards the education of the railway employees in thrift. It would not be unreasonable to expect any fair help from the authorities in the propagation of this ideal.



Raga-Ragini Series of Rajput Painting

In a brief estimate of the 'Raga-Ragini' series of Rajput Painting in *The Triveni* for May-June Mr. G. Venkatachalam explains :

It is often asked how far these pictorial representations of 'ragas' are true to musical art and science, and whether there is any systematized thought behind them; do they actually convey any meaning to the musicians and composers and is there any traceable relationship between the melody and its pictorial form as conceived by these old artists? I have heard learned musicians repudiate any such associations; and in fact, at the All-India Musical Conference at Lucknow in 1925, a discussion was started on this subject among a small group of friends, and I found that they considered these 'ragini' pictures as far-fetched and fantastic. A 'ragini' picture, at best, is, in the happy phrase of Percy Brown, 'visualized music'. It is not an attempt to combine the two arts of music and painting in any conscious manner, as Percy Brown thought them to be, but it is the artistic transmutation of a 'bhava', emotion or sentiment, evoked in the composer or the hearer by a certain melody, rendered into beautiful forms and colours, conveying the special mood or passion which that particular melody has as its inherent quality. If art is 'expression', then every mood or passion can be expressed in terms of allied arts, and if architecture can be called 'frozen music' (rightly so), a 'ragini' picture can well be called 'visualized music'. It is really difficult to trace the origin of this method of picture-making or the causes that evolved it. It is however certain, from the examples extant, that they may have originated between the 15th and 16th century and had for their inspiration the rich Sanskrit and Hindi literatures, which were of considerable poetic beauty and descriptive power. Folk-songs, devotional hymns, religious poetry and 'Bhakti' cult were in their ascendancy during that period; saints and singers wandered over the land gladdening the hearts of men; Vaishnavism and Mysticism inspired men to higher life and nobler arts, and thus it came to be that the period was rich in artistic creation. The Rajput painting is the epitome of the lyrical fervour of that culture, as the Ajantan frescoes were the epitome of the intellectual achievement of the Gupta period.

The writer then describes some of the representations like 'Todi', 'Vasanta raga', 'Panchama', 'Megharaga' etc. which portray the different emotions connected with different 'ragas', i. e. 'melody-mould' or 'melody-type,' and observes :

These melody-pictures have very striking and interesting pictorial qualities and are aesthetically

very appealing. There is a vigorous archaic style about them; the colourings are bright and pleasing. They are by no means highly refined and daintily finished pictures like Mughal portraits or Kangra miniatures. The figures are often crude; they have nothing of the charm and fascination of the bewitching profiles of the women of Kangra artists. In technique also, they are far below the highly finished and exquisitely coloured works of Kangra masters. But in other respects they are unique, strange and vital. Their main features are summed up by Coomaraswamy as follows :

"The borders are pink with yellow bands above and below; the horizons are high with room for a band of dark sky, passing into a strip of clouds. Sometimes, there are also represented snaky red-gold lightnings and falling rain. A common motif is the representation of water and lotus in the foreground. A characteristic feature is the representation of floating draperies and of coloured garments seen through coats and skirts, yellow and white. Night scenes also appear in these series. The heroines' eyes are large as lotus flowers, tresses fall in heavy plaits, breasts are firm and round, thighs are full and smooth, hands like rosy flowers, gait dignified as any elephant, and their demeanour is demure."

Apart from their technical and æsthetical merits these little pictures constitute a veritable *tour de force* of mental visualization and imaginative interpretation in the art-history of the world.

Spiritualising Industrialism

Bold and challenging in his outlook, the editor of *The Prabuddha Bharata* is ruthless in his logic and vigorous in his thinking. Modern industrialism is neither soul-less nor incapable of spiritualization—that is his thesis in his call to us all, 'Ring out the Old, Ring in the New' in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for June. He faces the problems of the age squarely and accepts the challenge of the age openly.

We are exceedingly poor. All Indians must have comfortable living. They must have lucrative occupations and free outlets for their energy and creative activity. Nay, even luxuries they must have. For without *bhoga* (enjoyment) there cannot be *tyaga* (renunciation). Therefore, India must become rich. There must also be enormous surplus wealth without which the nation-building activities of India cannot be carried on adequately. There is also the question of defence. India has real fear from Russia, China and other nations. All these require wealth.

So infinite scope must be provided for self-expression in thought, word and deed to all Indians.

That means titanic activity. Activity is needed not only for the enrichment of the national exchequer, but also for the inner enrichment of the individual. We do not want money for money's sake, but for the higher purpose of national prosperity and mental freedom and growth.

"What kind of economic system should we build up?" Unhesitatingly the writer votes for large-scale industrialism with its recent developments like rationalization of industries; for the logic of events compels it. The problem of exploitation of the mass by the class does not trouble him as the question of distribution is, according to him, approaching solution. Machinization would mean no greater mechanization of man than that he suffered in former ages when too most artisans worked mechanically and very few rose to the level of art. On the contrary,

If the heart is being starved to a certain extent in modern industrialism, it is being fed almost to satiety by the sense of power. The modern worker is an extremely efficient being, fully alive to and exulting in his inherent capabilities. This consciousness of himself as a dynamo of power and controller of huge mechanical forces makes great compensation to the heart. No doubt it lacks variety and delicacy. But what is lost in quality is to some extent made up for in quantity. The fact is, this mechanical age has also changed the value of the apparent man. He no longer seeks satisfaction in the consciousness of a puny, isolated individuality, howsoever unique, but as a unit of a vast collective being, glorying in the collective glory and sharing in and influencing its life. This brings a great satisfaction to the heart.

The attainments of their leisure hours often make up for the loss of variety. The pursuit of hobbies has become a common practice with many. These works of love offer outlets to individual peculiarities. Various types of public enjoyment also provide food for the varieties of heart's desires. The medieval men lacked the sense of power in their work, though some of them found their heart's satisfaction in their skill; and joys of life were certainly limited and uniform.

The writer then takes stock of the unsavoury present-day tendencies and their implications, and bravely drives on to the conclusion:

We have to clearly understand the tendencies of modern industrialism before we can find out how to spiritualize it. Modern conditions, especially the economic conditions, are remoulding collective life on a new basis. If formerly family was the economic unit, now it is the individual. It is true that this description is more true of the West than of India at the present time. But there is no doubt that the same conditions are going to prevail also in India more or less sooner or later. Signs are already patent. The joint-family system is rapidly disintegrating. And men and women, boys and girls are learning to think of their duties more in reference to a wider existence than the family. Conjugal relations are no longer the same as before.

In fact, industrialism which is the key-note of modern socio-economic developments in the West, in spite of some contrary forces, is also rapidly being accepted as the gospel in India. It is useless to seek to escape this. Swami Vivekananda said: "The society is for the individual, not individual for society." Strangely enough, individualism itself is generating the idea of a far vaster collective life than communalism ever did. Now individuals are learning to consider themselves first as members of nation or humanity and secondly as members of families. This change of outlook has meant change in various departments of life. Children do not consider that their first duties are to their parents. In the name of country or humanity, they easily overlook their parents. Wives are no longer satisfied with performing their duties by their husbands alone. They hear the call of duties also in the wider life of society and country. On the other hand, if the father is no longer the lord of all the family members, he is also no longer responsible for the entire well-being of them. The state must take up many of those responsibilities which formerly rested on the head of the family. The state has to look after the health and education of children. The state must provide for their living. The state must also provide for the old age.

In short, all the activities and functions of the community are now being slowly organized on a nation-wide basis, and as a result, the functions of family are being lost one by one. A family may be considered to have seven functions: affectional, economic, educational, protective, recreational, family status and religious. Almost all these functions are being slowly usurped by larger bodies....

This disintegration of the family is only a sign of a new integration. The individuals are being organized on a new basis. How does the individual fare in the change? It must be admitted that this revolutionary change has not always proved happy to the morals of men and women. But that is perhaps mostly due to the exigencies of the transition. For the new conception is not necessarily devoid of moral or spiritual idealism, at least in so far as its possibilities are concerned. Men and women are learning to think in terms of nations or humanity and not in those of the family or community as they used to do before. There is a growing sense of responsibility for much larger groups of men than the family. This widening of consciousness cannot but be spiritually uplifting. We must repeat here that the changes we have alluded to above are more real in the West where alone modern industrialism is fully active. It is true that the conditions described are not so true of India. But let us say again that a part at least of these changes will also be felt in India. Anyhow in judging the nature and possibilities of modern industrialism it is best to take it as it is operative in the West. And in the West the modern men and women are feeling themselves more and more as units of the larger community of the human race. The feeling is yet incompletely expressed and distorted in its expression through the murky atmosphere of their yet unprepared mind. But the impulse, whatever its expression at the present time, is towards a universal sweep, comprehending the entire human race. If this tendency can be transmuted into:

spiritual feeling, modern industrialism will be a great blessing to mankind. What is now appearing as a spiritual loss will appear as a spiritual gain. There is no inherent spiritual defect in modern industrialism. What is required is that the wider cosmic consciousness that underlies it has to be spiritualized. We must make the modern facilities of organization the instruments of our worship. And it is not at all difficult of accomplishment. Only a higher imagination and broader intellectual vision is necessary...

It is true that if the objects of service be in direct contact with us, spiritualization becomes easier. But this physical proximity is itself a galling limitation to finer minds. Culture is perhaps nothing but the capacity to harmonize oneself with the previously unknown greatness. We want higher culture, wider conceptions of reality and life and a deeper sense of direct responsibility for humanity. In fact, not only must the quality of our conception of reality be noble, the magnitude of it also must be as wide as humanity, nay, the universe itself. As a matter of fact, the ideal of education is also conceived to be encyclopedic today. These three elements go hand in hand: an encyclopedic intellectual ideal; a sense of infinite powerfulness; and large-scale industrialism: all these being the cause and effect of that change of outlook which no longer counts the human being as a unit of a family or community *par excellence* but pre-eminently as a member of a nation or humanity itself. This is the predominant tendency of the modern age. One thing is certain: we cannot either suppress or ignore it. It must have its way.

We have seen that it is not against spiritual idealism. It is in fact a new form which like the preceding forms can easily lend itself to spiritualization. The new outlook has to be transmuted. In fact, it can find its natural fulfilment only in the conception of the spiritual solidarity of the entire human race and its activities. It is tending that way. Let it be India's privilege to bring about this consummation. Why should India think that she can reconcile her spiritual idealism only with one particular form of economic life? It is always India's function to fulfil the unfulfilled and give expression to the inarticulate. What the West is groping towards, let India at once illumine by her synthetic wisdom.

The Indian Banking Problem

Sir J. C. Coyajee's discussion in *The New Era* for June of the Indian Banking Problems, just when a Banking Enquiry Commission has been constituted to go into the question, is timely and instructive. The most baffling problem in our banking is that of establishing connection between joint-stock banks and native bankers and traders, thinks the writer, and he finds two institutions answering to the purpose:

Fortunately there are indications that it is possible for the petty local bankers to organize themselves into suitable units and groups which can establish the required touch with the joint stock banks on Western lines. A certain amount

of preliminary organization is however necessary for this purpose. Thus on the Bengal side we have a large number of loan companies which, besides doing the ordinary loan business, advance money against mortgages of agricultural lands and even handle discount business, nor do they fail to participate to some extent in the business of transfer of funds. Schemes have been started for the federation of these loan companies into suitable groups. It has been proposed that after a proper examination of the credit and strength of such groups of loan companies advances made by the banks to them during the season when their demand is large while in the slack season their deposits might increase the resources of our banks. The study which the problem received in Calcutta was instructive and will very likely lead to important developments. Meanwhile, as Mr. Gubbay has noted in his paper the Chetty community of Madras has set the example of banking organization and method to the indigenous bankers of India and they have proved how the application of the principle of joint responsibility in the case of such bankers leads to safety of operations and to an increased capacity in the way of obtaining the assistance of the large banks in the shape of rediscounts. Multani bankers too have formed associations which influence their own discount rate so that it is connected in a way with the Imperial Bank Rate (Ran. 136). It is the growth of such organization on a wide scale and in close touch with the large banks to which we must look in a great measure for establishing the desired contact between the two elements of Indian banking. We cannot summarily take away the deposit business of the small banker, as has sometimes been proposed, but the proportion of his rediscounting business to his deposit banking business might be largely increased. As regards the Chetties (and other indigenous bankers) their vigilance, knowledge of personal credit and personal contact with the customer will prove valuable assets to our recognized banking system in the future. Madras might in the future play the part which Scotland has played in Great Britain in supplying us with a large proportion of keen, specialized bankers.

There is another and an additional line of establishing a broad money market in India and of reproducing in India that specialization and division of functions which characterizes such a market in the advanced commercial countries. As Sir H. Strakosch and others have pointed out our shroff or petty banker is already to some extent performing the functions of the bill broker and "if he were certain that the Joint-stock banks were always ready to lend on or discount true commercial bills by reason of the fact that the Reserve Bank of India was always prepared to discount them" the shroff would acquire such bills. The result would be the development of a real money market in India and the increase of the influence of our banks in the bazars (p. 46-47). It is to this sort of division of labour, that I referred when I suggested an increase in the proportion of the rediscounting part of the business of our shroffs at the expense of the part dealing with deposits. In following such a policy we would borrowing a leaf from America where the Federal Reserve administration has gained marked success in encouraging the use of

the right type commercial bill of exchange. This development of the two-named trade paper in America at the expense of the promissory note has benefited both the banks and the business community. And all this progress in this line has been achieved in America during the dozen years which have elapsed since 1915 when the regulation was issued distinguishing the trade acceptance and giving it special privileges (Reed 110-115).

Sir Jehangir does not find any cause of despair as far as our enterprise in Joint Stock Banking is concerned :

It is a matter of congratulation to note that in point of talents, personality and ability several of the managers of the Indian Joint Stock banks have distinguished themselves. In the period of less than a quarter of a century at least three men of outstanding ability have stood out in the history of Indian Joint Stock Banking. Generally speaking as regards personal integrity too, our system has held its own. The disasters which the system has witnessed are due mainly to want of specialization and to the insufficient capital and resources of most of the newly started banks. However, some of our leading Joint Stock Banks are slowly but surely training up a class of specialized bankers and thus in time we shall overcome the danger of amateur banking in India (Banker's Magazine, August, 1925). As regards the other phase of banking specialization the rigid separation of banking from any other kind of business or trading much has been learned from the earlier crisis but there is still much room for improvement through legislation. So also, experience and legislation must co-operate in securing in the case of each new bank adequate resources at the start and their subsequent conservation as well as the building up of the necessary reserves.

As regards the clientele of the banks there seems little reason to complain and our banks can scarcely complain of the support given to them so generously by the depositing public from their very start. It is true that some bankers complain of the undue secretiveness of the clients as regards their financial position. But those who advance this line of criticism underrate the efforts made by English or American banks in order to secure information about the standing of their clients—efforts which are impossible in India owing to the small size and limited resources of most of our banks. It is well known that American banks maintain large and well-equipped departments for ascertaining the credit position of clients. These are supplemented by the regulations of the Federal Reserve Board which necessitate the development of the use of credit statements. In case of rediscounting increasing resort is had to credit statement of parties to bills and trade acceptances. It will be necessary in future for our banks to develop such an information department gradually and also to co-operate with each other in the matter and to exchange information.

On the much-debated question of State Bank vs. Shareholders' Bank the opinion of Sir J. C. Coyajee is fairly known. In the present paper he observes that State Banks exist at present in a few countries, mainly in those in which the Government is

socialistic ; that advanced countries are now doing away with anything like dominating Government influence or control of central banks ; and that Indian critics have belittled the influence of shareholders over the policy of central banks ; and concludes. Sir Jehangir :

Indeed one can go further and say that if the presence of shareholders had no other benefit but the negative one of keeping out political pressure the device of a shareholders' bank would have justified its existence.

India and Geneva

His visit to Geneva has convinced Mr. C. F. Andrews that India should not drop her relations with the League of Nations ; on the contrary, she should try to make herself felt there. One effective way to do that would be to have an Indian to lead the Indian delegation before the Assembly—though perhaps Mr. Andrews may not be fully satisfied with the appointment of Sir Mahammad Habibullah an official as he is. There are at least three subjects on which the League can be of service to Indians. Recounts Mr. Andrews in the *Indian Review* :

Labour. More than once, I have said in public and I would again repeat the fact, that the amelioration of labour conditions in India by direct legislation has gone forward more quickly in the last ten years since the League was established than was possible in fifty years before the establishment of the League. Every one of the great landmarks in Indian labour legislation has been established since the establishment of the League. While up to the year 1919, it seemed quite impossible to obtain any more humane conditions with regard to labour, in mines and factories and mills, after 1919, every door seemed to be suddenly thrown wide open, and we have been pressing forward from one act of factory legislation to another, and all these have been on the whole in the right direction.

Opium. Opium has been with me a special subject for very many years, in the same way as labour has been. I have known both the impossibility of obtaining any progress at all before the establishment of the League and also the amazing rapidity with which reform has come in India since the League was formed. The turning-point came at the World Conference on Opium at Geneva in 1924-25. At that Conference, a crisis came. In the end, owing chiefly to the position taken by Sir John Campbell who represented India at the Conference, America withdrew her delegation. But this very act of non-co-operation proved the turning-point on the whole opium problem. From that day forward the opium consumption that originated in and from India has been remarkably reduced, and the reduction is still going on. It is quite possible that, in a few years' time, there will be such a change in the whole opium policy of the Indian Government that world opinion on the

matter will be satisfied. What I would wish to point out is this—that unless this subject had come definitely to the crisis of a World Conference at Geneva, Indian Government would probably have shelved the matter, as has happened in so many other cases.

Emigration. Here we cannot so much point to what the League has already done as to what the League is likely to do in the future. In relation to the whole statistical question of world population, the further question of emigration and immigration is going to be taken up from the world standpoint. It would be nothing else than absurd for India to be entirely unrepresented when such a vast matter is decided. India contains one-fifth of the population of the globe, and her own people are increasing, not by hundreds of thousands but by millions. In a few years' time, it is likely that this problem may loom so large as to overshadow many others which are now to the front economically. It has a very direct bearing on the prosperity of India in the near future.

The Problem of Minorities

"The problem of minorities is not an Indian but a world problem," thus Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee prefaced his speech on the subject which has been reproduced in *The Hindusthan Review* (April—June). The result of the efforts at solution of the question is the Minority Guarantee Treaties which have been placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations; and applying those canons to the case of India, Dr. Mookerjee finds:

Applying this international numerical standard for a minority to India, we find that the Muslims amounting to about 24 per cent of the total population of India have a just claim for special political recognition in the constitutional arrangements affecting India as a whole, but in the provinces considered separately, they are either in the majority, or in the minority of a degree which falls below the minimum international limit to be conformed to by a Minority. The distribution of the Muslim population in India has been in such a manner that they are in the majority in the North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Bengal, provinces. Their largest minority is in the United Provinces where it comes up to less than 15 per cent. This 15 per cent again is not evenly distributed in these provinces, but is largely concentrated in the urban areas particularly in the northern part of the province.

Therefore, in the light of international settlement, the problem of minority in India emerges really as a Hindu problem for the Punjab and Bengal where the Hindus form large-sized minorities amounting to about 44 per cent and 46 per cent respectively, and thus considerably above the prescribed limit, while the minority problem is a Muslim problem for India as a whole, and for purposes of the Central Government.

As regards local areas, the numerical limit for a minority is heightened and emphasized. The theory seems to be that a minority to claim special

treatment should congregate as far as possible in certain areas to render such treatment administratively feasible.

The numerical test is elaborately worked out in most of these constitutions to regulate the protection of the most important interests of a minority, *viz.*, their language and religion. Thus a minority can claim a special school for itself from the state funds for the primary education of its children where they come up to the minimum number of 40; and a secondary and higher school where the number comes up to the minimum of 300. The minimum number of pupils is lower for claiming special classes in the state public schools. For primary education, it is 18 for language and 12 for religion. For secondary education, it is 25 for language and 18 for religion. It will be noted that religion is more leniently treated for protection than the language of a minority, and primary education more generously than secondary.

In all cases and constitutions, the special treatment or protection is strictly confined to the language, religion, and the racial characteristics, and special laws, customs, and institutions of a minority and is not applicable to anything else.

A political minority (*e. g.* the liberals or the communists) or a social minority (*e. g.* non-Brahmins or the depressed classes), is not recognized for protection. In every constitution, what are termed racial, religious and linguistic Minorities 'alone' are recognized.

Thus the theory of Minority Protection seems to be that such protection is not permissible for any artificial accidental aspect or features, which a minority may acquire or assume in its career. It must take its stand upon its native inherent fundamental features—its particular cultural characteristics.

Separate communal electorate and representation as such have not been recognized as legitimate means for achieving the end of minority protection, and have accordingly no place in any of the Western constitutions, old or new, including Turkey. The fundamental principle laid down and repeated in every constitution is of the form: 'There shall be but one Nationality in the State.' It is further declared that 'enjoyment of civil and political rights shall be independent of the practice of any religion.'

Minorities' Protection is sought to be achieved in all the new states of Europe through the fundamental and permanent provisions introduced for the purpose in their constitutions and is not made dependent electoral methods and uncertainties. It is dealt with by a regular and special scheme incorporated in every constitution, as its inalienable part.

Women and Politics

Miss Lucy M. Pearce thus pleads in the *Stri-Dharma* for June for women taking part in politics—"taking a share in the house-keeping which is national, in the politics of the time":

The women are the house-keepers of the nation and the fact that they know how to house-keep for their own homes, fits them to help in what is really very largely nothing but house-keeping on a national scale, simply a very much wider

kind of house-keeping. That is the work of politics. The home house-keeping and the national house-keeping which is called politics, are really all one; the two are very much dependent on one another. Politics are concerned with all kinds of things which affect our home life. Things we use at home have to be made, by what is called industrial work. Cooking vessels, furniture, *durries*, cloth, have to be manufactured, by hand or by machinery, and certain laws of the country govern the making and the buying and selling of all these things. Food-stuffs have to be grown by agriculture, and politics have to be very much concerned with agriculture. The question of better irrigation, so that the crops may have enough water stored up to enable them to grow for the nation's food, even if rain fails, is a matter which very much indeed concerns the women who have to obtain sufficient food for their households. Politics are concerned with all sorts of matters which women know as much about as men, or ought to know as much about, because they affect the women, and the women can affect them, very greatly. The women who have to watch their children starving when there has not been sufficient rain to grow enough food, could force the government to pay more attention to irrigation, to the building of tanks to store water, as was done in former times in India. Women could add the strong force of their feeling for their children, for their husbands, for all the starving people around them, to the feeling of the men about it, if they only knew that they have the power, and gave a little time to what is called voting on important questions, studying those questions with the help of their menfolk, so that they can vote effectively, with knowledge and good judgment. Taking part in politics does not take too much time. Most women gossip with one another a great deal. They may talk about the terrible state of the poor people in famine time, they may talk about many things that are not mere gossip about one another, but they don't realize in India as yet that they can do something as well as talk...

Some things, such as the question of the food-supply, men perhaps may know as much about as women—though women may feel more, when they have to provide food for the family, and cannot get it. But some matters women know more about than men. The Age of Consent Bill, now before the Legislative Assembly, for instance, a bill which is of most vital importance to the people of India, both men and women, only the women can really decide about. Only women can really know at what age girls should be married. How can men alone possibly decide such a point except in theory? Theory is all very well, but in such a serious matter, which affects the vitality of the whole nation, the health and strength of the people—physically, and consequently in the expression also of intellectual and spiritual life—practical experience is necessary. Theory alone is not enough.

The Place of Science in Education

The Educational Review (April) draws the attention of the public through its editorial to the place of science in education

In spite of the teaching of elementary science in schools (though it is possible to effect considerable improvement in the matter), it is not sufficiently recognized that science is an essential element of culture. Speaking at the recent Ramsay Chemical Dinner in England, Dr. Levisstein had some valuable remarks to make on the subject:

Dr. Levisstein said, he would like to see a knowledge of physics and chemistry and other natural sciences considered to be as much a sign of culture as a knowledge of the classics. Properly taught there was as much culture to be derived from science as from the humanities, and more useful knowledge. The date when Ramsay discovered helium gas imprisoned in a stone called cleveite, now old, but a young stone when it first caught its helium and kept it, was of greater interest to a cultured mind, and of far greater importance, than the date of the Battle of Lutetia.

If some old bone revealed to the anthropologist the story of our evolution, was it not worth the knowing? If some old stone released helium after aeons we could not measure and this helium turned out to be a brick left over by the Master Builder of the Universe and Ramsay found it, was that not enough to immortalize the name of Ramsay? Was that a cultural achievement equal to that of suggesting a brilliant emendation in a Virgilian text? And yet we called the one a cultured scholar, a pursuer of the humanities, the other merely a man of science. An increasing number of our youth should be taught science, particularly chemical science, not to equip them for any profession but, as they learned classics, to train their minds, to teach them to think, and, in short, to educate them.

It would not be a bad thing at all to insist on an elementary knowledge of science even in colleges, so that every person who has passed out of the portals of a University may be familiar with such knowledge of natural phenomena and the world around us, as is necessary for every gentleman professing to be cultured.

Co-operative and Nation Building

The Hon'ble V. Ramadas Pantulu concludes his presidential address (reproduced in the *Federation Gazette* for April) to the Eleventh Session of the Behar and Orissa Co-operative Congress appropriately emphasizing the role of co-operation in nation building. After an able discussion of the problem of finance, of cheap credit, of banking enquiry; of education and propaganda in relation to co-operation Mr. Pantulu remarks:

The economic, social and political development of Rural India demands the co-ordination of many factors and several agencies. It is now generally admitted that co-operation occupies a high place among them. Co-operators are therefore destined to play a noble and conspicuous part in India's Nation Building activities by helping programmes of Rural Reconstruction. It is true that the centre of gravity—political and administrative—which once lay in the villages shifted away from them to

places wherein are located more centralized forms of Government and concentrated commercial and economic activities. Nevertheless, it must be remembered, that even in modern countries "by far the largest part of Government is now that which is not carried on in the capital cities by departments of State at the bidding of Parliaments but that which is being administered locally in the village or the parish or the commune, in the Municipality, or Country or District by the direction and for the advantage of the people of those localities." Mr. Sydney Webb who is in full sympathy with the Indian aspiration for Swaraj says that, "If India is to advance it seems probable that an analogous growth of Local Government even to the extent of doing more work, spending more money, employing more officials and making more laws than the Viceroy and his Councils will take place in India." In this process of creating a sense of civic responsibility and affording training in Self-Government to the rural population, the co-operative organizations will be invaluable aids, if their potentialities are wisely exploited. But, for co-operation to subserve the higher national ends, two essential conditions must be forthcoming. In the first place, co-operators must develop an intensely national outlook and use the movement for the promotion of genuine national interests. If you organize a milk supply society or a weaver's society, for which forms of Industrial co-operation your Registrar says there is scope in your Province, or if you establish a "better living society" you will be acting in national interests. But, if you form a society to import Danish Dairy products or British cloths or a Credit Society to finance liquor contractors, you will be acting adversely to your national prosperity. In the second place, co-operators must rise above every tendency that makes for disunion. I am grieved to read the following passage in the latest report of your Registrar on the working of the societies. "It is unfortunate that the demon of dissension and party feelings has made its sway even within the sacred precincts of the Temple of co-operation and wrangles and scrambles for election to the directorate have followed in its wake. "What lead can co-operators who are thus divided give to Rural India and what contribution can they make to Nation Building? If the infection is carried to the villages, I fear that each little village, instead of developing into a tiny Republic administering its own affairs for the common good of all its residents, will become the battle field of political, communal and even personal strife.

Bengali Kinship Usages

In a plea for the scientific study of the cultured people in *Man in India* (Jan.-March) Mr. Atul K. Sur takes up certain Bengali kinship usages, e.g. elder-brother-in-law and maternal uncle taboos, son-in-law's house taboo, name taboo; privileged familiarity between a woman and her husband's young brother, a man and his wife's sisters. After citing the parallel usages of other races, Mr. Sur enquires into their origin:

The origin of the Bengali kinship usages are very obscure. They cannot be traced in the

ancient law books of the Hindus. Some of them can however be explained by means of propositions enunciated by Eur-American sociologists to explain similar usages in other parts of the world. Thus, Dr. Lowie connects the elder-brother-in-law taboo of the Andaman Islanders with the co-existing form of marriage known as the junior levirate and enunciates the principle that social and sexual restrictions go hand in hand, a conclusion adopted in more general form by Dr. Goldenweiser on the basis of Sternberg's unpublished Gilyak data and by Dr. Rivers as a result of his Oceanic researches. Dr. Lowie also offers a supplementary proposition, namely, that licensed familiarity generally obtains between potential mates. The elder-brother-in-law taboo among the Bengalis can also be explained with the help of the above propositions as being the result of an original junior levirate rule. According to the junior levirate rule, the husband's younger brothers only inherit the widow—the elder brothers are barred, the younger brothers-in-law are thus potential mates. The elder-brothers-in-law are outside the category. Hence the origin of the elder-brother-in-law taboo and the younger-brother-in-law licence. Though junior levirate does not to-day obtain among the Bengalis, yet we know from literature that it obtained among the Hindus in ancient times. The modern prevalence of the practice of junior levirate among the Hindus of Orissa, who, we know, are ethnically of the same origin as the Bengalis, also support us in our thesis, that junior levirate at one time obtained currency among the Bengalis. The proposition that licensed familiarity generally obtains between potential mates may be invoked to account for two other usages, namely, the wife's younger sister licence as well as *Jāmāivaran*. By the latter the man is perhaps simply conciliated to waive his marital rights over his wife's younger sisters. This practice of marrying wife's younger sisters is technically called sororate. It is an obligatory practice. But did obligatory sororate ever exist among the Bengalis? The answer will probably be in the affirmative. For, in the first place, it is not a very rare practice among the Bengalis to marry the younger sister of the wife who is dead. Secondly, from the earliest literature of Bengal, namely, *The Lays of Manikchandra* we learn that when Harishchandra gave his daughter Aduna in marriage to king Gopichandra, he gave him as dowry his only other daughter Paduna...The explanations of other Bengali kinship usages are not easy to give. But some day light would be thrown on their origins with the advance of our knowledge of the social history of early Bengal.

The Student Situation in China

Mr. T. L. Shen, M. A., Secretary of the Student Christian Movement in China, delivered an address on the student situation in China at Mysore in December last. This has been reproduced in the *Young Men of India*. Mr. Shen enumerated the problems which Chinese students had to face to-day.

Like the students in other countries they are

concerned, first of all, with the question of the philosophy of life. Most of the students are attracted to modern materialism. The Chinese people have been more or less known as a practical people—a people who do not concern themselves much with religion, especially the organized aspect of religion. They are more or less satisfied with a kind of ethical course or a moral standard that is sufficient to help them to live an ordinary life. So that may serve to explain the reason why there may be a number of religious beliefs, for instance, in the same family, and a number of religious practices in the same family circle. The Chinese people are used to this attitude of tolerance and of freedom of belief, in the sense of freedom not to believe. With that background, Chinese students are easily attracted by this modern tendency towards materialism and atheism. The depressed economic life of the people in general serves also as a great stimulus to a general materialistic outlook.

The second main problem among the Chinese students is that of sex life. In the past the sexes in China were separated to a large extent and did not have a common social life. Education was limited to men in the past and the women as a rule were uneducated. Recently with the introduction of education and of co-education there is a free intercourse among the sexes and a change in the attitude towards family and marriage. So also you find that there is a great turn from the attitude of patronage on the part of parents towards their children particularly in the choice of life-partners and the right to have friends of the opposite sex. Side by side with these has come greatly increased popularity of the cinema, theatre, dance-hall and irresponsible literature. This is becoming a very pertinent problem in minds of students. There are more publications on sex problems in China to-day than on any other problem and I think if our religious publications could only match this amount of sex publications we should be doing a very great service to the students.

The third problem of major importance among the students is what we call the economic or vocational problem. Students mostly come from middle-class families in China. We have very few students from among the capitalist class. So parents have to earn sufficient money in order to support their children for their schooling. That always is a very serious problem with Chinese students. Sometimes they have to suspend their studies for a number of years just in the middle of their school year on account of this ever present economic pressure. These factors tend to make for pessimism among the students. And it is all the more evident because of the very widespread desire to go on to higher studies. The problem of vocation is most baffling. The openings for men of higher training are few and competition is therefore keen.

The last problem among the students is not the least the problem of social or political order. The students are very much interested in all the modern theories of political and social reform. They are all beginning to take a great deal of

interest in all modern theories of life. Sometimes they may be very shallow or very spectacular in their study not being able to see those experiments being practised at first hand. But anyhow they find a very genuine interest in those recent theories of economic and social reform.

The Chinese situation bears very close parallel to the Indian situation. Students in India too, those who have a serious turn of mind, are concerned with problems of religion and the philosophy of life. Literature on sex-question of questionable scientific value which intend at money-making is flooding our markets too. Economically our students are worse off—once giving up they can hardly resume their studies. Politics is undoubtedly the great question with our students, but here our students are more easily misled than the shrewd, materialist-pragmatist Chinese.

Britain and Washington Convention

The announcemet that Great Britain proposes to take steps to ratify the Washington Convention of 1919 on the hours of work gives *Welfare* of June 15, the occasion to observe :

The inauguration of the Labour Government was signalled by the announcement at Geneva that England will ratify the Washington Convention of 1919 regarding hours of work. She was a party of course to the Convention and was generous enough to affirm its decision on behalf of India as early as then ; but her generosity and solicitude for the workers did not allow the British Government to enforce the agreement on the British industries. The industrialists of many countries have been from the beginning outspoken in their hostility to the Washington restriction of the hours of work per day to 8 and per week to 48 hours. It took ten years for England to affirm this decision. English workers have acquired an efficiency and technical skill which will enable them to successfully compete with workers of other countries : *e. g.* Japan who has not agreed to Washington Convention yet. But, how does India fare in the matter ? One of the complaints of Bombay has been this that restriction of hours put them at an unequal position in competing with Japan. Indian workers are unskilled and inefficient, hence, their output per capita per hour is lower than those of the others. In accepting the Washington Convention British administrators tied India to a still lower output and necessarily to a suicidal industrial policy ; while in their own home the British Government did not see any hurry in the matter. Was the step inspired only by consideration of the Indian workers' welfare ?



Trotsky on Russia

Leon Trotsky contributes, from his exile in Constantinople, a remarkably detached estimate of the future of Russia to the *New Republic*. In it, as in all his pronouncements and activities he shows himself to be the rigid Marxist that he always was. As the editor of the *New Republic* observes, "his detachment is that of a rigid Marxian, and seems to lack a realistic view of history—the very thing on which he prides himself." Trotsky begins his article by asking :

"If the Soviet power is at grips with ever-growing difficulties; if the crisis in the directorate of the dictatorship grows ever more acute; if the danger of Bonapartism cannot be avoided—would it not be better to make a start toward democracy?" Either plainly or indirectly, this question is put in a quantity of articles devoted to the latest events in the Republic of Soviets.

It is not my object here to decide what is best or what is not best. I am trying to bring to light what is probable: that is to say, that which flows from the objective logic of developments. And the deduction at which I arrive is that nothing is less probable than the transformation of the Soviets into a parliamentary democracy; or, to speak more precisely, that such a transformation is absolutely impossible.

He bases this assertion on the general tendencies of European political development during recent years and on the character of the situation in Russia, which, he says, is principally economic.

The Soviet system is not a simple form of government that one could compare abstractly with the parliamentary form. Above all, it is a new system of economic or "possessive" relations. It is essentially a question of property, the soil, banks, mines, factories and railroads. The labouring masses recall quite well what were the lords, the landed proprietors, the usurer, the capitalist and the "bosses" in Tsarist Russia. Among the masses there undoubtedly exists the most legitimate discontent against the existing situation in the Soviet State. But the masses want neither landlord functionary nor "boss." One must not overlook these "trifles" in intoxicating oneself with commonplaces about democracy. Against the return of the landed proprietor, the peasant to-day, as ten years ago, will fight to the last drop of his blood. The landlord can only return to his fief from emigration astride a cannon; and he would after-

wards be obliged to sleep on his cannon as well. Truth to tell, the peasant would more easily tolerate the return of capitalism, because so far the state industries only supply him with manufactured products on less advantageous conditions than the merchants of former days. This, I may remark in passing, is at the root of all the internal difficulties. But the peasant recalls that landlord and capitalist were the Siamese Twins of the old regime, that they went out together, that together they fought the Soviets during the years of civil war, and that in the territories occupied by the Whites, the industrialist got back his factory, the landowner his land. The peasant knows that the capitalist will not come back alone, but in company with the landlord. That is why he wants neither one nor the other; and this is the powerful, though negative, force of the Soviet regime.

Democracy, according to Trotsky, is a fair-weather form of government utterly incapable of coping with the powerful currents of national and social struggle with which the world is seething to-day. After observing that—

A handful of impotent doctrinaires would have liked a democracy without capitalism. But the serious social forces inimical to Sovietism want capitalism without democracy. That applies not only to the dispossessed landowners but also to the comfortable class of peasant. In so far as the latter have turned against revolution, they have always become the ally of Bonapartism.

he goes on to summarize in a compact form the conclusions at which he has arrived regarding the future of Russia :

1. The Soviet regime, independently of its Socialist aims, of which the protagonist is the vanguard of the industrial proletariat, has deep historical and social roots in the popular masses, for it is an insurance against a Restoration and a guarantee of independent development—that is to say, non-colonized.

2. The fundamental historical struggle against the Union of Soviets, as well as the internal struggle against the Communist power, is not carried on in the name of the conversion of the dictatorship into democracy but in the name of the conversion of the transitory economic regime of to-day into a capitalist regime inevitably dependent and "colonized."

3. In these conditions, the switching off on to the rails of capitalism could only be obtained by means of civil war, cruel and prolonged and implying intervention from outside, either avowed or camouflaged.

4. The political form of such a *coup d'état* might be simply a military dictatorship, the present variety of Bonapartism. But in a counter-revolutionary dictatorship there would be already concealed from the beginning the spring of a new Octoberist *coup d'état*.

5. The struggle of the Opposition unrolls itself in its entirety on the Soviet terrain, but appears as the direct consequence and development of the fundamental line of Bolshevism. The present stage of this struggle is not decisive but, so to speak, conjunctive.

6. Future development of the Soviet system, and consequently the fate even of the Opposition, depend not only on factors of an internal order, but also to a large degree, on the ulterior evolution of all world conditions. What direction will the evolution of the capitalist world take? How will the strongest states which have need of expansion place themselves in the world market? How will the reciprocal relations of European states combine in the coming years and—what is indisputably more important—the United States with Europe and, above all, with Great Britain?

There are a large number of prophets who without reflection resolve the question of the fate of the Soviet Republic, but keep silence on the immediate destinies of capitalist Europe. Yet these questions are, though in an antagonistic way, indissolubly bound up with each other.

Against Capital Punishment

The *Unity* gives eight reasons why capital punishment should be abolished, which it is worth while to quote in view of the legislative action in connection with capital punishment that is being contemplated in India :

1. Because it is not a deterrent. If it were, murder would have increased in the states and in the countries which have already abolished the death penalty. In most of these states and countries murder has decreased. In no abolition state or country has there been an increase.

2. Because it is irrevocable. There have been proven cases of the conviction of innocent men.

3. Because it juries more and more refuse to convict in first degree murder cases. Society is endangered by allowing the guilty to go free. In states which have abolished capital punishment there is a higher percentage of convictions, trials are speedier, and cost the State less.

4. Because capital punishment is an advertisement of murder. Newspapers give wide publicity to morbid or dramatic details of executions. The effect on many is demoralizing.

5. Because it inflicts shame and suffering on the innocent relatives of the condemned, without alleviating the suffering of the victim's friends. A second death cannot undo the first.

6. Because it is demoralizing to prison officials and prison inmates. A large majority of the prison wardens of the United States, and all modern penologists and psychiatrists deplore the effect of capital punishment.

7. Because our belief in the sanctity of human life should forbid the State (which is you and I)

to imitate the murderer. "The business of the modern community is to reform the offender."

8. Because we do not want the United States to be the last country to take this penal step ahead. The following states have already abolished capital punishment: Maine, Rhode Island, Michigan, Kansas, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Minnesota. The following countries have abolished capital punishment: In Europe—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland (15 cantons), Germany (5 states and the Free City of Hamburg). In Australia—Queensland. In South America—Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela. In Central America—Columbia, Honduras, Costa Rica. In Mexico—Campeche, Yucatan and Pueblo.

Communist Riots in Berlin

The *Literary Digest* gives particulars of the May Day riots in Berlin, to quell which, it will be recalled, all the military forces of the German capital were called up. It appears from the account given in the New York *Evening Post* (quoted below) that the responsibility for the offensive lies with the authorities and not the Reds. At any rate, it shows once again that as at the time of the Spartacist risings so also to-day, the great mass of the German people will have nothing to do with revolutionary Communism:

Only one policeman was shot in the Communist riots in Berlin during the first week in May, say the Berlin cables, and he accidentally wounded himself. None of the red rioters was even seen to fire at the police, and of the twenty-eight people reported killed, seventeen are said to have been killed by police bullets, some of them women who carelessly appeared at windows, contrary to police orders. "Plenty of competent people criticize the Government and the police for their action during these Communistic demonstrations," remarks the well-informed New York *Staats-Zeitung*, and it believes that "perhaps the whole demonstration would have passed off like harmless fireworks and would not have left a lasting impression if it had been allowed to spend itself without any interference by the police." The Communists claim that they merely wished to make a peaceful May Day demonstration, but their meeting was forbidden and was then broken up by the police. The Minister of the Interior replies that he had no intention of breaking up their demonstration until he saw the inflammatory Communistic literature urging the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once the disorder started, however, looters took advantage of the situation to commit all kinds of robbery and violence. Steel helmets, search-lights, and barbed-wire are said to have been freely used by the police, as well as machine-guns, fire hose, and armoured cars. As H. R. Knickerbocker explains in a Berlin dispatch to the New York *Evening Post* :

"Beginning as a May Day protest against the prohibition of Police Chief Zoergel's forbidding open-air assemblies, the Communist action developed

on the first day into riots, then into open warfare, and, finally, into plundering by armed bands, greedy for loot. And it was all for nothing. There was no principle at stake.

"Blame for the May Day Communist riots and the disorders, which have taken place during the past few days, has been laid at the door of Moscow Communists and the Communist International by the Berlin Chief of Police, and the same accusation has been made by Reichstag members.

"The Government has ordered the Communists' chief organ, *Rote Fahne*, to cease publication for three weeks."

Later dispatches, as noted above, reported that: "The official inquiry has been unable to establish that a single shot had been fired by a civilian against the police.

"One hundred and fifty shopkeepers of the Wedding district, where rioting was said to have been very severe, declared to-day that the streets were quite safe from Communist excesses, and that a simple police patrol would have sufficed."

Oswald Spengler as Historian

Professor Shotwell writes in the *Current History* about Oswald Spengler's philosophy of history. Oswald Spengler's philosophy has been before the thinking world for something like twelve years, and during this time, while, on the one hand, men have had time to take in and digest his stupendous synthesis, some of the blind enthusiasm and the bewilderment, too, caused by its sweep and erudition and power have to a certain extent waned. The newly published English translation, therefore, finds scholars more critical though not less appreciative of the strong points of his work.

Enough has been written about these volumes to enable us to shorten our picture of their contents. *The Decline of the West* is a philosophical, historical, treatise, embracing almost every interest, intellectual and otherwise, of civilized man from the dawn of history to the present day. The story of this complex civilization is not given chronologically but topically, and the chapters of Volume I bear such strange titles as "The Meaning of Numbers," "Physiognomic and Systematic," "The Destiny-Idea and the Causality-Principle," "Makrosmos—The Symbolism of the World Picture and the Problem of Space," "Faustian and Apollinian Nature Knowledge." Those of Volume II are somewhat more concrete, but are still far removed from the ordinary chapter headings of history. The lower cultures are preceded by a survey of "Origin and Landscape" dealing with plant and animal life, "Being and Waking-Being," and the "Mass Soul." The problem of Arabian culture bears the title "Historic Pseudomorphoses." The volume ends with two great chapters on the "Form-World of Economic Life" in two divisions, "Money," and "The Machine."

When one compares these subject groupings of the most popular work on universal history in

Germany with the arrangement of Wells's *Outline of History* one is forced to admit a greater mental vigour in the German writer; but at the same time the relatively simple story of the human past as Wells conceived it is, of the two narratives, the more genuine history in the sense of Ranke. The purpose of Wells was to reproduce the past as it actually happened, reducing the subjective element to the editorial task of devoting more or less space to this or that event, but, upon the whole, intent on rescuing for knowledge phenomena of interest in themselves. Spengler's purpose is of an entirely different kind. It is an artistic interest in the formation of a great synthesis, a world philosophy. The incoherent past is to be made articulate and no longer meaningless by stating it in terms of symbols which in themselves have an are-meaning for the author. He is "convinced that it is not merely a question of writing one out of several possible and merely logically justifiable philosophies, but of writing *the* philosophy of our time, one that is to some extent a natural philosophy and is dimly presaged by all."

Now this effort to write "the philosophy of our time" is not history in the true sense of that word, but rather the denial of it. It is as Spengler himself states in the preface to the revised edition, the "intuitive and depictive" arrangement of phenomena for the purpose of illustrating other things, and the whole synthesis is frankly in the subjective world of the thinker. It addresses itself solely to readers "who are capable of living themselves into the word-sounds and pictures as they read,"—which means that it is addressed to those who can fit their imagination into the imaginative creation and attitude of the writer himself. This is myth making; it is poetry. In the hands of Spengler it is massive and splendid poetry because the structure of his thought is architecturally magnificent, powerful in outline and beautiful in detail. Nevertheless, it is a dream structure and should not be mistaken for reality.

The title itself suggests the trend of the narrative. Western civilization is on the threshold of an inevitable and all-embracing decline. In this prediction the author falls back upon a theory of history which arranges events according to a series of cultures which have each their childhood, youth, manhood and old age. There have been eight such ripe cultures, the Chinese, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the East Indian, the Greco-Roman, the Arabian, the Maya of Yucatan and Mexico, and that of "the West." Each of these cultures lasts for about a thousand years and then decays. The sign of decay is when a culture passes into a civilization, that is, when spontaneous, energetic and creative life exhausts its creative impulses, and grows mechanical; when the sceptic denies and the dilettante toys with the things that have been sacred and stimulating to feeling as well as thought. The outward form of this change from culture to civilization is seen in the growth of cities and the socializing process which city life implies. There is no sign of a directing divinity, as in Hegel, no meaning that inspires with confidence or hope, but a recurring cataclysm when the dead nerves no longer respond to impulse and the keen impressions that make the joy of living are burnt out, leaving only the ashes of a worn and empty world. It should be said that the emptiness that follows upon

disaster receives none of that stressing which it would be given by a moralist.

Dean Inge

In course of a review of Dean Inge's new book *Labels*, and "Libels: Miss Rebecca West, the well-known English novelist, bitterly criticizes the Dean's attitude towards the social changes that are taking place in the modern world. Some of her criticism is just, some of it is not. Dean Inge is a cleric, a conservative and an avowed pessimist. He has considered it his intellectual as well as moral duty to tell a complacent people what he considers to be the hard truth about contemporary life and culture. But one is apt to think that in these lay sermons, which are, at their best, a very superior kind of journalism, he has overworked the vein which has earned him the nickname of the "Gloomy Dean". There is certainly no trace in them of the calmness, the spirit of cheerfulness, and the hope which breathes through his religious writings.

There are very few things of which England has more need to be ashamed than the prominence it has given to this extraordinary priest whose opinions are usually such that one hardly believes he was ever christened, much less ordained. So much out of place is he in the Church that when, a year or two ago, I published an article exposing some of the grosser of his adventures in social mischief-making, the papers which chiefly deplored my action were the free-thinking journals. There has never been a writer more at war with all the virtues traditionally associated with Christianity. By the silliest sort of Lathrop-Stoddardism, he does what he can to encourage the vice of pride in certain races by alleging their inherent superiority and leading them to make those gestures of contempt toward others which lead to wars. He is as bitter an enemy of peace: for he loves to talk that sort of unscientific balderdash about the unfit (in one of his essays he commits himself to the statement that half the population of England and the United States is feeble-minded), which makes the selfish jib at the civilized person's obligation to help in the maintenance of the sick and defective members of the community. He has passages in this book alluding to the wretched men who have been forced by history into social parasitism on the dole and have actually to some degree deteriorated, which is as unlovely as the snapping of a pampered pet dog at a pariah.

But it would be difficult to exaggerate the mischievous part he has attempted to play in these difficult post-war years, when it has been of the highest importance that all classes should see each other's point of view and not fall into habits of mutual distrust and vilification. Some estimate of it can be guessed from the phrases that he has from time to time applied to the persons responsible for the advanced Labour movement. "A large number of

degenerates . . . imbecile, neurotic, half-insane or chronic invalids . . . psychopaths . . . all these cherish a sullen and maniacal hatred against the social order . . . the people of the abyss, criminals, loafers, wastrels . . . leaders are often brilliant men with a fatal moral and mental twist really insane but with a frightful method in their madness . . ." If anybody imagines that this is one of those cases of generalized ferocity which softens to good sense when faced with the particular, let them turn to the passages in his book "England" which express fury because our country tried other methods than the sword. The present volume makes an advance on these other volumes in that it contains few direct indictments against the Christian virtues; but it has several highly discreditable passages in it, such as the Ku Klux Klan attack on Roman Catholicism, and the sneers at the E. C. C. schools (which represent such magnificent work on the part of an underpaid profession that they should excite reverence and gratitude in any decent-minded Englishman), and the underlying impulse is the same animus against peace and goodwill.

H. G. Wells on the Film of the Future

In the introduction to his newly published book, "The King who was a King," which, says the *Literary Digest*, may be described as a model scenario for a film of the future, Mr. Wells says that the film is "a means of expression exceeding in force, beauty and universality any that have hitherto been available for mankind." "Can form, story, and music be brought together to present the conditions and the issues of the abolition of war in a beautiful, vigorous and moving work of art, which will be well within the grasp of the ordinary film audience?" This is the problem which Mr. Wells sets for himself. He believes that the film of the future will be a great spectacle—music-drama:

Lying awake of nights it was possible for some of us to forget the crude, shallow trade 'movies' we had seen, and to realize something of the splendour of the new powers that were coming into the hands of our happy successors. First there is the Spectacle. No limitations remain of scene, stage or arena. It may be the convolutions of a tendril which fill the picture, or the bird's-eye view of a mountain chain, or a great city. We can pass in an instant from the infinitely great to the infinitely little. The picture may be real, realistic, or conventionalized in a thousand ways; it may flow into and out of a play of 'absolute' forms.

And colour has become completely detachable from form. Color in the films is no longer as it is in real life, a confusing and often unmeaning complication of vision. It can be introduced into the spectacle for effect, slowly flushing the normal black and white with glows of significant hue, chilling, intensifying, gladdening. It can be used to pick out and intensify small forms. It can play gaily or grotesquely over the scene with or

without reference to the black and white forms. Sound, too, has become detached for the artist to use as he will. So long as it is irrelevant it can be made insignificant, or it can be brought in as a sustaining but unimportant accompaniment. Then it can gradually usurp value. The effective practical synchronizing of sound with film has been demonstrated, and its refinement is close at hand. Thus film and music will be composed together.

The spectacle will march to music, sink to silence or rise to thunder as its effects require. The incessant tiresome chatter of the drama sinks out of necessity, the recurrent exasperating "What did he say then?" When once people have been put upon the actual stage, they must talk and flap about for a certain time before they can be got rid of. Getting people on and getting them off is a vast laborious part of dramatic technique. How it must bore playwrights! But with the film the voice may be flung in here and there or the word may be made visible and vanish again.

Plainly we have something here that can be raised to parallelism with the greatest musical compositions; we have possibilities of a Spectacle equal to any music that has been or can be written, comprehending indeed the completest music as one of its factors. Behind the first cheap triumphs of the film to-day rises the possibility of a spectacle-music-drama, greater, more beautiful, and intellectually deeper and richer than any artistic form humanity has hitherto achieved.

President Hindenburg

Major E. W. Polson Newman writing in the *Fortnightly Review* on contemporary Germany gives a description of the position held by the President in German political life. He enthusiastically exclaims that the name of Von Hindenburg "will go down to history as one of the greatest men of our time."

Germany to-day is a strange mixture of political and economic forces working in an atmosphere of uncertainty. She is like a weather-beaten ship in a heavy sea under the command of an aged but experienced captain. The crew, tired out by their struggle, have come to have little faith in the ship, but they inwardly believe that their captain will see them through. And so it is with Hindenburg, who from his armchair far in the background uses his strong and moderating influence to keep the political scales balanced. On the one side, the Right wing of the Nationalist party and the Stahlhelm organization have to be guided in the way they should go. To them Hindenburg is still the military commander, and as President of the Stahlhelm he is in a strong position. On the other side, the Left wing Socialists and Communists have to be restrained. To them his personality as head of a democratic State has the effect of steadying their wilder schemes and activities. The President seldom shows his authority, and for several reasons prefers to avoid the limelight. His advanced age does not permit of his undertaking anything approaching arduous duties, and he is only allowed by his medical

advisers to devote a certain number of hours in the day to work. For this reason he only sees the highest State officials and them only when there is the most urgent business to be considered. Further, there is nothing more distasteful to Hindenburg than any idea of pushing himself forward. He occupies his position as President as a duty to his country, and he shrinks from anything that might conceivably create the impression that he wishes to occupy the position of his former master. In his old age he needs care and a good deal of rest, but from his modest palace in the Wilhelmstrasse he wields a power which is none the less effective. The President lives in the simplest possible way. A policeman at the gate, two sentries in the small courtyard, and the Republican flag at the mast-head are the only outward signs that distinguish the palace from any other building in the street. Little or no ceremony attends his coming or his going."

Fortunate are those few who have been admitted to the presence of this gray-haired soldier and statesman. None have been disappointed. The popular conception of a fire-eating Prussian general with a stern countenance and a domineering demeanour, fades away in the company of this charming and benevolent old gentleman, who shows a keen interest in everybody and everything. With his intellect as quick as ever it was, Hindenburg has been known to follow closely on the map every move in an explorer's journey, and to ask questions showing that the President himself understood the difficulties almost as well as the explorer describing his adventures. While his kindly disposition is sympathetic to the human side of life, he has a strong sense of humour and loves a good joke. He will sit listening to something that amuses him for a considerable time without giving any indication of his emotions; then gradually his face will light up and his eyes will twinkle with merriment. But when he hears a really good joke he literally rocks from side to side with laughter.

America's Naval Challenge

This is the heading under which Mr. G. W. Wickersham, the former Attorney-General of the United States, contributes an article on the American naval programme in the *Current History*. He recalls the whole history of the American naval ambitions from 1916, when the British blockade brought to the fore the question of the freedom of the seas and the rights of search. The protests against British searches, says Mr. Wickersham, from the State Department might have led to serious results had not the greater provocation by Germany forced the United States into a war with her. Even then President Wilson, in a speech delivered at St. Louis on Feb. 3, 1916 proclaimed the necessity of the United States having "incomparably the most adequate navy in the world." The cruiser bill which

the Congress passed was the result of this long development, and there can be no doubt that it has in view, however distantly, a conflict with the British naval power.

During the debate in the United State Senate over the bill authorizing the construction of fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers, recently passed by the Congress of the United States, Senator Borah, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, made the following statement:

"Mr. President, I think we are on the eve of a naval race with Great Britain. The situation is not dissimilar to the situation existing between Germany and Great Britain from 1905 to 1914. Of course, so far as the governments are concerned, there will be, as there always is, the assertion of the utmost friendliness and that there is no intention to engage in a naval race. That was true with reference to the expressions of the governments of Germany and England from 1905 to 1914. The fact is, however, that we are building a navy looking at England, and England is building a navy looking at us; and the discussions here and the discussions in Great Britain show unmistakably that the two governments are building with reference to each other's action."

Senator Walsh of Montana said:

"It is perfectly evident that the construction of the cruisers contemplated by the bill under consideration looks to war primarily with Great Britain and secondarily with Japan."

The bill itself contains the following provision:

"In the event of an international agreement which the President is requested to encourage, for the further limitation of naval armament, to which the United States is signatory, the President is hereby authorized and empowered to suspend in whole or in part any of the naval construction under this act."

Senator Moses, in advocating the passage of the measure, said that if the construction of the cruisers was authorized and the money appropriated, so that the keels might be laid down, the United States would be in a much stronger position than otherwise in such a conference as was contemplated. He added:

"We will be in a much stronger position, I think, in a conference of that sort, if we sit down at the table with a stack of blue chips rather than a stack of blue prints."

The burden of the discussion in the Senate was that the United States had a smaller number of cruisers than Great Britain, the extent of the disparity being variously represented, and the accuracy of official reports being seriously questioned by some of the Senators. But, as Senator Borah said:

"The discussion has been over the question, what is the size of England's navy? Parity! The burden of every argument about cruisers is this—England has more than we have."

He advocated giving the President power to postpone the date of commencing the construction of ships, in order that an opportunity might be made in conference to reach an agreement with Great Britain and other nations, not only restricting the number of cruisers and other auxiliary vessels which might be constructed, but also containing an agreement respecting the freedom of the seas, which he interpreted to mean the right of neutral

nations to carry on their commerce as freely in time of war as in time of peace, except when they actually carry munitions of war, or when they actually seek to break a blockade which is sufficient to prevent the passage of ships, and not merely a paper blockade. So the cruiser bill was passed—largely as a threat to England for strategic purposes in connection with negotiations over the limits to be placed by agreement upon the naval power of the respective governments.

Pacifist Russia

In view of the avowed policy of the Labour Government to restore diplomatic relations with Russia it is interesting to read an article on "England and the Russian Revolution" in the *Century Magazine* by Sir Charles Trevelyan who is a member of the new Cabinet. After pointing out the hostility of British ruling class to the Soviet Government, Sir Charles goes on to say that "in the thinking political section of the British working class there is a real appreciation of the Russian situation which survives all the distortion of the Capitalist press." Of the disposition of the Russian Government toward peace he says:

In the first place, we realize that Russia is a potentially pacific power. Our dominant class in England refuse to recognize this, because it does not square with their conception of Bolshevik policy. Because some Soviet leaders still spread the coming of a world revolution, it is assumed that the Russian people may begin any day to enforce revolution by arms.

The Red Army is indeed a formidable organization. It has been welded into efficiency by the ordeal of defence against the White Legions; it is more highly educated than any other army, and is part of the life of the working class, from whom both officers and rank and file are drawn. For that very reason it is very little of a militarist danger, because of its close association with the Russian people, who are bent on peace.

From the very first, Western politicians have failed to understand that the great war created a passion for peace in Russia. I remember well Lloyd George explaining to me during the war that the Russian revolution would mean a new passionate crusade by emancipated Russia against German imperialism. On that assumption, Kerenski was spurred on by the Allies to make the advance which broke him. The fact was that, with their eight million dead and wounded, the Russians were sick of all imperialism, British and French, as well as German, and still more sick of war. The Bolsheviks alone felt this, and therefore the Bolsheviks superseded Kerenski, who had but himself to blame for the continued butchery.

Nor did the three more years of misery, starvation and killing engineered by Winston Churchill do other than increase the deep horror of war in Russia. There has never been the least

chance of a great revolutionary, expansionist crusade from Russia, such as began in France in 1792. There was never any danger of Trotsky becoming a new Napoleon. This ought to be becoming clear now to the whole world, when Trotsky and Zinoviev have been thrust from their positions of power in the Government and authority in the Communist Organization into disgrace and exile.

If further proof is wanted of the pacific tendencies of the Workers' Republics it is worth considering the rapid reductions of recent years in the Russian armies. Until two years ago we were saying truly that, in spite of the war to end war, there were more armed men in Europe than before the war began. A compulsorily disarmed central Europe was encompassed by nations that spent more on armaments and kept more of their population in their armies than before the greatest army had been reduced to the dimensions of a police force. In the last two years however the numbers have fallen a little below the pre-war level. It is not because of the Western nations. For Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and Italy remain fully armed. It is mainly Russia that has been reducing her armies. The reductions have been as follows :

1920	5,300,000 men
1922	800,000 men
1924	610,000 men
1926	562,000 men

Having given this decisive earnest of her tendency, it is not possible to wave aside as insincere the expressions of the Soviet Government in favour of universal disarmament.

Whenever, Sir Charles Trevelyan concludes by saying, there is a Labour Government in Britain it will know that it can rely on a new alignment of nations among those which make the attainment of security and disarmament a principal policy. This common object is bound to draw Britain and Russia together in the future.

Prof. Eddington's World

Mr. F. S. Marvin, the well-known English historical writer, summarizes the philosophical conclusions of Professor Eddington's brilliant book, "The Nature of the Physical World" in the *Hibbert Journal*. This book, says Mr. Marvin, has attained the distinction of a best seller and it well deserves it. A distinguished foreign student, who picked it up in Mr. Marvin's room told him with admiration that "It is only you English who can write this sort of thing or care to read it." It is a brilliant, amusing and thoroughly expert, but yet detached account of the complicated and profound researches, submitted for the enlightenment and discussion of the general public.

Three leading thoughts stand out in this more

general portion of the book on which the more general thinker will inevitably fasten his attention.

The first is the part played by the mind in building the physical world. This is admirably discussed in the chapter on World-Building. It is summed up in the phrase "Not once in the dim past, but continuously by conscious mind, is the miracle of the Creation wrought." Here we should certainly gather—and all the context concurs—that the conscious mind means the mind of man, evolving through the ages and gradually bridging the gulf between the facts of everyday experience and the set of conceptions also built up from conscious experience.

The element of permanence in the physical world, which is commonly represented by the idea of "substance," is the main contribution of the mind to this plan of building. We construct things which satisfy the law of conservation. But we must not delude ourselves into thinking that we are the builders of the universe, "for the things which we might have built, but did not, are there just as much as those we did build. What we have called building is rather a selection from the patterns that weave themselves." Evidently the author's thought here is rather of the poetic than the philosophic order.

The second leading thought of a philosophic kind is a still more striking illustration of this. It is based on the indeterminacy which is attributed to the atom by the latest development of the Quantum Theory. Many readers will conclude that we are driven by this to the abandonment of any conception of the invariable predictable sequence of events at least in the physical world. "I hold to it," says Professor Eddington, "that the earth goes anywhere it pleases." Hence we might draw the conclusion not only that determinism with regard to human actions must be given up, as Bergson has taught us, but that indeterminism, a sort of free-will, must be also extended to the atomic world. Yet the conviction remains strong within us that if we throw ourselves out of the upstairs window we shall undoubtedly fall heavily to the ground. And, in another place, the author assures us of his personal conviction that another application of the law of gravitation—in regard to eclipses—may be relied on: "A total eclipse of the sun visible in Cornwall is prophesied for 11th August, 1999. It is generally supposed that this eclipse is already predetermined by the present configuration of the sun, earth and moon. I do not wish to arouse unnecessary misgiving as to whether the eclipse will come off. I expect it will. . . . But it is predicted as a consequence of the law of gravitation—a law which we found in Chapter VII. to be a mere truism. . . . I might venture to predict that 2+2 will be equal to 4 even in 1999, but it will not help to convince anyone that the universe (or, if you will the human mind) is governed by laws of deterministic type." This is an exceedingly interesting passage, for we have to put it side by side with another on p. 244, where the laws of Nature are divided into three classes: (1) identical laws (2) statistical laws (3) transcendental laws, and it is suggested that if there are any genuine laws of control of the physical world they must be sought in the third group, the transcendental laws. It is these which are concerned with the particular behaviour of atoms. It is, however, these very atoms that

form the bodies which we have hitherto considered subject to the law of gravitation. The law of gravitation, we are told, is a mere truism, but the laws of the atoms with which we are now at last confronted—Nature's own intrinsic system of government—are at present beyond our conception.

The third section, which will specially appeal to the general reader, is that on "Science and Mysticism," where the author turns from Lamb's *Hydrodynamics* and abandons himself to a delightful reverie on the "gladness of the waves dancing in the sunshine and the awe of the moonlight on the frozen lake." "Waves, ripples, laughter, gladness—the ideas jostled one another. Quite illogically we were glad, though what there can possibly be to be glad about in a set of aetheral vibrations no sensible person can explain. The gladness in ourselves was in Nature, in the waves, everywhere. That's how it was." And then a defence follows for leaving a place for this other, the vague and unordered, but most inspiring, apprehension of Nature. Everyone will sympathize. Consciousness is greater than the quasi-metrical aspects of it which are abstracted to compose the physical brain, and the universe is greater on its side than the tiny part we have so far been able to make our own. . . . Comte, who is often taken as the purest example of the determinist attitude, was just as open in his way to these feelings as Wordsworth was in his. It would now seem that as we are making more and more of the universe our own, so there are constantly revealed more and more mysteries to arouse our wonder, stimulate our curiosity, and give food for that frame of mind which Eddington here describes.

The Sciences and Philosophy

Following close on the publication of Professor Eddington's course of Gifford lectures for 1927, comes the publication of Professor J. S. Haldane's lectures for 1928, both of which are attempts to find a wide philosophical synthesis on the basis of modern science, and both, brilliant and penetrating as they are in their own way, serve, as the *Times Literary Supplement* points out, as antidotes and correctives to each other:

Professor Haldane's work is essentially an exposition, from the standpoint of the scientist, of the philosopher's faith that all the tentative constructions of reality as embodied in the special sciences, consisting as they do of "abstractions" at the ascending stages of mathematics, physics and biology, must yield place ultimately to the attempt truly to construct the world in terms of spirit, in which for the first time, and in which alone, temporal as well as spatial finitude begins to be transcended. The thesis itself is indeed familiar enough, even to Southerns; but even if, as Professor Haldane modestly admits, "it is much the same inheritance as, in Scotland particularly, very many have received," there is nothing trite or familiar in the eloquence and persuasiveness with which he develops the theme: and its special appeal for those who have resolutely refused to despair

of philosophy comes perhaps not less from the merits of the writer's presentation, great though they are, than from the fact of his eminence in the world of science. The words which he himself uses merely in a trenchant parenthesis against the unsavouriness of psycho-analysis might not inappropriately be given a wider connotation: "Perhaps these words, coming as they do from a physiologist, may be more needed than if they came from a philosophical teacher by profession." It is a most reasonable hope; to rub the lesson in further would be an ungrateful return for philosophy to make to her champion and a neglect of his own eirenicon to the effect that "there is no contest between the sciences and religion at all 'provided that' beliefs in supernatural events form no part of religion and that science does not deal with ultimate reality but only with abstractions of limited practical application."

It is demanded by the proportion and finish of Professor Haldane's work no less than by its spiritual earnestness that attention should fasten less upon the details of his exposition than upon the ultimate metaphysical inferences which an implicit acquiescence in his conclusions would appear to suggest. His brilliant scientific account of the phenomena of respiration and acclimatization, his lucid explanation of recent physical discoveries and theories, his epitome of the rise and fall of mechanism and vitalism in biology, even his criticism of Kantian and Hegelian idealism and of a type of realism so different from his own as that of Professor Alexander—all are so excellently done as to exempt themselves from question and to lead the mind on through

a train of flowery causes to the proof

That Gods there are, and deathless.

It is, in short, the religious issue of his speculation with which Professor Haldane is himself primarily concerned; and it is confessedly on this almost alone, that he would wish the value of his work to be assessed. The question therefore which emerges is the vital one whether philosophy and science may and must compose their differences on the terms of the creed of Professor Haldane, abjuring the idea of personal immortality as a survival of ideas grounded on philosophical dualism and on a denial of the right of infra-human grades of reality to share in the being of spirit, and confining itself to the majestic and austere belief that "God is the Creator and Sustainer of us and our universe, and the Source of all that we recognize as good; that he is revealed to us, and that in accepting and acting on this revelation we become one with Him and are thus beyond all apparent ill." These are indeed impressive words, and it is only in a spirit of sincere admiration for their fearless humility that it would be justifiable to suggest that such a confession of faith, true as it must be, need not necessarily represent the whole of truth.

Yet, in such a spirit, it is permissible to suspect that Professor Haldane has made an assumption which it is not obligatory upon all to join him in making. The whole edifice of his philosophy of mind rests upon a belief (an act of faith as he explicitly calls it) in the permeation of all grades of being with a Spirit of which each grade is in its degree a progressive revelation. Even if it be conceded that human personality, in transcending the time-relation in the form of the over-

individualized purpose, leaves nothing further to be transcended in the constituent relations of the universe as we know it, it must surely remain uncertain whether or not there may be other grades of spiritual revelation in which the transcendence of the time-relation, conceivable by us only in the forms of memory and social progress may be transmuted into other and more consummate experiences. The poet's conception of "Worlds I must pass through, not a few" may be too subjectively expressed: but without the conception

of some possibility such as it adumbrates the idea of the revelation of spirit seems to remain mysteriously incomplete. There is a philosophical as well as a religious difficulty in confining that revelation or appearing to confine it, within the conditions inseparable from "lamentable Time and doleful Space" and, if this once be granted, possibilities which Professor Haldane finds himself unable to admit seem to suggest themselves in reference to the question of personal immortality.

The Microcrescometer*

By S. C. GUHA

THE importance of the direct methods of measuring plant-growth is so evident that I do not propose to dwell at all on that subject this evening and I shall only content myself with a brief history of the development of all growth-making apparatus.

The earliest of these were the auxonometers; they worked on the principle of a simple lever, or of radical magnification (as in Sachs-auxonometer)—but unfortunately the magnification thus attained could not be higher than 200 or 250 times; moreover, the pull exerted on the plants was too much and hence auxonometers could not be used for small and tender plants.

To eliminate the principal defects of these apparatuses Sir J. C. Bose applied his delicate levers, with special devices; and unparalleled perfection was reached in the high magnification Crescograph (*Trans. Bose Research Inst.* 1919). The principle involved in it was of magnifying by a compound system of two levers, one of which was attached to the plant, while the free end of the other gave the records of the magnified growth. The magnification thus obtained was from 3000 to 4000 times; but the range for which this apparatus could be used was very limited.

In 1920, Sir J. C. Bose invented the magnetic Crescograph; its governing principle was the movement of a magnetic needle disturbing the equilibrium of a suspended astatic system,—carrying a reflecting mirror. The lever was the magnetic needle, with one end

attached to the plant, the other being free to move in a vertical plane opposite to the astatic system—fixed on a suspended mica vane (in order to damp oscillations) and carrying a reflecting mirror. With this apparatus Sir J. C. Bose claimed to have obtained a magnification of a million times; this claim was challenged by Professor Waller and Sir J. C. Bose invited a committee of seven eminent English physicists and biologists to examine his apparatus. This committee certified the perfect functioning of the Magnetic Crescograph. But one important point was missed by all those who were interested in the Waller-Bose controversy, namely, a rigid physical test of the magnification obtained by the apparatus and its calibration. This was an unfortunate omission on the part of the committee and up till now Sir J. C. Bose's claim of obtaining a million-times magnification remains untested and hence in many quarters unaccepted. However, in any case, one may assume that a magnification of 100,000 to 200,000 times at one metre's distance from the mirror, can be obtained with this apparatus.

But in spite of its high magnification this apparatus is not of great service for accurate research work; there is no denying, however, that for demonstration purposes its value is immense.

I shall enumerate the few inherent defects that this Magnetic Crescograph suffers from.

It is evident that the magnetic needle loses its magnetism as well as the astatic system on account of variations in temperature;

* Synopsis of a paper read before the *Société Botanique de Genève* on January 28, 1929.

there are losses due to the needle not being in the lines of "magnetic force" or "magnetic dip". The needle has to be re-magnetized and this occasions frequent changes in the field of magnetic force and prevents one's having a fixed value of magnification with the apparatus.

These drawbacks seem to me the reason for not employing the Magnetic Crescograph in the more accurate research works conducted in the Bose Research Institute in Calcutta.

More recently Sir J. C. Bose has invented another apparatus to demonstrate the alleged pulsatory movement of the ascent of sap. I am sorry to tell you that I cannot give you a detailed description of this new discovery, since it remains as yet un-named and not described in any scientific journal that I know of. Even the *Transactions of the Bose Research Institute* do not enlighten us much. But we had the good fortune of seeing the apparatus when Sir Jagadish gave a demonstration-lecture in the Aula of the Geneva University in 1926. We then came to understand that the principles involved in this new apparatus are those of a lever and of optical magnification (as applied in the galvanometers). The plant of which the radial growth is to be measured, is placed between the lever and a fixed prop; the lever is extremely light being of porcupine-spike. Any expansion or contraction of the plant moves the extreme end (of the lever) which carries a wire supporting a weight and at the same time passing round the vertical axis furnished with a reflecting mirror.

The pressure exerted by the plant on the lever keeps the balance against the "pull" produced by the weight; any variation in the pressure will modify the balance and thus cause a movement of the spot of light from the reflecting mirror. To "damp" the movement the weight attached to the wire is immersed in water.

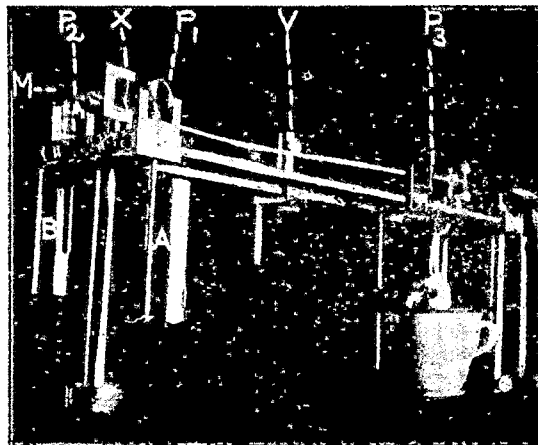
Unfortunately, this new invention suffers from some vital defects, which, in spite of the high magnification that the apparatus is capable of giving, debar its application in accurate research work.

Here the weight, being partially immersed in water, exerts a varying tension on the lever and thence on the plant whenever this latter has any variation in internal pressure or in other words, "radial growth"; and this is a factor, which, with our present-

day knowledge of the subject, cannot be evaluated. Moreover, the internal pressure of the plant itself being incalculable the results invariably become vitiated. Further again, with the variation of the turgescence of the plant, the pressure exerted on the walls varies; one should bear in mind that the constitution of the cell-sap and a number of other factors influence the turgescence of a plant. The extremely elastic porcupine-spike naturally absorbs a certain amount of the pressure exerted on it, and this is also, what we may call, incalculable, but all the same a factor which vitiates the result. It is also apparent that the device for bringing the spot of light to the original position is apt to induce the error of varying tension.

And even then with all these drawbacks the apparatus cannot be used for measuring longitudinal growth.

Our knowledge of growth-measuring apparatus was at this stage when my research-work led to my inventing an apparatus giving high magnification which could be relied on and thus used in accurate researches. This invention I have named the "microcrescometer" and for its general description I refer to the "*Archives de la Societe Physiques et Sciences Naturelles*" (1928, vol. I, pp. 59-61).



The Microcrescometer

The microcrescometer consists principally of a lever KL (see figure) which is mounted on a vertical axis Y, rotating on two diamond pivots. The lever moves in a horizontal plane, and it is balanced. A fine gold thread (carrying two unequal weights A and B) is glued at the free end

of the lever. The gold wire encircles an axis X carrying a mirror, mounted between the pulleys P₁ and P₂, over which the wire is stretched. The greater weight B thus exerts a continual and constant tension on the free end of the lever and thus drags it in its direction, making the axis X rotate on its diamond pivots; in this way the slightest movement of the free end of the lever, the axis is rotated and the mirror, reflecting a ray of light indicates the amount of rotation of the axis X.

The plant is placed between the axis Y and the free end L of the lever KL, and is joined to the lever at any desired point by an unspun cocoon thread passing over a pulley P₃.

In the universal microcrescometer, the pulley P₃ is fixed on a travelling chariot moving on two parallel rails. There is a rod fixed underneath the chariot and to this the plant is screwed on while the plant itself is arranged by means of a clamp to carry a glass pot which can be raised or lowered by means of a micrometer screw.

Opposite to the pair of rails on the other side of the lever is placed another pair of rails supporting a second travelling chariot—provided with a stand through which passes another micrometer screw, ending in a circular disc on the inner side.

To measure the longitudinal growth of the plant, the plant is attached to the lever over the pulley P₃; when radial growth has to be measured the plant is placed between the lever and the circular disc end of the micrometer, carried on the second chariot. In measuring the radial growth the weights A and B at the ends of the gold wire are made "practically equal". (The weights A and B are always immersed in a heavy liquid.)

The lever is kept in equilibrium—(a) in the measurement of the longitudinal growth, by the tension exerted by the plant the direction opposite to the "pull" of the greater weight B.—(b) in the measurement of growth in diameter by the pressure exerted by the plant itself on the lever, being

in the opposite direction to the pull exerted by the "pull". In either case for a small growth d , the extremity L of the lever moves, in the direction of B in case (a) and in the direction A in case (b), and this makes the axis X rotate, and naturally the mirror with it. The reflected ray on a scale SS₁ at a metre's distance determines the rotation and hence the actual growth, as magnified by the apparatus.

Theory:—For a small growth of the plant the extreme end L of the lever is moved through a distance given by the formula $d \times L/l$, where L is the length of the lever between the axis Y and the gold wire, and l is the length between the point of attachment to the plant and the axis Y.

This movement of the end L of the lever causes a circular rotation of the axis X given by the formula $w = dL/lr$ where w is the angular rotation and r the radius of the axis at the point where the gold wire circumscribes it. For small values of the displacement D of the reflected ray of light on the scale at distance R from the mirror is given by the formula.

$$D = 2d \times \frac{L}{l} \times \frac{R}{r}$$

The magnification is given by the formula

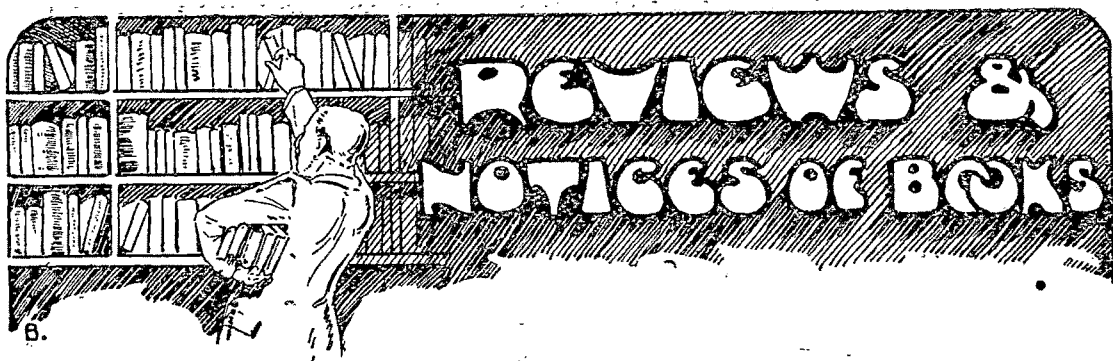
$$G = \frac{D}{d} = 2LR/lr.$$

Conforming to the convention of keeping the scale at a metre's distance from the mirror and taking all the measures in length in millimetre, for the apparatus shown, the value of $G = 2,000,000 L/l$ (L being = 400 mm. and $r = 0.4$ mm.).

The rigidity of the plant permitting l can be reduced to 2 mm. and a magnification of 1 million times is easily obtained.

The ratio L/l is unchanged and the error due to variations of temperature is negligible, for it depends on the difference in linear expansion to heat between gold and cocoon thread.

While I have indicated the maximum magnification easily obtainable, the minimum magnification is 5000 times, and as such is higher than any existing reliable apparatus.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

ZAKA ULLAH OF DELHI : By C. F. Andrews. With an Introductory Memoir by the late Maulvi Naxir Ahmad ; pp. demy 8vo 159+xxx. Eight Illustrations. Cloth, gilt letters. W. Heffer and Sons Ltd., Cambridge, England. 7s. 6d. net. (The printing paper and get-up are excellent.)

By the courtesy and kindness of Mr. Andrews we were able to publish this very interesting and instructive book serially in *The Modern Review*. But few of even those who keep monthly magazines bound in volumes ever turn to them for reading books published in them serially. Therefore, both those who have never read this memoir and those who have read it in this journal would do well to keep and peruse the book. Munshi Zaka Ullah was a scholar and a real gentleman and sincerely and deeply loved India as his motherland. He was a link between the past and the present in his days—one who had lived before the Mutiny, been through it and survived it. His family had been connected with the Mughal court for generations.

Apart from the value of this biography in itself, it is important from another point of view. The best means of establishing and preserving amity and goodwill between the Hindu and Musalman communities is for Hindus to know good Musalman men at close quarters and for Musalmans to know good Hindu men at close quarters. Those Hindus are fortunate who have trusted Musalman friends (and so are those Musalmans who have trusted Hindu friends). But they and other Hindus will be gainers by perusing the life of Munshi Zaka Ullah. The paragraphs relating to his love of India and things Indian will bear reproduction.

"Munshi Zaka Ullah's opinions on one point were very strong indeed. He objected vehemently to Musalmans, whose forefathers had been in India for many generations, regarding themselves as foreigners, or making a line of separation between their own interests, as Musalmans, and the interests of India itself. No subject roused him to indignant protests more than this.

"India", he said to me, with impassioned accents that I can still recall, 'India' is our own mother-country, the country which gave us birth. We have made our homes here, married here, begotten children here; and here on this soil of India we have buried our sacred dead. India, therefore, must needs be dearer to us than any other country upon earth. We should love this very soil of India, which is mingled with the dust of our ancestors. For a thousand years our own religion of Islam has been intimately bound up with India; and in India, Islam has won some of the greatest triumphs for its own peculiar form of civilization. We should love, therefore, the history and government of India, which have been shaped by such great monarchs as Akbar the Great and his successors. I cannot bear to hear Indian Musalmans speaking without reverence and affection for India. It is a new fashion, unfortunately springing up, which did not exist in my younger days. The fashion is a bad one, and should not be encouraged. By all means let us love our Musalman brethren in other countries, and feel their joys and sorrows; but let us love with all our hearts our own country and have nothing to do with the encouragement of those who tell us, that we, Musalmans, must always be looking outside India for our religious hopes and their fulfilment."

"Indian history, Indian poetry, Indian art, Indian music, were all great in his eyes; and he made no line of distinction between what was Hindu and what came from Islam. He was proud of every achievement and cherished it all as his own."

Munshi Zaka Ullah's character was marked by great tolerance and benignity. In the course of a letter written to Mr. Andrews, the Munshi's son Inayat Ullah says :

"He would not brook to hear a word said against the Hindus by any of his sons; and if even the slightest reference was made disparagingly, he would reprimand the one who made it and point out the mistake."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S LETTERS TO A FRIEND : Edited, and with two Introductory Essays by

C. F. Andrews. With four illustrations in colotype. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Rusk House, 40, Museum Street, London. 7s. 6d. net. pp. 195. Cloth, gilt letters.

Mr. C. F. Andrews was good enough to contribute to *The Modern Review* many of the letters contained in this beautiful volume. Other letters are published in it for the first time. And they have all been revised and divided into chapters, with a brief explanatory summary of the circumstances in which the letters were written. There are, besides, two well-written essays on the Bengal Renaissance and on the personality of Tagore.

All the letters, except two, were written to Mr. Andrews. "They provide an intimate record of Tagore's feelings during the war, and of the constructive ideas of fellowship between East and West that have filled his mind since the war ended. In a very personal way they introduce the reader to the deepest thoughts of the East about Europe and America, and throw light on some of the most difficult problems of India." There are in them many charming descriptions, poems and reflections, with unexpected sallies of wit interspersed. Many passages are written in a humorous vein.

There are so many topics dealt with in the letters that it is impossible to give any idea of them in this brief notice. But an exception may be made in favour of the letter concerning the Dyer debates in the British Parliament. The poet wrote: "The result of the Dyer debates in both Houses of Parliament makes painfully evident the attitude of mind of the ruling classes of this country towards India. It shows that no outrage, however monstrous, committed against us by agents of their Government, can arouse feelings of indignation in the hearts of those from whom our Governors are chosen.

"The unabashed condonation of brutality expressed in their speeches and echoed in their newspapers is ugly in its frightfulness. The feeling of humiliation about our position under the Anglo-Indian domination had been growing stronger everyday for the last fifty years or more; but the one consolation we had was our faith in the love of justice in the English people, whose soul had not been poisoned by that fatal dose of power which could only be available in a dependency where the manhood of the entire population had been crushed down into helplessness.

"Yet the poison had gone further than we expected, and it has attacked the vital organs of the British nation. I feel that our appeal to their higher nature will meet with less and less response every day. I only hope that our countrymen will not lose heart at this, but employ all their energies in the service of their country with a spirit of indomitable courage and determination.

"The late events have conclusively proved that our true salvation lies in our own hands; that a nation's greatness can never find its foundation in half-hearted concessions of contemptuous niggardliness.

"It is the sign of a feeble character to seek for a short-cut to fulfilment through the favour of those whose interest lies in keeping it barred—the one path to fulfilment is the difficult path of suffering and sacrifice. All great boons come to us through the power of the immortal spirit we

have within us, and that spirit only proves itself by its defiance of danger and loss."

Very appropriately the book has been dedicated to the memory of W. W. Pearson. Any profit from it will be devoted to the Pearson Memorial Hospital at Santiniketan. Mr. Pearson "had accepted Santiniketan Asram for his home, where he felt he could realize his desire to serve the cause of humanity and express his love for India which was deeply genuine in his nature, all his aspirations of life centring in her." He had a great desire to see the Santiniketan Hospital rebuilt and equipped in an adequate manner, for which he worked and contributed money whenever possible.

AN ENGLISHMAN DEFENDS MOTHER INDIA: By Professor Ernest Wood, formerly Principal of the Sind National College, Hyderabad, and Author of many books and translator of several Sanskrit works. Demy 8vo; pp. 458+vi+ix with sixty illustrations. Cloth. Rs. 3. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

This book professes to be a complete constructive reply to Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," and that it undoubtedly is. Its author was specially qualified for his self-imposed task. During his three visits to India he spent altogether thirteen years in the country, travelling north and south and east and west and living in all parts of India, urban and rural, and among all the various main classes of Indians. As he has travelled in more than thirty countries in the course of four journeys round the world, he was in a position to form a comparative estimate of the manners and customs and character of the people of India. He is also a Sanskrit scholar. Thus he writes with a sufficiency of knowledge, derived from personal experience and observation, study and social intercourse with Indians. That he is not an Indian has been an advantage in the writing of this book; for it has enabled him to write dispassionately and in a spirit of detachment without much effort. The illustrations help to serve the purpose of the book. They show that India is not the hell for her men and women and cattle that the female American hireling would have the world believe it is.

Besides the Introduction, there are 25 chapters in the book, on: The Family, Marriage, Motherhood, Child-birth, Childhood, Widowhood, Seclusion, Religion, Fate and Illusion, Indecency and Vice, Character and Manners, The Cow, Cruelty, Boys' Education, Girls' Education, Sanitation, Medicine, The Caste System, The Outcastes, The Princes, The Muhammadans, The Villages, Industries, Taxation and Expenditure, The Reforms. The last three chapters, which deal with economic and political subjects, are written with such sobriety and moderation that they appear to understate the Indian case instead of overstating it or even putting it before the public in an adequate manner.

R. C.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF LIFE: By J. S. Mackenzie: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London: pp. 384; 12s. 6d. net.

Prof. Mackenzie is well known as a writer on Moral and Social Philosophy and the present volume well keeps up his reputation as a thinker and a writer. The book is divided into two unequal

parts—the first and the smaller part dealing with the problem of value and the second and the bigger part dealing with the problem of citizenship which in fact supplies the sub-title of the book, *viz.*, An Essay on Citizenship as Pursuit of Values. In the first part the author discusses the nature and kinds of values and comes to the conclusion that it is possible to enlarge the usually accepted number, *i. e.*, the three values of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, by the addition of Reality, Power and Joy. He sums up his philosophy of life in the statement that "intrinsic value is found in the creation of Joy through the apprehension of Truth by means of Power and the persistent effort to help in doing this is Goodness. In so far as this is in some degree achieved, it is Beauty." According to him, "the complete or ultimate Good would be found in apprehending the Truth that Love and Power give Reality to Beauty and Joy."

In the second part the author discusses the economic, cultural and political aspects of citizenship in order to find out how far co-operative action is conducive to the establishment of a world-commonwealth. The reader will find here many good suggestions and illustrations drawn from many fields of culture and the few repetitions that occur here and there do not make the reading wearisome. There can be no doubt that in spite of a bias in favour of British institutions the author is genuinely interested in the search for a solution of the world-tangle that depresses even the most optimistic politician at the present moment. The author's recent extensive tours in India and the United States have naturally coloured his presentation deeply in relation to these countries and the reader is agreeably surprised to find that the author has a good word to say even about the much traduced caste system of India as a solution of social organization. A sympathy and a benevolence that comes from old age and a desire to be at peace with the world make the writer see some good points in almost all social organizations; hence the book is singularly free from all polemics and if it suffers from indecisiveness here and there and a hesitation to drive a point home it avoids on the other hand supercilious arrogance and blind nationalism.

If the reviewer has to note any defect in the treatment he may refer to his oft-quoted *mot* of Carlyle "The tools to him who can use them," with the corollary that equity and not equality ought to be the objective of all social endeavour. Ruskin showed the danger of this position in his *Crown of Wild Olives*, where he inveighed against Capitalism by pointing out that there is a tendency to throw a man into a ditch and then to ask him to remain content where he was. "Equity for the present and equality as the ideal" is a better guide to conduct. Otherwise the imperialistic designs of powerful nations would always find justification for continuance in unlawful gain in relation to backward races on the pretext that they alone are able at the present moment to use the countries of the world most effectively for the benefit of the world. It is difficult to see how if in the world-commonwealth all the nations of the world are to be represented (p. 340) an opportunity to each nation, now in political subjection to develop along the lines of its own genius can be denied.

The writer has obviously no sympathy for those free nations who view with disfavour the octopus-like grip of Britain on all lands and who legitimately want a place in the sun for their enlarging population and expansive industries. He broaches the problem of equitable distribution of the globe (p. 258) but drops it unceremoniously as being a rather inconvenient question to a Britisher. He has in fact to admit that "the national point of view is prior to the international" which means abandoning the main purpose of the book (p. 326). Turning to his opinions regarding the East (and there is no doubt that he has mostly India in mind), the author doubts whether democratic forms of government would work as satisfactorily in tropical or sub-tropical countries where more constant—or at least more calculable—conditions prevail and where the attention turns more readily to patient speculation and prolonged reflection than to vigorous action," (p. 293) completely forgetting that in that case South Africa will come under this category and not the East alone. There is a curious family likeness between this statement of the Professor and that of Prof. Van Tyne, in his decidedly partial book *India in Ferment* (p. 57), who wonders "in moments of doubt whether the climate does not for ever preclude efficiency of administration by those who dwell always under its enervating influence. The reviewer cannot help thinking that the sympathies of the Professor are with the Capitalists and the Imperialists and he has grave doubts whether the labourer would accept the position of the Professor that as intellectual people find recreation in manual labour, therefore this labour ought to be enjoyed by the labourers themselves. For a past teacher of Logic this argument is indefensible.

The references to current literature on the subject are fair and full although the author writes mostly under the influence of two or three writers, Miss Follet being the principal one. One mistake in reference might be here pointed out: *Local Government in Ancient India* is not by Radhakamal Mukerji but by his equally distinguished brother Radhakumud Mukerji. The style is lucid and the book is well worth perusal by thoughtful persons.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

PRE-EXISTENCE AND RE-INCARNATION: *By Wincenty Lutoslawski*; Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 157. Price six shillings.

The author, the 'eldest son of a wealthy Polish nobleman, was born at Warsaw in 1863.' His "Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic" (published in 1897 by Longmans Green & Co.) has become a Classic. His next English work is "The World of Souls" (published by Allen and Unwin in 1924). This book has been highly spoken of by Professor James and other competent authorities. In the preface of this book Prof. James writes: "That he is versatile as well as scholarly would seem to follow from the fact that his previous writings, numerous, if not voluminous, embrace essays in five other languages—Polish, German, Russian, Spanish and French—and range in subject from chemistry to politics" (Page 5. The W. of S.) About his philosophical and theological views James says: "He is a spiritualist to the core; that is, he believes in individual souls as ultimate and

irreducible facts..The Universe is a great hierarchy system of such individual souls. In other words, Wincenty Lutoslawski is not a monist and either in the materialistic or the idealistic sense, but a pluralist, a monadologist. The world has only the unity of a collection, an immense collection of living souls of all orders, from those most numerous ones at the bottom which animate the particles of matter to the single leading soul whom we all call God, at the top. But this God is not the 'Creator' in the Christian theological sense; he is only a leader, a worker upon forces that are often refractory. Between him and us there are intermediary spirits; and our author, if classed under cut-and-dried rubrics must be distinctly called a polytheist rather than a theist (*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.)

The author develops his views of the soul in the book under review. He believes in Palingenesis, i.e., the pre-existence and re-incarnation of the soul. He has advanced eight arguments to establish this theory (*vide* chap. ii-v) and has discussed also the objections that may be raised against his conclusions (chap. vii). In chapter XV he discusses the Polish doctrine of Palingenesis which he accepts, contrasts it with the Indian doctrine of renunciation and Nirvana. His ideal is the service of Humanity. Plato dreamt of a State where 'the liberty of each citizen would become the safest guarantee of general welfare' (p. 148). Our author's ideal is to make this dream a reality and 'to establish the Kingdom of God on earth' (p. 147).

His dream of discarnate life is very pleasant though in grandeur and sublimity, it falls far short of Voltaire's creation of Micromegas, the Sirian young man with a thousand senses. "The devotee of scientific knowledge," says our author, "can pursue his investigations even better after death than during bodily life. He may use the libraries of the world as he did in the body and to go from one place to another as his work requires. When he cannot understand anything in old books he can easily refer to their authors, if they are not re-incarnated. He needs no sleep, experiences no weariness, has no worries about supporting himself, and can devote years and even centuries to a single problem..Besides, there may exist libraries and laboratories for the discarnate, far richer than any on earth. They may contain materialized reproductions of all the books ever written and of unpublished manuscripts lost to the incarnate scholar etc., etc." (p. 127).

We would rather prefer the Sirian life of Micromegas with a thousand sense organs to the discarnate edition of this earthly life. But a rationalist critic would exclaim—"Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope, attend to Lutoslawski's tales etc. etc."

The description of posthumous life cannot but be mythical and a book should not be judged by what is necessarily fanciful. The book has weak points but it has strong points as well. The arguments and imaginations of the author have not impressed us and we have not been able to accept his conclusions. But we must say that the book is powerfully written and will appeal to a large section of Hindu readers. There is no other book which has so eloquently defended the theory of Palingenesis

MAHESH CH. GHOSH

INDIA'S PAST: By A. A. Macdonell. Pages 273. Price 10s. Oxford. 1927.

An honest and painstaking attempt at presenting the cultural history of India from the remote Vedic times down to the close of the nineteenth century.

It comprises nine chapters. Of these the first three relate to the Vedic period. The fourth relates to the post-Vedic period and carries the cultural history down to the rise of Buddhism. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters deal with the literary history of India in all its branches—poetry, drama, science, philosophy, etc. The eighth chapter treats of the vernacular Indian languages and literatures and the ninth tells us the way in which India's past has been recovered, or in other words, it speaks of the sources of our knowledge regarding India's past—epigraphic, numismatic and other sources.

Some of the chapters, specially that on the history of Sanskrit poetry and drama are written with a masterly hand, while others indicate perfunctory work. The treatment of Hindu philosophy, however, is very meagre and wanting in precision and clearness.

Chronologically considered the history given of India's past is often vague, indefinite and meagre, but read as supplementary to the political history as told in the Oxford History of India by Vincent A. Smith (*vide* author's preface) the book is of considerable value to the students of Indian history.

The book considered from the method of treatment and manner of handling cannot compare with the author's previous works like the "Vedic Mythology" and the "History of Sanskrit Literature" and does not bear testimony to any massive scholarship, but it has the merit of being written in a straightforward, simple and unambiguous style.

It meets the requirements of a beginner only, but will not be of much service to a research student of India's past, either as an authority for the subject he investigates or as a source of information for carrying further researches.

BARODA AND ITS LIBRARIES: By Newton Mohan Dutt. Pages 234. Price Rs. 2-4. Baroda, 1928.

In this excellent book is given a very valuable and interesting account of the library movement in the progressive Baroda State. It contains also three Addresses on Libraries and Literature by H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwad before the Gujarat Vernacular Society, the Baroda Library Club, and the Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya (Library) Bombay, besides an introduction by H. E. the Dewan of Baroda. Statistics given in the 32 appendices are very useful and well-got-up and well-done. They show the progress of the Library Scheme during the last seventeen years, as well as a classification for vernacular books, list of games and occupation in the Children's Playrooms, periodicals taken in the Reading-Rooms of the Baroda City, Rules for the Central Library, the Travelling Library, the State-aided libraries, the Taluka or country library associations, and the Baroda Library Co-operative Society. The author has succeeded in conveying in a readable form much information which will be new and interesting to students of the subject. The 44 page catalogue of books on bibliography and library economy is certainly admirable.

A. VIDYABHUSAN

MODERN TRADE (Inland and Foreign): By *Shib Narayan Lala, A. I. S. A., F. C. I., Incorporated Secretary, London and Lecturer, Calcutta University. Messrs. Shankar & Co., 115 A. Amherst Street, Calcutta. Pp. IX+304+2. Rs. 3.*

We have read Prof. S. N. Lala's "Modern Trade" with great interest. What characterizes it from usual text-books is its careful and accurate presentation of details of business as actually carried on in Calcutta. The author has amply succeeded in giving an inside view of the working of modern commercial houses. His book should, therefore, prove to be of use not only to students of commerce in our universities but also to junior members on the staff of business firms. The comparative chart for C. I. F. contracts, the rules in force in Calcutta with regard to *kundis* and the table of offences and penalties prescribed by the Indian Companies Act are a few among the many valuable features. For ready computation, comparative prices of raw jute in bales and tons, and the weights of bales in terms of tons have been appended.

One notices the lack of a proper index. Proof-reading has been somewhat hurriedly done, requiring a long errata. The publishers Messrs. Shankar & Co. are, however, to be congratulated for their enterprise in publishing such a well-bound and neatly-printed volume of great practical interest.

H. SINHA

AMONG THE SILENCES : (POEMS) : By *Mr. Uma Maheshwar, M.A. V. V. Press, Trivandrum.*

There are fourteen metreless poems. Some of them show great poetical merit. What we think proper is that so young and promising an author should not parade the anguish of his heart so much. Byron profited little by it. It is for young men to plunge into work in the material world; but perhaps we are mistaken. Perhaps no poetry could be written if the mind did not repine. Our young author says :

It is all for a while we love and weep,

The pantomime is finished soon

The spoil of silence fall o'er us

And on the kingdom of the past !

By the way, we are so much accustomed to metre, that a metreless poem appears to many of us like a wheel without spokes. It threatens to become a rage in India, yet we should be delighted if such literature really created a new diversion.

"CRITIC"

APPRECIATIONS OF RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY AT HOME AND ABROAD : By *Grish Chandra Nag, B.A. E. B. Brahma Samaj, Dacca. Price As. 8.*

Rajah Rammohun Roy is rightly called the Maker of Modern India and any information about him is sure to be of interest to us all.

The brochure under review aims at collecting the "expressions of regards, sentiments, opinions and impressions of eminent people of this and other countries" as showing "the very high appreciations they had of the Raja's life and character." It is a very timely publication in view of the centenary of the Brahma Samaj which is now being celebrated.

Several errors and misprints, especially in quotations, meet our eye—principally owing to the compiler not having consulted the original authorities. The very interesting account of Rammohun Roy left by Victor Jacquemont—a cultured Frenchman—has escaped the notice of Mr. Nag. (See *Modern Review*, June 1926, pp. 689-92). Jacquemont paid a visit to the Rajah in his Calcutta residence in 1829.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

BENGALI

MEYEDER KATHA : By *Sri Hemlata Devi. Price eight annas. To be had at the Saroj Nabini Datta Women's Association, 45 Beniatola Lane and of a principal booksellers in Calcutta.*

This is a book of 74 pages on topics concerning the education of women and their work in the home and for society outside the home. The writer is an educated lady of mature judgment. What she has written comes up to our expectations. The brochure is thought-provoking and is marked by much originality and depth of thought. All educated Bengali women should read it—and me too.

BIDHABA-BIRAH : By *Sri Narendra Narayan Chakrabarti. Hindu Mission Book Depot, 7 Becho Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price eight annas, pp. 128.*

This brochure on widow-marriage answers all objections and points out the need of widow marriage in a convincing manner. The author begins by describing how Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was led to ransack the Sastras to find out whether they sanctioned the marriage of widows and his ceaseless and fearless efforts to get widows married when he had discovered such sanction. In the next section the writer quotes verses from the Sastras in support of widow marriage. He next discusses why widow-marriage fell into disuse [among some castes]. In the following six sections he meets all the usual objections. After clearing his ground in this way he dwells on all the reasons and circumstances which make widow-marriage an imperative necessity. He writes movingly and with much vigour.

R. C.

TAMIL

RUSKIN'S 'UNTO THIS LAST' : Translated and published by *R. Ananthakrishnan, Baradwaj Asramam, Shermadevi ; pp. 132 Price 2½ As.*

A beautiful translation of the work ; neatly given up and cheaply priced ; worth reading by every student of labour problem and lover of humanity.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN OR HOW TO AMASS WEALTH : By *Ananthakrishnan, Shermadevi ; with Foreword by M. Ramachandran Chathar, B. A., L. Coimbatore. Available for sale at 'Kam Nadar' office, Azhwarapuram, Lawley Road Po Coimbatore, pp. 8+76+7. Price 6 As.*

The book is sure to make an impression on the reader for the adoption in his own life of the noble qualities of the hero that have made him the gr

man he was ; his wise sayings are also appended to the book.

R. G. N. PILLAI

MARATHI

"DNYANA-DIPA" OR THE GIST OF DNYANESHWARI IN SIMPLE PROSE : By V. G. Apte, Editor 'Anand', pp. 264. Price Re. one.

Mr. V. G. Apte needs no introduction to the readers of the *Modern Review*, as they are too well-acquainted with the short and pithy reviews of Marathi publications, appearing over his signature in this magazine. He has also the reputation, in Maharashtra, of being a most versatile author of many parts and his style is characterized by an engaging grace of natural simplicity and lucid expression. He may be regarded as the father or at least the god-father of 'juvenile literature' as such in present day Marathi, and his monthly magazine *The Anand* is at once the pioneer and the premier one amongst publications of that kind.

The book under review purports to be a lucid gist and summary in prose of the famous "Dnyaneshwari"—the most glorious and brilliant poetical exposition (Commentary) of the Gita, in the simple *Ovi* metre, by the poet, saint, and genius Dnyaneshwar, the work being written when he was barely sixteen. *Dnyaneshwari* is the unique treasure and ornament of Marathi literature, and is the Bible of the *Varkari* cult in Maharashtra. But the perusal of the original work and the grasp of its main argument by the average lay-reader are rendered rather difficult both on account of its archaic language and still more on account of the rich and luxuriant growth coating of poetical similes and illustrations that, like the profuse and thickly studded spring blossom on a mango tree, almost hiding its permanent green foliage, many a time go to completely obscure the main doctrine and the logical reasoning of the Gita. Mr. Apte by his present book has, therefore, rendered a real and very useful service to the Marathi-knowing readers of this class by presenting in the form of a simple connected summary in prose, the main trend and current of the teaching of "Dnyaneshwari" shorn of its rich and sometimes overpowering and perplexing poetical imagery. He has, however, taken good care to retain just such of the typical similes and illustrations from the original as would faithfully reflect the spirit of Dnyaneshwari's exposition of any particular point and at the same time, save the summary in prose, from being too barren and dry as dust. The book is thus a welcome and characteristic addition to that class of numerous works on and about Dnyaneshwari, which may be generally named as 'Helps to the study of the Dnyaneshwari.'

S. N. CHAPEKAR

GRIHA-JIVAN-SASTRA : By K. R. Sant and D. R. Jogalekar of Baroda. Pages 289. Price Re. 1-8.

What a pity it is that we, Indians, who are never tired of boasting of our past civilization, have to take lessons in domestic science from Westerners ! Yet such is actually the case. Our

domestic life is isolated from the progressive knowledge of science and is closely wedded to the manners and customs, the origin or propriety of which is little known. The authors of this book had to go to an American lady to learn what an ideal home should be, and they have made good use of the knowledge thus gained and embodied in the book under notice. The book is divided into five parts dealing with human physiology, cleanliness of the house, clothes, diet and rearing of children, home nursing etc. The information given is useful and the book may very well be recommended as a text-book in the higher forms of girls' schools.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATI

HALARDAN or Lullabies is still a third work by Mr. Meghani. Its introduction entitled, Voice of Parental Affection, reviews the literature of this subject from all points of view, as found in the several civilized countries of the world.

KIRANAVALI is a very small book written by Abdul Latif Ibrahim of Cutch, at present in Europe. Although a Mahomedan by religion, he is steeped in the philosophy of the Upanishads and the verses in this book are a result of such studies. He is barely twenty-five. This work of his is very promising.

(1) KERINAN BHAIYAN, (2) DHUPSALI, (3) BALAVIHAR, (4) HATO: Published by Gandiv Sahitya Mandir of Surat, are attractive little volumes, illustrated, and written for the benefit of children. The stories are such as would interest the juveniles, and the get-up of the books is such as to approach very nearly that of books on the subject published in England. The work is being turned out on right lines.

SUVARNAKESHI : By Mrs. Lavangika P. Mehta, B.A., printed at the Lohanamitra Printing Press, Broda. Pp. 120. Paper cover. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1927).

The story written by the French novelist Theophile Gautier is translated into English as "The Fleece of Gold." Mrs. Lavangika has translated these English version, and a very creditable performance it is. She has thoroughly studied her subject, and entered into the spirit of it, before beginning her work, as is shown by the notes contributed by her. They testify to her wide reading.

NINE NEW STORIES : By J. D. Khandhadia. Printed at the Luhana Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 171. Price Rs. 1-8-0 (1928).

A store-house of humour, depicting the present life of "half bakul" youthful couples. It is bound to afford amusement to the reader.

BHAJANIKKA : By Ardeshtir Framji Khavardar. Printed at the Khadayta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 143. Price Re. 0-14-0 (1928).

The Muse of Mr. Khavardar, the well-known Parsi poet, has now entered on a new phase of activity. She has, as often happens with us Indians when ageing, turned her face towards philosophy, and produced poems, in the vogue of Narsingh Mehta. The verses contained in this volume are of

a superior order, and betray intimate knowledge of Indian philosophy, in which the poet has now taken refuge. Just as by his Bhakti, Narsingh Mehta was able to see the Beatific Vision—see Krishna face to face—the poet seems to have been blessed with same bliss. (See his 'poem—"Welcome" at p. 129). The production is worthy of the poet's pen and reveals him in a new aspect altogether, *viz.*, his power of absorbing the ideas and concepts of Hindu philosophy and expressing them in happy verse.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Hem Chandra Sarkar, M. A., D. D.—RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION IN INDIA, vol. I, Calcutta.

Basanta Kumar Bose—CHRISTIANITY. Chuckerburtty Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.
 Arthur Mayhew—CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. Faber & Gwyer Ltd., London.
 G. S. Dutt—A WOMAN OF INDIA—Saroj Nalini Hogarth Press, London.
 A. H. Jaisinghani—THE VISION OF LIFE. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
 Kanhaya Lal Gauba—UNCLE SHAM. Times Publishing Co., Lahore.
 D. B. Diskalkar, M. A.—SELECTIONS FROM SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS, Vol. I, Parts I-II.
 BOMBAY THROUGH A CAMERA. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.
 BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME-ORIENT Tome XXVII, 1927, Haroi 1928.

The Future of Democracy

BY PROF. M. F. COLACO, M. A., LL. B.

ONE of the slogans on which the World War was fought was to make the world safe for democracy. And, by a strange irony of fate, as an aftermath of the War, there are dictators ruling with a strong and heavy hand not a few of the nations of Europe. Italy, Spain, Russia, Turkey and Portugal are frankly under the personal rule of dictators, while some of the other countries are also under virtual dictatorships, though thinly disguised with the semblance of democratic government. Democracy is evidently at a discount now in Europe. A war which was fought to make the world safe for democracy has ended by making democracy unsafe for the world. It is interesting, therefore, to speculate, in the light of the present anti-democratic reaction, on the future of democracy. Is democracy, which we had come to regard as an ideal polity, being more in accord with the greater political consciousness and enlightenment of modern public opinion, after a trial of over a century, found wanting and to be swept out of existence? Or has it only suffered a temporary set-back due to its accumulating evils which the War and the post-war disorganization brought to a head and from which it will recover on a return to normal conditions? Or are we forging ahead on a path of progress, reaching out towards a more satisfactory or an ideal

polity that will answer more adequately to the needs of a civilization that is growing steadily in complexity?

A cursory critical and historical study of democracy may perhaps provide a key to the solution of this problem. What is democracy? Definitions of democracy are legion, but there is hardly any that covers all the varying shades of character and complexion that democracy has assumed in the course of its long and chequered history. Political institutions, like the chameleon, borrow their colour from the ground in which they live. They are profoundly affected, among other influences, by the national genius and the spirit of the age. It is thus a far cry from the Greek democratic city-states, practically aristocratic in organization, only a limited power of control being vested in the limited number of citizens who had a voice in public affairs, to modern democracy, broad-based on an ever-extending franchise, which enables practically every citizen to control in a fair measure his own political destinies. Modern democracy is again far too sweeping a term, as the democracies of to-day are not all cast in one and the same mould, being sharply differentiated from one another by distinctions that lie deep in national psychology and historical tradition. There is thus all the difference between English democracy and the continental

democracies of which there are again as many varieties as there are nations, though the Mother of Parliaments * has been the one great exemplar of all modern democratic constitutions. (What all the democracies, ancient and modern, have in common is the principle of popular sovereignty which has worked itself out independently in each nation under the stress of its national genius and historical evolution. Democracy is now used as a comprehensive term to indicate a general condition of society in its various aspects, representing a definite philosophic concept rather than a hard-and-fast political system.

Democracy has, like other political forms, been evolving through a series of constitutional experiments made to devise the most effective means to attain the end, which, in the case of democracy, is the political supremacy of the people. In the first flush of French revolutionary excitement and enthusiasm, democracy had been hailed as the panacea for all political ills and the rosy idealists of the Revolution swept off their feet by an unreasoning sentiment, pictured a new golden age under the aegis of democracy. (But it was within a few years of the democratic experiment that the most ardent champions of democracy had to acknowledge that it is not by any means free from the drawbacks and limitations which all forms of government are heir to. It was left, however, to J. S. Mill to demonstrate by a cold and unimpassioned logic exercised upon the theory and practice of democracy that representative government is the ideally best polity. Mill's essay on Representative Government is a landmark in political philosophy and his main contentions cannot be easily challenged. It is scarcely to be denied that, as Mill argued, the ideally best form of government is, that in which the sovereignty is vested in the whole community, in which every citizen not only controls the exercise of that power but is also called upon, at least occasionally, to take an actual part in the government, by the discharge of some public function, local or general.) It is equally true that democracy alone fulfils these conditions literally. It assumes that each man is the best judge of his own interests and, inviting his active

co-operation, arms him likewise with the power of making his will felt in the conduct of public affairs. It develops the social sense and creates the best type of citizen—the citizen that is, in Mill's words, self-protecting and self-dependent. It is the only form of government that is professedly popular, being conducted by the people through their own elected representatives, and is *ipso facto* the most likely to promote their interests. And, if the end of all government is the promotion of the welfare of the community, it will be easily conceded that democracy is the ideally best polity.)

(But Mill was not slow to recognize that democracy is subject to drawbacks and evils, which, if they cannot be altogether obviated, may, by the exercise of the best statesmanship, be reduced to the minimum. Democracy, as a political creed, has been the target of much strong satire and criticism.) Talleyrand's well-known dictum, that democracy is but an aristocracy of blackguards, and Voltaire's cynical gibe, that when people get into a flock their ears grow long, are fair samples of a type of indictment against democracy which is either inspired by an anti-democratic bias or is of far too sweeping and vague a nature to be answered by reasoned argument. But there are charges which may be fairly maintained against democracy, because there are evils which have vitiated the system and must be removed, if democracy is still to have a place in the sun. (Mill summed up under two heads the *positive* evils and dangers of the representative, as of every other form of government: first, the general ignorance and incapacity in the controlling body; secondly, the danger of its being under the influence of interests not identical with the general welfare of the community. Democracy has also been often charged with being impatient of brains and tending to collective mediocrity.) Though the truth of these latter indictments against democracy is open to question, it cannot be denied that the ignorance and incapacity of the controlling body is fatal to democracy as well as to any other form of government. This danger is moreover to be guarded against more specially in the case of democracy, because it constitutes, in a sense, its peculiar weakness, which places it at a disadvantage in relation to other forms of government. The competence and the ability of an individual ruler or of a select body

* History does not support the British claim that the British Parliament is the mother of parliaments. There were earlier bodies of that description. Editor, *M. R.*

of them can be more easily ensured than that of a larger and more unwieldy governing body as that of a democracy. While other forms of government are usually controlled by permanent bureaucracies, consisting of men who devote themselves exclusively to the work of government as their lifelong occupation, a democracy with its everchanging personnel, determined by instability of power and the briefness of the period of tenure of office, tends to produce a certain amateurishness in the governing assembly, which is not conducive to that high efficiency which is developed by forms of government ruling through bureaucracies, unhampered in their mental training and administrative experience by a solution of continuity. This danger is, however, now considerably reduced, if it has not been altogether conjured away by the steady rise of the average level of education which naturally reacts on the ability and the power of the governing body and by the emergence of the modern type of the professional politician, who makes of politics an object of lifelong study and pursuit and devotes to it the specialized competence which is necessary to cope effectively with growing intricacy and complexity of modern political life.)

(The second danger to which Mill has adverted lies in what Bentham has called "the sinister interests of the holders of power," and is still with us. It is natural that all governments should advance the immediate interests of the party in power and democracy cannot be expected to rise above this natural human weakness. But democracy has undertaken a special trust which it must discharge if it is to justify itself. A monarchy or an oligarchy may well afford to neglect the general welfare of the community when it clashes with the narrow interests of the class whom it is their avowed object to serve. But that a polity which is professedly popular should encourage sectional interests to the detriment of the interests of the whole community, involves the negation of the fundamental principle of democracy. Democracy is anti-democratic when it allows class interests to override the interests of the community. This danger of democracy cannot be altogether removed so long as it remains, as it must ever remain—on account of the natural conflict of interests in the body politic—the rule of the numerical majority and not of the whole community. But it can be minimized, as it has been, by

providing such constitutional safeguards as the creation of a strong opposition to act as a moral check, backed by a public opinion enlightened and vocal enough to curb the unrestrained exercise of power.

(While democracy has thus been protected against some of its evils, others still remain or have reappeared in a new form and others, essentially modern, have found their way into our democracies of to-day. The modern world is afflicted by a class consciousness which seems to be leading inevitably to a class-war between the forces of capital and labour. This is a serious menace to the future of democracy as is seen in the first fruits of a labour victory which has led to a ruthless dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia. Capitalism has, on the other hand, captured the governments of some countries which are being exploited by the "sinister interests of the holders of power," as in England, where a Conservative government has identified itself with the forces of Capitalism and has introduced class legislation designed to favour one section of the community at the expense of its general welfare. The organization of the capitalistic resources by the formation of gigantic trusts and combines that is taking place all over the world,—the most powerful engine ever devised for the enslavement of labour and the setting up of the Servile State—is a formidable danger not only to modern democracy but also to modern civilization. It has been truly said that high finance is the most subtle, ubiquitous and potent of modern political forces and that the Demos is now no more than a puppet of banks and stock-exchanges. It insinuates itself subtly in international politics; it dictates the internal and external policy of governments; it controls the issues of peace and war. Capitalism is, at best, anti-democratic, at worst, anti-national. There is, as a rule, little idealism in governments, and democracy has been charged with lack of spiritual power; but a democracy in the grips of High Finance is a soul-less tyranny.)

(Our democracies are also being slowly undermined to-day by the canker of parliamentary corruption. It is a fallacy to believe that democracy is less subject to corruption than a monarchy or an oligarchy, on the ground that a man or a few individuals are more easily accessible than a large governing body. Democracy is, however, open to a more insidious, and a more subtle, form of corruption.

It is fortunately a rare phenomenon though cases are not by any means unknown in electoral history, that votes are bought at a price and candidates returned by unscrupulous bribery. But there is a greater danger which threatens modern public life, which has not been of a character to favour the emergence of the best type of politician. Though the masses have an instinctive sense of ability and honesty there is still an ample field for the demagogues, versed in the art of playing to the gallery or of swaying the passions of a crowd, to supersede honest men of quiet worth or even men of outstanding ability, but lacking in the arts of popular appeal or disdaining the crude electioneering tactics of the average politician. Modern parliamentary life has thus been the favourite hunting-ground of politicians whose sole aim is to make of politics a convenient platform to secure personal advantage or cheap notoriety or to promote sectional interests. The wide and extended franchise of modern democracies which places the suffrage within the power of the half-educated and the uneducated, with a feeble civic conscience and a feebler power of discrimination, has rendered it easier to the third-rate politician to find a seat in our representative bodies, who, by his lack of ability and honesty, has only brought parliamentary government into disrepute. Italy is the most striking example of a country which was brought by a corrupt and effete parliamentarism to the verge of political ruin, from which it was only saved by the bold and fearless assumption of personal power and the imposition of autocratic government by a man of genius on a people demoralized by the incompetence and the dishonesty of their rulers.

Our modern democracies have also suffered from defects which need to be remedied by constitutional reform, as, for instance, the inadequacy of the machinery provided to secure popular representation. One of the great problems of democracy has always been how to devise the most effective means to ensure that the representative bodies should be truly representative of the people, and it is open to doubt whether the legislatures of our democracies reflect the genuine expression of popular opinion. Different types of democracy have been evolved: there is, to mention only a few, the American type of presidential democracy, or the referendal type of democracy, in which a

provision is made for a direct appeal to the people through a referendum, as in some of the recent constitutions of Germany and the Irish Free State, or the British type of democracy, with which we are too familiar. But none of the types of democracy can fairly claim that they possess the ideal constitutional machinery by which public feeling and opinion is truly and accurately reflected. Mill has also exposed another flaw in our democratic constitutions which are not equal but systematically unequal in favour of the predominant class. With characteristic insight he discriminated between the pure idea of democracy, which is the government of the whole people by the whole people equally represented and which, as we have seen, is impracticable, and democracy, in actual practice, which is the government of the whole people by its numerical majority, exclusively represented. This amounts in effect to a government of privilege in favour of the numerical majority, which strikes at the root of one of the basic concepts of democracy. To remedy this deficiency, Mill suggested the representation of minorities which would provide, to quote his words, "a social support for individual resistance to the tendencies of the ruling power." The failure to adopt this safeguard has turned many of our democracies into thinly veiled oligarchies, exploited in their own narrow interests by the numerical majority. Democracy has also to create the necessary machinery to secure the easy return to its representative bodies of men of the highest ability and integrity who are above the demagogic arts of the vulgar politician or who cannot afford the heavy financial outlay which the cumbrous methods of elections and the traditional procedure connected with them entail. It must see that neither independence of mind or character nor relative poverty disqualifies a man from political aspirations. If our parliamentary life is to recover its lost prestige, it must attract to itself the better type of public men and leave the field less open to the dishonesty and incompetence of the politicians who have contributed to its discredit.)

It is easy to see that the present dictatorships have risen on the ruins of democracies whose evils gathering to a head precipitated their fall and to which the genius and the courage of dictators easily dealt the *coup de grace*. The effete ness of these democracies was first revealed by the Great War. The cumbrous machinery of a democracy, with its

slow and dilatory methods, is not conducive to the instant and decisive action which is necessary to the conduct of war. And to carry on a war under the control of an effete democracy would be an act of political suicide. This is the reason why even in the most efficient democracies the last war was directed by men who were invested with virtually autocratic powers, independent of parliamentary control, such as those assumed by Lloyd George in England and Clemenceau in France, who won the Allied victory. And the prestige of democracies, undermined by parliamentary corruption and inefficiency, which had been badly shaken during the War could not, on its conclusion, be easily restored. In the post-war reconstruction, some of the democracies which had experienced its worst drawbacks had to be scrapped in the interests of good government and were replaced by the dictatorships which saved them from the chaos into which they were drifting.)

(Political prophecy is a hazardous game. We would venture to assert, nevertheless, that the dictatorships of to-day are a passing political phase and to predict that democracy will sooner or later come into its own. It will be a stronger and healthier democracy, freed from some of the defects which have proved so fatal to its progress. We think that we can find a warrant for this prophecy in the lessons of history. Dictatorships have often in the past been resorted to as the sovereign remedy in great political emergencies and national crises of exceptional gravity. Nations, jealous of their rights and liberties, have thrown themselves willingly on the tender mercies of an autocratic ruler in the supreme interest of national security. The Romans, tired of the despotic sway of the kings whose fateful yoke they had violently shaken off, submitted themselves tamely, as an emergency measure, to temporary dictatorships. It seems to us, therefore, that the present dictatorships are also an extreme measure of safety, a heroic remedy adopted to deal with the special problems raised by the War and post-war reconstruction and determined by the effete parliamentarism of democracies which could only be remedied by drastic reform, demanding the capacity, the energy and the concentration of purpose of a strong personal rule. Like the Roman dictators the modern dictators will lay down their exceptional powers when it is no longer necessary to wield them, and will

restore to the people the rights and privileges of parliamentary life which they have been prepared to forgo for a time, and for a time only, as a supreme act of sacrifice in a great national crisis.)

(In this belief we are encouraged by the pronouncements made by some of our modern despots. The Italian dictator has in spite of his Napoleonic pretensions, always repudiated the idea of a permanent dictatorship, which he has declared he is ready to lay down in favour of democratic government, as soon as his country recovers from the anarchy into which it was sinking under the corruption and incompetence of Italian parliamentary life. The Spanish Dictator has also, in not a too remote pronouncement, denounced the dictator's personal power, which he avers is hateful and only endurable in a wise and virtuous man. He has endeavoured to show that the present form of government in force in Spain could not be correctly described as a dictatorship; and, to reassure his people, has convoked a National Assembly, consisting of three hundred deputies, elected from all professions and trades and forestalled the appointment of eighteen various committees to draft a regular code to be submitted ultimately to the country; which is all, we presume, an earnest of a return in due course to normal democratic government. Even so will the other dictatorships of to-day be seen to be in the nature of a temporary reaction against an inefficient parliamentary government which could only be remedied by the vigorous action of centralized authority.)

(Nor are these modern dictatorships despotisms in the old sense of the term, because they rest on a democratic principle, on the consent of the governed. It is difficult to believe that Mussolini or Primo de Rivera would be allowed to continue for long in the enjoyment of absolute power, if they did not derive the sanction for it from the moral support of the numerical majority of their country's population. What has been scrapped in these countries is the machinery of democracy, but the democratic principle is still at work in these dictatorships. The political consciousness of the people is so deeply stirred to-day that a dictatorship, except as a temporary emergency measure, is regarded as a political anomaly. Whatever the political form that is now evolved, it cannot afford to ignore the strong democratic instinct of the people and must be democratic, at least in principle. Our monarchies

are now full-blown democracies and our dictatorships cannot be otherwise. We feel, therefore, that democracy is now as safe as ever. The world has been travelling broadly speaking, from monarchies, through oligarchies, to democracies; the centre of political power has shifted from the one to the few and from the few to the many and, unless we are greatly mistaken, it must pass to many more. The trend of political evolution all over the world is in the direction of a growing democratization. In England the Reform Acts passed during the last century have gradually transferred political control from a territorial aristocracy to the middle class, from whom it is slowly passing to the labouring class. Our democracy has not been democratic enough, as it has been so far only middle-class government. The proletariat is growing increasingly restive under middle-class rule and is impatient to assume the

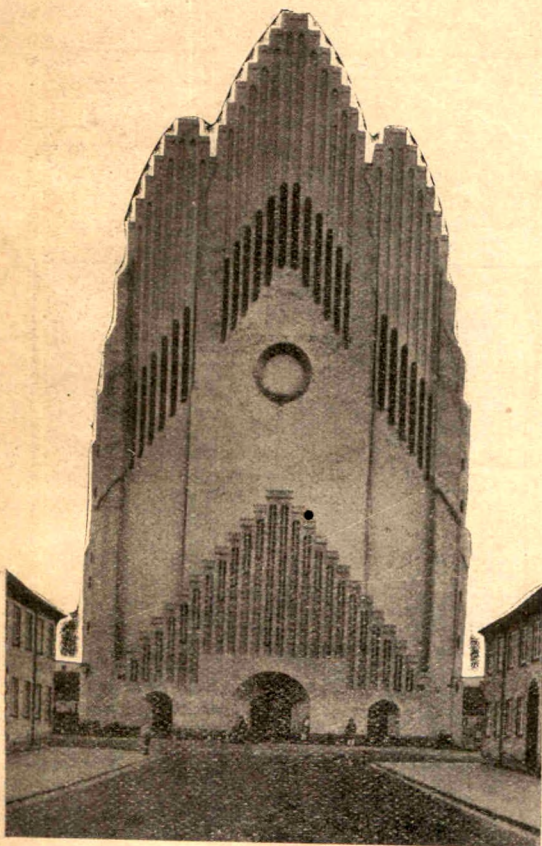
reins of government. They contend that even the representatives of labour are now, with a few exceptions, doctrinaire socialists drawn from the middle class, who, though they are free from the *bourgeois* mentality, have not tasted by bitter experience the fruits of their political and economic subjection. Socialism has been declared to be the economic side of democracy. The future of democracy lies, to our mind, in the Socialist state in which the political and economic control will lie with labour with representatives drawn from their own ranks. This will mark the final stage of democratic evolution, because it will place political power in the hands of the largest section of the community—the proletariat. Democracy will then be truly, as far as it is capable of being, the government of the people for the people and by the people.





A Church of Queer Design

Like a mammoth pipe organ towering toward the sky and daring in the originality of design, this stately church of truly dignified beauty is a memorial in Copenhagen, Denmark, to N. F. S. Grundtvig, a preacher who died fifty-six years ago while trying to reform religious views.

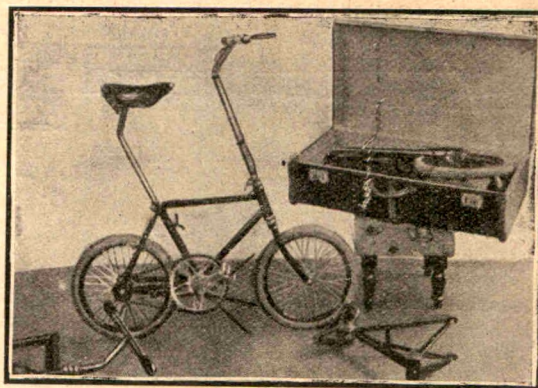


A Church of Queer Design

Folding Bicycle Carried Like a Typewriter

A collapsible bicycle which can be ridden to a station, folded up, and taken on a train in a small

suit-case has been brought out by a French bicycle-maker. He expects it to be popular among city dwellers who have no space in their apartments to store a full-sized machine, but would like to ride a bicycle to work or to and from the station when



Folding Bicycle Carried Like a Typewriter

travelling. Commuters also are expected to find special use for the bicycle—they can ride on it to the railroad station in the morning, check it, and pedal home again in the evening.

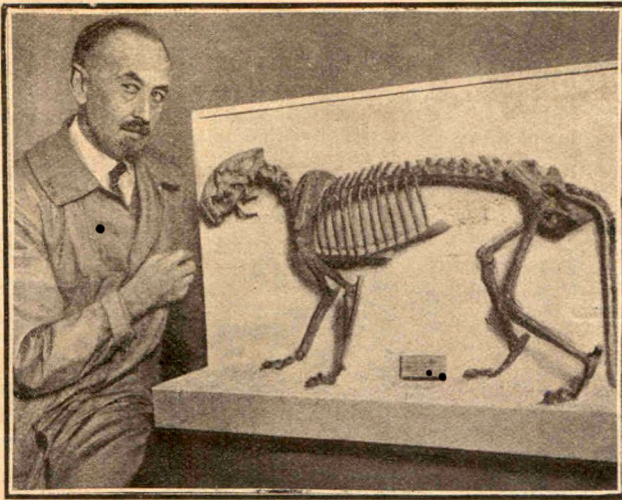
In spite of the small size of the wheels, it is said the machine is geared sufficiently high to attain a speed of twenty miles an hour on level ground, and that it is constructed strong enough to support a man of more than the average weight.

First American Cat Had Teeth Like Daggers

All modern cats, from tabbies to Angoras, are believed by Paul C. Miller, associate curator of paleontology at the University of Chicago, to have descended from a prehistoric feline whose bones he found recently in Nebraska.

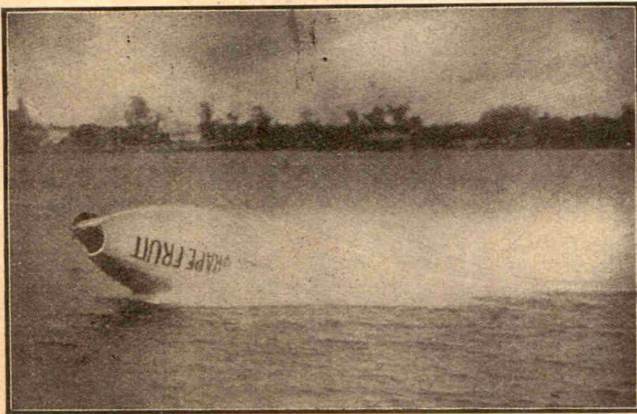
For thirteen summers he searched for the big cat of antiquity he believed had roamed over the western plains 10,000,000 years ago. His search ended in the basin of Hat Creek, Sioux County, where he discovered an almost perfect skeleton of the extinct animal. Measuring nearly four feet in length, it possessed powerful dagger-sized teeth to tear its prey.

(Popular Science)



First American Cat Had Teeth Like Daggers

Speed Boat in Somersaults gives Water Thrills



Speed Boat in Somersaults gives Water Thrills

Something different in speed craft appeared recently at a Florida resort in an outboard motor boat that rolled over in somersaults at full speed without injury to the pilot. In that respect, the boat is somewhat similar to those used by the Eskimos who can turn completely over in their frail shells and bob out of the water again. The boat is so built that the interior is dry and the occupant is securely kept from falling out.

(Popular Mechanics)

Hanging by an Eyelash!



The driver of the truck pictured above owes his life to a two-ton load of sand it was carrying. Turning sharply to avoid hitting an automobile on a drawbridge across the Harlem River, New York City, the machine struck a pillar, plunged through a guardrail, and hung over empty air, anchored only by the weight of the sand.

(Popular Science)

Storm "Shipwrecks" Whales on African Coast

During a severe storm off the coast of South Africa, a large number of whales were washed into shallow water and died before they could swim back from the shoals. Emergency workers were recruited to dispose of the carcasses.

(Popular Mechanics)

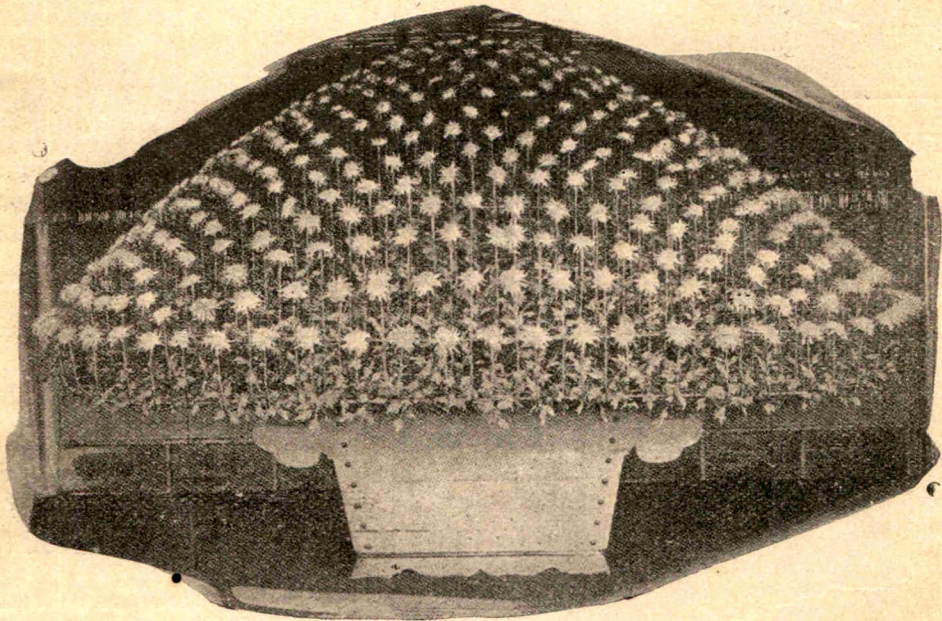


Storm "Shipwrecks" Whales on African Coast

523 Chrysanthemums Bloom on a Single Stem

Five hundred and twenty-three chrysanthemums growing on one plant! With the nourishment brought from the ground by a single stem, a prize plant, belonging to the royal family in Japan, produced a whole roomful of blooms. A framework of light bamboo held the stalks in such a position that the plant appeared to be a huge pyramid of shaggy flowers.

Japan is noted for its chrysanthemum beds, some of the finest being found in the Ichiya Park, in Tokyo, where the unusual plant with its half-thousand blooms attracted crowds when it was exhibited recently. The chrysanthemum originated in the Orient. They were first found in China.



523 Chrysanthemums Bloom on a Single Stem

The Frontispiece

The picture by Mr. Kanu Desai, reproduced in the frontispiece depicts the popular "Garba" dance of Gujerat, which is joined by all classes of women. It usually takes place in a courtyard by the side of a road. The women sing old folk-songs and go round and round to the accompaniment of the music. The assemblage of colours, movements and sounds make it one of the most picturesque scenes of Indian life in Gujerat.

Jute in Bengal

By PRIYANATH SEN

IT is a welcome sign that the importance of jute to the economic life of Bengal is being more generally recognized and there are attempts to study its cultivation and trade from the national point of view. In the October (1928) number of the *Modern Review* a member of the Department of Economics of the Dacca University discussed the question of restriction of production of jute. He apparently does not approve of the Congress joining hands with speculators and middlemen in Calcutta to bring about a reduction in cultivation. He holds that these classes of jute dealers are from time to time engaged in spurious attempts to bring about reduction in out-turn and thereby to raise prices in order to profitably dispose of large stocks which they put by when jute sells at very low rates. As I had something to do with the Congress work in this direction, I think the position should be cleared. The Congress, as far as I know, joined hands with no one in carrying on the propaganda for the restriction of jute cultivation. As the writer himself acknowledges, the late Mr. C. R. Das fully recognized the importance of guiding the cultivators in the production of jute so that the best value might be obtained from the monopoly of Bengal in the article. That the people of this province are in sore need of it may be seen from the severe economic depression of the last three years owing to the fall in jute prices. Under the circumstances the first step undoubtedly is to curtail cultivation in order to give the producers the whiphand *vis-a-vis* the consumers. In this good success was achieved in Mr. Das's time as can be seen from the jute prices of the season 1925-26. But tempted by the unprecedented return obtained that year, the peasantry took to unrestricted sowing next year and the arrivals in Calcutta (excluding the quantity that reached Chittagong) came up to the enormous figure of 127.04 lacs of bales in the season 1926-27 (Vide *Indian Trade Journal*). This was over-production by at least 25 per cent. But to think that prices fell in consequence, immediately the new season began, is wrong. The Government estimate of production was only 108 lacs of bales for that year. The total quantity did not come up from the interior all at once and time had to pass to bring down the prices from the very high level they had reached during the previous season. The highest point reached by first grades that year was Rs. 136 in the last week of October 1925. Till the last week of January, 1926 the prices soared above Rs. 125 and then they gradually fell. Even then it was the natural downward movement at the end of the season when consumers' requirements had been satisfied. It could not, of course, be known before the end of June that the coming crop was going to be an unprecedentedly large one. Only about this time the big jute firms with agencies in the interior could perceive through their agencies that the sowings had expanded enormously. In the last weeks of February, March, April, May and June the prices corresponded fully to the above course of events. They were respectively Rs. 115, Rs. 102, Rs. 100, Rs. 82 and Rs. 88. Just at the beginning of the new season of 1926-27 there was a slight rally, the

quotation reaching even Rs. 90 and here the speculator perhaps got a chance. But as soon as the preliminary forecast was issued a rapid downward movement began again. By the second week of August 1926 the low figure of Rs. 58 was reached. The collapse was complete and from that time the prices have seldom gone above Rs. 70. Only for a few days they reached above Rs. 80 this year (1928), but that was also in anticipation of a curtailment which has really taken place but is not large enough to be effective. It is wrong to go by the average price of the Calendar year or even of a season. True indications of a year's supply and prices cannot be had before the year is very well advanced, and the markets fully correspond to these conditions. Another reason why the writer in the *Modern Review* has not been able to read the situation correctly is his taking single years. Low production of jute continually for four years previously, and a larger demand for jute due to revival of industries in foreign countries after the War brought about a dearth of raw material and unusually high prices were paid in the season 1925-26. The trade grew nervous that the shortage may be permanent and made urgent representations to Government. The situation was however fully relieved in the following year by enormous over-production. In fact, the pendulum swung full distance to the other side and the whiphand passed on to the consumers and it has been so till now. Learning by their experience of the previous year the mills both on the Hooghly and in Dundee have put by large stocks. It is stated that the former hold nine months' stock in advance and the latter seven months. Otherwise the out-turn this year (1928), estimated to be below 100 lacs of bales would certainly have raised the prices much higher than what they are now (November 1928), namely, a rupee or two below Rs. 70. The fact is the mills are in such a position that they can wait but the cultivators cannot.

The average world demand, another point raised in the article, certainly hovers round 100 lakhs of bales. There are now 50,000 looms in India and an equal number abroad. Both groups taken together have consumed just below 90 lakhs of bales during the post-war period. Of course, the number of looms did not rise all at once when the War ended and allowances must be made. To the above amount must be added 5 lakhs of bales, the estimated domestic consumption of India. This gives a world demand of about 95 lakhs of bales. If five years' averages are taken for periods, just before the War, through its duration and immediately following it, the total output, as estimated by the Indian Jute Mills Association and supplied to the Department of Agriculture, comes up to the following figures. Another five years' figures bringing up the period to the present year (1928) are also given. The amounts are in lakhs of bales.

Pre-war—92'00
Post-war—80'05

War Period—88'12
Next 5 Years—103'24

The first period has been taken to extend from 1909 to 1913, the second from 1914 to 1918, the third from 1919 to 1923 and the fourth from 1924 to 1928. This (1928) year's total output has been taken from the jute forecast as the trade figures are not yet

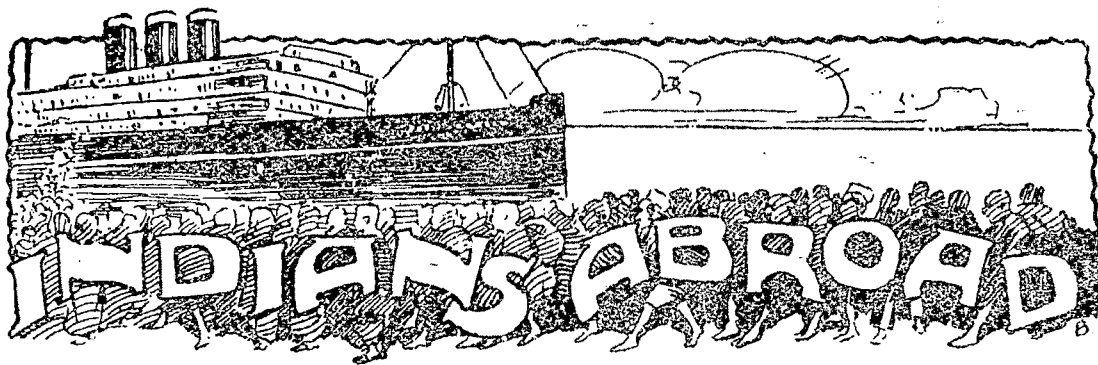
available. The margins between the two sets of figures undoubtedly represent the stocks that are invariably left. This estimate is also corroborated by the movements of prices during the last three years. The supply and demand just before the War were almost on the same level. During the War the necessity for sacking for sand-bags kept the demand at almost the same level. Just after the War this demand disappeared but the industries in the belligerent countries had not revived, so there was less consumption. During the last five years matters have greatly improved. But as there has been much over-production latterly this has greatly depressed, as I explained above, the prices. For, after all it is the simple economic law of supply and demand which governs the situation. What the speculators can do is to influence the position for only a short time. When the final forecast was issued this year, (1928) for three days one group began to bear the market and kept down the prices in the future market. The opposition group of Bulls acting in the other way then got the upper hand, though temporarily, for circumstances were in favour of the former group. As the result of these operations however the leader of the second group was down by about 95 lakhs of rupees though the amount included other losses. The Bears have made up their losses for accumulated stocks; out-turn this season and some other factors are acting in their favour. The consumers have the whiphand fully now. The writer however makes a mistake in stating that there is no organized future's market in Calcutta. The Bhitar Bazar or the North Bengal Jute Association were not the only institutions of the kind. The leading body is the East India Jute Association Ltd., of which I was the first Secretary. It has rules of business drawn up on the lines of the Cotton Future Market of Bombay and is under a Board of Control of the Indian Chamber of Commerce. As long as I was in it (for about six months) the business was done regularly according to the rules. What is happening now I cannot say.

The writer sought to arrive at the amount of world demand from the statements of two presidents of the Indian Jute Mills Association. Not being in touch with trade the writer does not realize that such statements are made only with a purpose and they are at best very unsafe guides. For their purpose 80 lakhs of bales may be sufficient to meet the world demand on one year. On another this quantity may be hopelessly short. An indication may, to some extent, be had by reference to the recent decision of the Indian Jute Mills Association, in spite of repeated protestations that there is no additional demand, to extend the weekly hours of work of their constituents from 54 to 60. It is now stated that excess orders which the Continental mills are securing on the increase of world demand for jute cloth would otherwise be hopelessly lost. This extension of hours of work of the Indian Jute Mills would mean an increase of 6 per cent. in the total requirements for jute. It is held however that the action of the Indian Jute Mills Association would have a depressing effect on the new Mills that are being started in India and on Continental production. But at the same time it is admitted that there is a rapidly growing demand for burlap, the term used for jute fabrics in America. It may also be pointed out that it is not the old established concerns which

can always hold their own against new competition. There is therefore no reason for discouragement of the purely Indian enterprise which has taken this direction. All these factors point to the fact that the world demand for jute is certainly not going to fall below 100 lakhs of bales any more. To be guided by statements of presidents of Jute Mills Association whether of India or of other countries in matters like these, or to be guided by discouraging arguments mentioned above with regard to jute mill industry would certainly be a mistake. In the same way it is hardly worth while to take seriously the Secretary of the newly started Bengal Jute Dealers' Association. None of these people can be or are disinterested counsellors.

Those who took up, on behalf of the B. P. C. C., the question of jute cultivation fully know how far restriction is useful and where it should stop. The language of the Congress propaganda was quite clear. Neither a big nor a continued curtailment was advocated. Restriction was advised just to extricate the cultivators and the people of Bengal in general, from the present serious economic depression. Perhaps I may point out that more than 75 p. c. of Bengal's income is derived from jute. It forms 62 p. c. of the exports from Calcutta, through which pass all large amounts of commodities from other provinces. For the last three years the proceeds from the sale of jute has fallen by nearly 40 p. c. As almost every class of people of Bengal derive their income through distribution of money received by the sale of jute, the fall on this head is reacting universally. There is in consequence serious hardship all round. It is to remove this that the B. P. C. C. renewed the efforts of the Congress initiated by the late Mr. C. R. Das. If some of the speculators find it convenient and want to support the movement the B. P. C. C. would gladly welcome them. On the other hand, the least defection on the part of any one of these would be severely dealt with, by means which the B. P. C. C. fully possess. The Congress programme in this direction does not consist merely of restriction. It is advocated only as a temporary measure, and would not be necessary for more than a couple of years if properly carried out. The main object lies in educating the cultivators to control the prices. And I may mention that thirty lecturers are being trained to carry on the propaganda with the help of magic lanterns. An organization is also being built up throughout the jute growing area which, as far as I know, people of all shades of opinion shall be invited to join.

Every one will admit that there is great ignorance amongst us about the production and trade in jute and its economic bearing on the life of all classes in Bengal. I myself belong to Dacca and my country home is one of the principal jute markets of the Dacca district. I am directly interested in good prices being fetched by jute. But though I have lived all my life in Dacca and in the midst of important jute growing areas, I came to know of the economic importance of the commodity when in Calcutta. I have not found any of my class or others any better. It is only a thorough knowledge of this matter which can create the interest necessary for proper handling of the question. I, therefore, gladly welcome the article in the *Modern Review* though I had to differ from it on points. November 18, 1928.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Advice of Tagore and Sastri to Indians Overseas

There is a striking similarity between the advice that Rabindranath Tagore gave to our countrymen in Canada and that given by the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to Indians in Kenya. Here are some extracts from the Poet's speech, full text of which appears elsewhere in this Review :

"It is a great joy to me to find that here in this distant land you still keep up your own religious faith and do not neglect your Sikh religion. That is the right thing to do if you want to remain in this distant country with moral character and good social and family traditions such as those which still remain in India itself.

"You must keep the spirit of your religion and not merely the letter of it. It is the moral value of your religious faith that is unchanging. Its outward observances may be modified in order to meet the new conditions of Canadian life but on the other hand, there should be no change in the great moral injunctions which Guru Nanak and all the Sikh Gurus gave you. If you can thus fulfil the spirit of your religion you will be able to unite India and Canada together in your own lives and in the lives of your children. The best Canadians will understand you and will also respect your religion and thus there will be a growth in international friendship and goodwill.

"You must remember that you are guests in a new country and you have to observe the first law of hospitality, which is to accommodate yourselves as far as possible and pay every consideration to the manners and customs of this new country where your own children are being born and where

you yourselves have elected to live. This is a necessity in every country where people emigrate if goodwill and friendly feelings are to be observed. This does not mean that you are to alter all your own good customs and manners of living, but rather that you are to seek at every point to find a common meeting-place where your own life and the Canadian life coincide. To put what I wish to say in two words, you should do your very best to prove yourselves 'Good Canadians.'

Mr. Sastri in his speech on Indians overseas delivered under the auspices of Kenya Central Indian Association spoke the following words :

"Now another word, if I may venture to do so. You are in a country very different indeed from India. And if one may speak with a certain amount of freedom, you are upon the whole, believe me, better off here than thousands or millions of your countrymen in India. In this country where nature and other conditions deriving from nature seem rather to favour you, your best interests will be safeguarded if you seek to transform yourselves as soon as may be into citizens of Kenya, adapt yourselves to the new conditions and the strange environments, and in as many ways as possible get accepted as desirable fellow-citizens by those with whom you have come to dwell.

"I am as much as any of you here proud of India, proud of her culture and civilization, proud of the high character of her men and women. It is not in these vital respects that I ask that you take yourselves away from your moorings. Be Indians in your outlook upon life, be Indians as to the value of individual character; be Indians in your religious tendencies and in your spiritual

aims. But in material circumstances, in outward ways, in adaptiveness to the new conditions there is no need at all why you should refuse to be moulded by your environments."

May we hope that our countrymen in other colonies also will take this advice to their heart?

Reception of Mr. C. F. Andrews by the Sikhs in Canada

Friends of Mr. Andrews, and they are found all over the world among Indians Overseas, will be glad to learn that Mr. Andrews has been able to win the hearts of our people in Canada also. Here is an account of his reception at Vancouver by the Sikh community as reported by a Canadian paper.

Rev. C. F. Andrews, "the man with the loving heart" was welcomed at Vancouver on Tuesday by the members of the Sikh colony.

Headed by officers of the Khalsa Diwan Society, the name under which the religious organization of the Sikhs is conducted here, several score of Indians greeted Mr. Andrews effusively at the Great Northern depot and escorted him in a florally decorated car to the Sikh temple on second avenue.

On the steps of the temple his admirers placed about the neck of the gentle humanitarian teacher and missionary a wreath of flowers. Then, all removing their shoes, they entered the temple, and an address of tribute to his self-sacrificing labours in behalf of the people of India in all parts of the world was read to him. Mr. Andrews afterwards spoke to the assembly in Punjabi.

"He is a man of true and loving heart," said Munsha Singh, member of the Khalsa Diwan Society, well known for his services as interpreter in the courts. "He knows no difference among men because of race, religion or colour. He is the same to all."

The Great Northern depot presented a picturesque scene as the great turbaned Sikhs assembled to meet the noted teacher. With the men were a number of brightly-clad women and children, who in Oriental fashion, kept to the background while the menfolk greeted "the man of loving heart".

A fleet of motor cars drove the visitor through the downtown streets to the Temple, where, after a picture had been taken, the reception was held. An Oriental orchestra

played its plaintive airs, to some of which there was a vocal accompaniment. One of the priestly functionaries stood behind the altar, to which all the Sikhs did full obeisance on entering. The priest or leader intoned several passages from a great book of wisdom, which rested on the back of the altar, before Puran Singh, Secretary of the Society, read to Mr. Andrews, in English, the long address of welcome which had been prepared for him. Throughout the gathering the men sat unshod on the carpeted floor in informal groups, while the women gathered in a separate group on the far side of the hall.

Mr. Andrews has now left Canada for Trinidad and British Guiana. While in Canada he tried his utmost to remove the misunderstanding that has been created by Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. In his cable to Pandit Motilal Nehru Mr. Andrews urged for the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in Canada. No doubt the suggestion deserves consideration at the hands of the Indian public and the Indian Government. Mr. Andrews is very hopeful about Canadian Indians getting full rights of citizenship in the immediate future but we confess we cannot share his optimism. We think that day is still far distant. The stories of inhuman indignities suffered by our people in Canada are still quite fresh in our memory and it will take a long time to forget the Komagata Maru tragedy.

Service for Educated Indians in the Colonies

Every week I receive two or three letters from educated young men desirous to proceed abroad to earn their livelihood and to serve the cause of our people in the colonies. It is really encouraging to see this spirit of adventure among these people but how to arrange for their emigration and settlement is a difficult problem indeed. The Government of India alone could do something in this direction but they have never paid any attention to this question. During the days of indenture slavery their only business was to supply cheap labour to the colonies and after its abolition their Emigration Department, which is huddled together with Land Education and Health, has followed a policy of drift.

Of course, they have done something for our people in South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon by sending their agents to these places and their efforts in that line deserve

every praise but so far as the question of evolving a constructive scheme of emigration is concerned they have not done anything at all. Is it really impossible for the Government of India to follow the example of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Britain and provide cheap passages to young Indians desirous to settle in the Colonies? We have been reading in the English papers about the admirable efforts being made by Colonel Amery to send young Britishers to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. There are several organizations in Britain to advise the would be emigrants. We have no organization like that in our country and consequently most of our young men cannot even get ordinary information on this subject!

Here are some general points for the consideration of those who write to me on this subject.

The Dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Rhodesia have practically shut their door against the emigration and settlement of Indians. We may, after great difficulty, get the permission to stay in these places for six months or a year but settlement is almost impossible.

The places still open for Indian emigration are :

East African territories, Mauritius, West Indies, Fiji, Malaya and Ceylon.

Those desirous to proceed to East Africa should write to

Mr. P. D. Master
P. O. Box 274
Mombasa, Kenya

Mr. V. R. Boal
P. O. Box 239
Dar-es-Salaam
Tanganyika

As regards Fiji Islands information can be had from

Editor
The Fiji Samachar
Suva
Fiji Islands
and Editor, *The Vriiddhi*
Suva, Fiji Islands.

The Secretary of the East Indian Association, George-town British Guiana will give information about West Indies.

One thing more I have to tell my correspondents. It is beyond my power to arrange for passage money. They will

have to do it themselves. I must also warn them against disappointments. Only a very small percentage of those desirous to go abroad may get an opportunity to do so.

I shall be much obliged if my colonial friends will prepare a note about opportunities for the settlement of educated Indians in their respective colonies and keep me regularly informed when they want teachers and doctors etc.

An indictment of the Fiji Government

The Vriiddhi of Suva, Fiji Islands, has done a great service to the cause of our people in Fiji by publishing in its special Jubilee number documents regarding the question of Indian education in that colony. These documents tell a sad tale and they reveal a woeful negligence on the part of the Government of that colony so far as the problem of Indian education is concerned. The Editor sums up his comments in the following words :

"It is difficult calmly, coolly, and dispassionately to tell the story of how the Government of Fiji have deprived their Indian subjects of the blessings of education. For the first quarter-century the Government took no action except to prevent the immigration of teachers from India ; nor, apparently, did anyone else interest themselves in the matter. Then the Missionaries began to move and in the fourth decade the Government seem to have awakened to the responsibility they had incurred by the exclusion of Indian teachers.

"During those ten years (1909 to 1919) the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and many private citizens importuned the Government of Fiji to do something for the education of Indian children, while the Missions, the C.S.R. Co., and the Planters made offers of land, buildings, and money ; but nothing was done, every suggestion was "stymied". We shall not attempt to tell the story of these years, for no one would believe us—it is too incredible. We, therefore, publish, as a supplement, extracts from official documents covering this period, which speak for themselves. We will be content to point out that in 1910 the Secretary of State writes expressing surprise that he has not yet been informed what measures have been adopted to provide for Indian Education ; in 1913 he writes that Indian Education is the most urgent duty of the Government, and in a later dispatch approves the establishment of

five schools, and instructs the Governor to proceed with the scheme without even waiting for the necessary legislation. Yet it was 1919 before the first of these schools was built, and the second has not been started even now. Meanwhile, in 1913, at the request of the European elected members, Indians were excluded from the schools of Suva and Levuka. In 1914, the Council of Fijian chiefs took pity on the Indian children and suggested that they should be admitted to the Fijian schools; but the Government would not agree.

"Of the last ten years little need be said. The sequence of events is fresh in the memory of all, and much has already appeared about them in our columns. Nothing whatever was done until the Royal Commission in 1926, and its recommendations were shelved pending the appointment of a Director of Education. A year elapsed before anyone was appointed to this office, and a second year elapsed before his proposals were put before Legislative Council; even then the Ordinance was not passed, but consideration of it was again postponed and another Commission appointed. The Director of Education estimated that it was necessary to spend £ 27,000 on Indian Education this year, and a further £ 60,000 in the course of a few years: the Government proposes to spend £ 3,000 this year, and a further £ 25,000 at some future date as yet unspecified. Meanwhile £ 13,000 is spent on building a most admirable but quite unnecessary new hostel for the European Girls' Grammar School."

We are grateful to Doctor I. H. Beattie, the Editor, for this exposure and draw the attention of the Government of India to this miserable state of affairs.

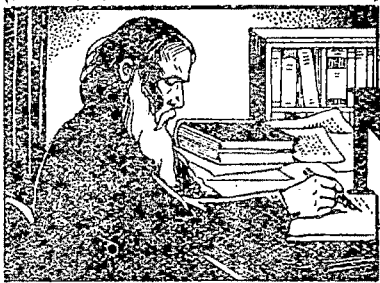
A timely advice by an East African Journalist

Mr. B. N. Anantani, Editor of the *Zanzibar Voice*, East Africa, gave utterance to the following sentiments in his interview at Simla with a representative of the A. B. Patrika:

"Mr. Anantani deplored greatly the apathy and ignorance in India on question of Indians abroad. Solitary journals and institutions showed certain amount of enthusiasm to study the problem. Members of the legislatures hardly cared even to understand it. The Government of India from time to time does make representations and send out help in the shape of delegations which is useful to do patchwork. This could hardly solve this problem.

"Finally, he appealed to India's leaders in and out of the legislatures to study well the problem of the Indians in Greater India and to chalk out a definite and clearly defined policy to have it decided from the powers that be as to what was to be position of so many millions of Indians residing outside India within the Empire. Are they going to remain within the Empire with any human rights which can keep them proud of being British citizens or not, should be the question before them for an immediate solution. He said that there was a great scope to develop India's trade with East Africa in general and Zanzibar in particular. Tanganyika and Uganda cotton can still be better placed in India. The coir rope industry in Zanzibar, which is a great cocoanut producing centre, will provide an excellent scope for Indian investments. What he wanted India to do was to study questions more thoroughly. Failing this, he feared the only province suited climatically and geographically for Indian colonization would be lost to Indian enterprise. The only remedy to get rid of the present unemployment of the Indian intelligentsia was to secure colonization with proper rights of citizenship. It is for Indians and the Government of India to see to that in time and with greater sincerity and enthusiasm."

Mr. Anantani has done well in speaking out quite plainly and his example ought to be followed by other colonial Indians who come to India occasionally but who neglect the opportunity of doing a little publicity for their cause.



NOTES

Periodical Parliamentary Elections

The members of the British House of Commons are citizens of Great Britain. Except a very few, they have all along been drawn from the ranks of the British people. After every fresh general election, the political party which returns the majority of members forms the cabinet.

It is axiomatic that Englishmen know more about the affairs of their own country than of any other country. They have greater knowledge of the requirements of their own nation than of any other nation. Patriotic Englishmen are naturally expected to be more zealous and altruistic in promoting the welfare of their British fellow-citizens than of any foreign people. There is also a strong public opinion in Britain which serves both to quicken the sense of duty of the party and ministry in power and to keep in check their evil and selfish propensities, if any. The British electors are supposed to return the ablest men, and the party in power chooses the ablest men to form the cabinet.

In spite of all these favourable circumstances, Englishmen find in the course of a few years that the men whom they had entrusted with the work of conducting the affairs of the State have blundered, or have been guilty of neglect of duty or worse. And thus there is again a general election for choosing the *political* "flower of the nation." Even if there be no general discontent with the work of the party in power, the British law limits the life of a House of Commons to five years. So the longest interval between one parliament and another is five years. And rightly so, too. For, •

New occasions teach new duties ;
Time makes ancient good uncouth ;
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.

And new duties require new men. There is another reason why it is right to change the personnel of the Government of a country periodically. Long enjoyment of power is apt to breed despotic and other demoralizing tendencies. It is necessary to guard against the growth of such tendencies. No doubt, there have been in the world's history a few examples of long-lived benevolent despots. But they are exceptions.

British parliamentary law and practice relating to general elections, therefore, take it for granted that even the politically ablest Englishmen are not infallible or all-wise in Great Britain, even when they have to deal with the affairs of their own country under the influence of a strong British public opinion. Hence, a change of government is periodically required in Britain.

With regard to the governance of India by British rulers, one naturally finds that they know much less of this country than they do of Britain ; that it is not the affairs of their own people which they have to manage here, but of a foreign people, and naturally, therefore, they ought not to be blamed for not being as zealous and altruistic here as they would be concerning the affairs of their own country ; that they do not feel either the quickening or the controlling influence of public opinion here as they do in England ; and that it is not the ablest politicians of England who come out to India to manage its affairs.

In spite of these very important differences, however, the British theory underlying the system of government prevailing in India is that the British rulers of India are practically infallible, that they possess fulness of knowledge of the country, are free from selfishness, are not subject to any foible, shortcoming or passion, and are possessed of a perfect intellect and perfect wisdom. Englishmen may demur to or even resent such a statement. But on what other

hypothesis can they explain the fact that, whereas periodical changes in the personnel of the Government, *to be brought about by the electorate*, are considered indispensably necessary in England, in India, where the system of government is not a benevolent despotism, it is not considered necessary. No doubt, in India, too, no one holds the office of Governor-General, or Governor, or Executive Councillor for life. But, good, bad or indifferent, every such officer ordinarily holds office for his full term, and some have served under two or three British cabinets belonging to different political parties. That is to say, a Governor-General appointed by a Tory ministry may be and is found to be quite the right sort of man by a Liberal or a Labour Government. In India any British ruler is the pink of perfection in the opinion of all British political parties. That is so, because the object of all British political parties is to remain masters of India and to exploit to the full its material, intellectual, moral and muscular resources.

An objection may be raised that in Britain also the permanent officials and the magistracy are not changed after each general election. True. But there they are not the masters but the servants of the people. They only give effect to the laws made by others in Parliament. Here in India, the highest and higher governing officers are also law-makers. The power of the veto and of issuing ordinances make them more powerful legislators than the legislatures of India. These men are also judges. For, they can deport, intern and send men to jail without recourse to trial by courts of justice.

Supposing all Indians, even the ablest and best, are noodles and nincompoops and utterly selfish, without an iota of public spirit and patriotism, and, therefore, they are unfit to have real representative government, what stands in the way of the British people—the omniscient and perfectly altruistic trustees of the Indian people—what stands in the way of the British people placing India under entirely new cabinets, in the central and provincial governments, with new Governors General, Governors and Executive Councillors, after each general election? If the British rulers of Britain are fallible and liable to be replaced (and are generally replaced) at the will of the British electorate, after each general election, why should not the same rule be observed in

the case of the British rulers of India? Why are they deemed infallible in theory and practice?

Not that we want such a method of constituting Governments in India. On the contrary, we want as full a measure of ever-expanding self-rule as any people anywhere in the world have. The questions asked above are meant simply to show that the self-styled trustees of India are frauds and their trusteeship is a lie.

India and the Labour Government

On the accession of the Labour Party to power, there has been some speculation as to whether the Labour Ministry will do anything for India. It may or may not do anything—we should not expect it will. In any case it is unmanly to cherish any hope. The cherishing of such hope would add to the number of political idlers, weaklings and dupes. Nations by themselves are made. The surest means of making any body of men in power just and dutiful is to practically prove to them that injustice and neglect of duty will land them in pecuniary loss and various other kinds of trouble and inconvenience, amounting, it may be, even to disaster.

All British parties are agreed that India is not a party question. Which means that it is no party's business to please India by doing good to her. But, of course, it is the business of all parties to befool India, whenever necessary. That may be one of the reasons why various Labour members have in the past made "friendly" speeches relating to India, and why Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote "The Awakening of India."

Critics and doers are different beings. The man in office and the man in opposition are not the same person. Out of office, a man has to promise the moon to the electors in order to get into office. Even our would-be M. L. A.'s and M. L. C.'s do it. But as we Indians have no votes for returning members to the British Parliament, the reason why members of the British Labour Party promised the moon to us, was probably to keep us from "mischief" as long as possible—to prevent making ourselves a nuisance as long as possible.

Even *The Morning Post* of London, not to speak of other papers, has praised Mr. MacDonald's choice of the Cabinet. That may be an indication of what to expect of

these men. The Premier and his party, even when not in power, supported the appointment and personnel of the Simon Commission. That may be another indication. A third indication is that Mr. MacDonald's first speech after becoming premier referred to matters concerning all countries "from China to Peru" but not to India, though Britain owes her wealth, power and greatness most to the possession of India.

When Labour was in office once before, it did nothing for India, but hurled an Ordinance at her head. The reason probably was that Labour had to prove that it possessed "the tiger qualities of the race," considered necessary to preserve the British Empire and was incapable of encouraging seditionists, revolutionaries, communists and others of that ilk.

The excuse for not being able to do anything for India at that time was that Labour was then in office but not in power. That is also the state of things on the present occasion, and, therefore, the same excuse is ready to hand.

Mr. Langford James's New Role

The Hindu of Madras writes:—

A significant addition to the news that Mr. Langford James, Special Public Prosecutor in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, had gone to Simla to recuperate himself for a while before resuming his work at Meerut next week, has been made by the Simla Correspondent of *The Statesman*. We are told that "Mr. James's presence will afford an opportunity to the Government of India to review the progress of the sedition trials which are now proceeding in several parts of India." No information is available as to what is to be the nature or purpose of the review of progress, thus proposed to be undertaken by the Government of India, not with their official legal adviser, the Advocate-General of Bengal, but with the European Counsel whom they have specially retained for the Communist conspiracy cases. But we presume that it is the policy of the numberless prosecutions and trials for sedition that will be under review, as well as the effect it has had in the country so far that would be under discussion.

If the Simla correspondent of *The Statesman* is in the secret of the Government of India, one must conclude that that Government cannot rely on the advice of "their official legal adviser", the Advocate-General of Bengal, either because of reasons connected with his ability as a lawyer or because State policy cannot be discussed with an Indian. There can

be no question as to Government's confidence in the superior legal ability of Mr. N. N. Sircar; because he, not Mr. Langford James, was appointed Advocate-General. So, may it be that all Indians are assumed to have a soft corner in their hearts for seditionists, revolutionaries, communists *et hoc genus omne*? In any case, the Simla correspondent in question must be held to possess unconscious humour of a sort. Or, is there malice penance?

The supersession of even Sir B. L. Mitter, the Law Member, who is at hand in Simla, in favour of the imported Mr. James, for the purpose of the review, if true, would be significant.

"Review of the Progress of Sedition Trials"

After referring to the above-mentioned review of the progress of the sedition trials now proceeding in several parts of India, *The Hindu* goes on to observe:

It is, of course, too much to hope that this review has been undertaken at the instance of the new Secretary of State for India, whose views as to what is the right policy in such matters was made clear in an article in the *Contemporary Review* of 1926, nor even in anticipation of any step that he might be persuaded to take in respect of the Government's reckless policy of such prosecutions for some time past. But we consider it our duty to ask the Government of India earnestly to consider the very sound principles which Mr. Wedgwood Benn has laid down. Prosecutions for sedition and other political offences are in all modern countries undertaken only at the instance of the State and after the deliberate decision of the Government concerned sanctioning such prosecution. There is, therefore, always the essential element of policy involved in the starting of political prosecutions, collectively as well as individually, and it is on the question of the policy of the Government in undertaking such wholesale prosecutions as are now going on that the public is entitled to press its views on the Government and not on the question of the actual merits of the cases that have been tried or may be under trial. As the present Secretary of State puts it: "The greatest of all State interests is the impartiality of the Law. By this is meant not the impartiality of our courts and juries alone but the impartiality exhibited by the department of public prosecutions in the initiation of proceedings." Judged by this correct test, can it be maintained that the Government's action in the pursuit of its recent policy has been impartial or dictated by a regard for the rights of freedom of speech and publication of opinions? "Most people would concur," says Mr. Wedgwood Benn, "in the view that the weapon of prosecution for sedition should not be brought out except in the most urgent cases of necessity." Will the policy and action of the Government of India and the Provincial Govern-

ments stand this test at all to any extent? Every candid and impartial observer will give an emphatic negative in answer. We hope that whatever might be the occasion for the review of sedition prosecutions that might be taking place in Simla now, the Government of India at any rate would apprise the Secretary of State, whose clear views on this question they must now know, of their own exact position and obtain the benefit of his guidance in this matter. We have no doubt whatever that the present policy in which they persist is bound, as in the past, to fail and will not help in easing or overcoming the political crisis that is developing.

The Viceroy on the Public Safety Ordinance

In the course of his Chelmsford Club speech, Lord Irwin said :

The case for the Public Safety Bill and for the Ordinance which replaced it has been frequently stated, and I do not desire to traverse that ground again except to make two points plain. Some have said that unless and until action is in fact taken under the Ordinance or under the Public Safety Bill if and when it becomes law it will be evident that the ordinary law will have proved sufficient to deal with the situation and that I and my Government shall stand convicted of having asked for panic powers. Such an argument rests upon a complete misconception of facts. The principal importance that we attach to the Public Safety Ordinance is that of the deterrent effect which we anticipate that it will exercise. It has been more than once very frankly proclaimed by communist sympathizers in England that it was their purpose to reinforce those who were preaching these doctrines here. The Public Safety Ordinance will be a clear danger signal to them that, if they do succeed in finding their way to India, they cannot count upon a free run of an indefinite period for the dissemination of their mischievous creed. While the Government under ordinary law would be accumulating sufficient evidence for their prosecution, I know of no reason by which the Government of any ordered State should be held bound to sit still with folded hands and watch the security of the interests committed to its charge thus stealthily undermined. In no case will the Ordinance operate against any Indian, nor will it touch any non-Indian who desires to pursue a lawful avocation or to lead the life of an honest citizen. It will operate only whether as deterrent from entry into India or by expulsion against those non-Indians who believe that the social evils of India or of any other country are to be cured by the destruction of the very foundations on which all society has been erected.

We confess we are not diligent readers of gubernatorial and other official speeches in and outside Legislative Chambers. But so far as our reading goes, this is the first time that we read that the principal importance attached by Government to the Public Safety Ordinance is its deterrent effect. Nor do we remember to have read ever before any official statement to the effect that com-

munist sympathizers in large numbers wanted to make India their happy hunting-ground. If our reading of official speeches has been too scrappy or if our memory be in fault, we hope to be corrected by our readers. Lord Irwin ought to have made the statement that he has now made, before or at the time of publishing the Ordinance. His Excellency cannot complain if people take the "two points" of his recent utterance to be an after-thought.

That the Ordinance will in no case operate against any Indian is, no doubt, an official assurance given before. But Indians should not be presumed to be so selfish as to care only for their own safety. They care also for the safety of those who may fall victims to unfounded suspicions, against which the only effective safeguard would have been an open trial according to the ordinary processes of law. Of this the Ordinance will stand in the way.

What the Viceroy has said about communists and communist sympathizers in the last sentence of the above extract and in some preceding sentences may create prejudice against the European accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Hence it would have been better if he had not said these things.

Communists Both Angelic and Satanic

The Viceroy's speech reminds one that the Labour Government is intent on the speedy resumption of relations with the Soviet Union of Russia.

The *Daily Herald* says "first steps towards resumption of relations with the Soviet Union will be taken as rapidly as possible. There is no question of recognizing the Soviet government. Recognition was accorded in 1924. It remains now to restore diplomatic relations broken in 1927. Then when proper relations have been resumed will come the task of negotiating a treaty for the settlement of all outstanding problems."

The Communists of Russia are then evidently very good people, and their headquarters, Moscow, must be a sort of seventh heaven. All this is so far, of course, as Britain is concerned. But so far as India is concerned, the Communists are a dangerously wicked lot and Moscow is the capital of Hell, from which all evil political, social, economic and other influences emanate. For proof, there is the Meerut conspiracy trial, there is Mr. Langford James's opening

speech in that trial, and there is also Lord Irwin's Chelmsford Club speech, though Russia is not mentioned therein.

Blessed be statecraft and diplomacy.

Another Reference to Some Meerut Accused

In our note on the Viceroy's justification of the Public Safety Ordinance, attention has been called to passages that may create prejudice against some at least of the accused in the Meerut case. Here are other passages from the same speech, which are objectionable for the same reason. ••

We have all along maintained that the ordinary law offered only a partial remedy in that one of the necessary conditions of its successful operation was a delay which, in our view, was dangerous. We had accordingly introduced the Public Safety Bill, of which, the purpose had been generally assumed to be that of procuring the deportation of particular individuals. In the meantime, while the Bill was still awaiting discussions in the Assembly, we decided on the evidence available to us to arrest and prosecute those persons among others under the ordinary law.

It is finally alleged that the evidence of a repressive policy is to be found in the fact that the Government has thought it necessary to prosecute certain individuals for offences against the State. On what does such an allegation rest? If the Government is right, as all sane persons would admit, to prosecute men who resort to overt action in violation of the law, by what reasoning can it be judged wrong to take steps against those who make speeches to enter into conspiracies, to inspire others and perhaps less prudent men to such violation? The assertion of Law is the clear duty of any Government, and what my Government has done is to bring to trial in the ordinary courts of the land persons who in its judgment have committed offences against the State or against public tranquillity.

The system of judicial administration in India is a very defective and faulty one. The executive in some cases sanctions arrest and prosecution, prosecutes, and also practically sits in judgment on the persons arrested and prosecuted. For the trying magistrates are directly under the executive branch of Government. What is wanted is a judiciary, thoroughly independent of the executive, from top to bottom.

"India's Chief Ambassador!"

Sir B. N. Mitra, presiding at the Chelmsford Club dinner to the Viceroy, referred to His Excellency as "India's Chief Ambassador." That was not a correct description.

No official, however high his position, can be India's ambassador so long as India is a subject country. When India becomes perfectly free and has a national government, then the head of the government may be her ambassador.

Indian Leadership of League Delegation

It is no doubt better that an Indian official of the ability and public character of Sir Mahomed Habibullah should lead the League of Nations delegation than that an Englishman should do so. But what is wanted is that the delegation should be led by a non-official Indian of undoubted ability, independence and public spirit. When India becomes free and has a national government, the difference between official and non-official need not be always insisted upon.

Mahatma Gandhi on Search for Proscribed Books

Commenting on the search of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's Bombay residence for a copy of Mr. Sundarlal's Hindi history of British rule in India, which has been proscribed by the U. P. Government, Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India* :

The action of the police in searching Seth Jamnalal's house and offices, in spite of his assurance that the book was not in any of them, affords additional justification, if such were wanted, for the language used by him. The object of the search was clearly not to find the book, but to insult Jamnalalji. The proper answer to this insult is for everyone who has Pandit Sundarlal's volume in his possession to inform the police, in his or her district, of the fact of such possession, and challenge a search or prosecution or both. If this course is adopted by the public, and if there are many copies still untraced, the Government will soon discover that it makes of itself a laughing-stock by continuing the fruitless searches of numberless houses. Searches, imprisonments and the like are effective only so long as they frighten the people.

Books are proscribed on the alleged ground of their containing seditious matter. So far as Mr. Sundarlal's book is concerned, which we have not seen, it has still to be proved in open court that it is seditious. It is understood that its publisher has appealed to the Allahabad High Court against its proscription. Is it legally correct under the circumstances to search for and seize and confiscate copies of it in the meantime?

Persons who paid for and bought the book, did so before it had been proscribed. They did not know that it would be proscribed. In the circumstances, is it right to harass them and confiscate their property? It would be only fair and equitable for Government to pay the price of the copies taken away from the purchasers.

Ignorance of the law is, of course, no excuse. But there is no law which contains a list of the books already proscribed and to be proscribed hereafter. Theft and swindling and murder and assault are offences in all civilized countries. But what is sedition in one country may not be sedition in another. And even in India Judges have differed as to what is seditious and what not. But supposing it were easy to decide definitely what is seditious, nobody even then would be able to say before reading an unproscribed book whether it was seditious or not. Hence it does not seem just or even good policy to harass or in any way penalize those who purchase a book before its proscription.

Proscription does not convince, though it may silence those within reach of the executive of a country. There are private individuals who, unable to meet the arguments of their adversaries, use the *ad baculum* argument against them to strike them down. Figuratively speaking, proscriptions and the like are *ad baculum* arguments used by the State.

Rabindranath Tagore on Non-co-operation

When the necessity, usefulness and wisdom of thorough-going Non-co-operation are again being considered, indirectly for the most part though, the extract printed below from a letter written from Paris on September 7, 1920, to Mr. C. F. Andrews by the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, with its reference to Mahatma Gandhi, may remind us of our duties. This letter was published in *The Modern Review* some years ago and has now been republished in "Letters to a Friend" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.)

Let us forget the Punjab affairs—but never forget that we shall go on deserving such humiliation over and over again until we set our house in order. Do not mind the waves of the sea, but mind the leaks in your vessel. Politics in our country is extremely petty. It has a pair of legs, one of which has shrunk and shrivelled and become paralytic and therefore feebly waits for the other

one to drag it on. There is no harmony between the two, and our politics, in its hoppings and totterings and falls, is comic and undignified. The entreaty and anger, which alternately are struggling to find expression in the ludicrously lame member of this tragic partnership, both belong to our abject feebleness. When Non-co-operation comes naturally as our final moral protest against the unnaturalness of our political situation, then it will be glorious, because true; but when it is only another form of begging, then let us reject it.

The establishment of perfect co-operation of life and mind among ourselves must come first, through sacrifice and self-dedication, and then will come in its natural course the Non-co-operation. When the fruit completely ripens, it finds its freedom through its own fulfilment of truth.

Our country is crying to her children for their co-operation in the removal of obstacles in our social life which for centuries have been hampering us in our self-realization. We need co-operation in the sacrifice of love, more than anything else, to prove to our country that she is ours; and then we shall have the moral right to say to others: "We have nothing to do with you in our affairs." And for this, all the moral fervour which the life of Mahatma Gandhi represents, and which he, of all men in the world, can call up, is needed.

Mahatma Gandhi and, under his lead, the Congress have laid stress upon the carrying out of the constructive programme, including the removal of untouchability. "The removal of obstacles in our social life," spoken of by the poet, includes the constructive programme and much besides. So far as Gandhiji is concerned, his profession and practice are the same. But it cannot be said that the Congress, which at present is practically the same as the Swaraj party, has shown much earnestness in carrying out the constructive programme. On the contrary, that party's activities furnish an illustration of what the poet wrote in the next paragraph of his letter, which runs as follows:

That such a precious treasure of power [*viz.* "the moral fervour which the life of Mahatma Gandhi represents"] should be put into the mean and frail vessel of our politics, allowing it to sail across endless waves of angry recrimination, is terribly unfortunate for our country, when our mission is to revive the dead with the fire of the soul. The external waste of our resources of life is great owing to external circumstances; but that the waste of our spiritual resources should also be allowed to happen on adventures that are wrong from the point of view of moral truth is heart-breaking. It is criminal to turn moral force into a blind force.

Council Attendance

Under the leadership of the late Mr. C. R. Das there was a departure from strict Non-co-operation in the form of the council-entry

movement. This schism was defended or justified on the ground that it would enable the members of legislative bodies to carry on persistent and consistent obstruction in the lion's den itself. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the present leader of the Swarajya Party, appears to have realized that the schismatic movement has failed in its object and has not been able to offer persistent and consistent obstruction throughout. So, for various reasons, he has asked the legislators of his party to refrain from attending the Councils. There is a perceptible reluctance on the part of many of the members to act in accordance with his request. Consequently, he has been making exceptions. We do not blame him for it. Often times a leader has to follow rather than to lead, in order to keep the party together. What is important is to understand the object and utility of Non-co-operation and Council-entry. As we have not been identified with either movement, our brief presentation of them may be defective and inaccurate. It is necessary, however, to state that we have been all along in sympathy with Non-co-operation, though not equally with all items in its programme, but never with Council-entry.

Non-co-operation wanted to organize the country, independently of official help or obstruction, and remove obstacles in the way of our progress. It was known that, if in the Councils, Government were allowed to have its way unimpeded, many things would be done and many laws would be passed barring the way to national organization and self-rule. But it was also felt and believed that when Swaraj was attained all these legal and other temporary obstacles could be swept away in no time.

Those who wanted then (under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das) and those who want now to enter and attend the Councils agree in adducing certain arguments. One of these is that by their presence in the legislative bodies they would be able either to prevent the passage of obnoxious bills or to purge them of at least some of their obnoxious features, and they would also be able to prevent Government from taking other steps prejudicial to national interests. But it is now an old story that in spite of the presence of Congress members in the Councils, Dyarchy has not been killed, it has been only scotched in two provinces, and many laws, ordinances and other official acts

prejudicial to national interests stand to the credit (?) of Government. Supposing, however, Congress members had succeeded in gaining their object, it would have been a very costly bargain. If they succeed in future, that success would also be purchased at a very high price. The price is the neglect of constructive work by the prominent members of the party. The reason for such neglect is quite plain. So long as there is a choice between two courses of conduct, one of which secures cheers and applause, frequent mention of one's name and reporting of one's speeches and questions in councils, in newspapers, and some pecuniary gain and gratification of the craving for excitement, and the other means silent work in the dull and drab country-side, most Congress members would choose the former. And they have so chosen hitherto.

It is true, just as Council-entry has failed, so Non-co-operation also has not yet attained its object. But the failure of Non-co-operation up to this time is partly due to the schismatic Council-entry movement. Our conviction, however, is that Non-co-operation is bound to succeed if constructive work is done earnestly in a spirit of genuine fraternal sympathy with the masses. The intelligentsia must thoroughly get rid of their ideas of superiority, of the wrong notion that they are patrons and benefactors. It is the masses who feed and clothe them and keep them alive. Whatever they can do for the masses is only a small repayment of the debt which they owe them. But in espousing the cause of the masses one must steer absolutely clear of the spirit and methods of class-war. We have all to win our freedom together. There is not, there should not be, any room for civil war in our ranks.

Government may take advantage of the period of absence of the Opposition from the councils to do all that it wants to. Let it. When Swaraj comes, as it is bound to, if by constructive efforts solidarity can be produced in our ranks—when Swaraj comes, it would be quite easy to sweep off all hindrances to progress. Even under the present regime, were not some repressive laws, like the one authorizing the confiscation of printing-presses for certain offences, repealed through the efforts of Nationalists?

There is no harm in admitting that from the working of dyarchy in some provinces some small gains have accrued to the people and similar advantages may result

from its working in future. But in order to gain the great object of self-rule which we have in view, we must decide to forgo these small advantages. Ten years of self-rule would bring us more progress and welfare than a century or more of other-rule. What is more, even if the tangible advantages of self-rule were temporarily smaller than those of other-rule, there would be more than enough compensation in the accession of self-respect and manhood, development of ability to manage public affairs, and the growth of self-confidence.

For these reasons Pandit Motilal Nehru's advice seems to us wise and timely.

Hand-spinning Among Mysore Agriculturists

The Week contains an account of what has been done successfully in Mysore to introduce hand-spinning as a supplementary occupation amongst agriculturists, by Government aid and encouragement, in localities where there are facilities for such an industry. This is how hand-spinning commenced.

The special organizer sent by the All-India Spinners' Association started work on 1st November, 1927. Sixty-two spinners, mostly Adi Karnataka weavers, were willing to re-start working their charkhas, if raw cotton was advanced to them and an undertaking was given that the yarn made would be purchased. When they found that the special organizer actually meant business, spinning spread rapidly to the surrounding villages. The average output of yarn for the first three months was about 500 lbs. and the number of charkhas had increased to 398 at the end of this period. The production during the succeeding three months was 742 lbs. and the number of charkhas rose to 560. By the end of June 1928 the number of charkhas had risen to 1,000. The total weight of yarn spun up to the end of August 1928, for the ten months since the commencement of operations in the centre, was 7,744 lbs. and the price paid for this yarn is Rs. 6,711.

After spinning had become fairly established, advances of raw cotton were discontinued and the spinners were required to buy their own cotton. Advances of money were also discontinued in May 1928. The cotton spun in the early months was very coarse, the count ranging from 6 to 8 and was purchased at the rate of four annas per ball of 13 tolas. The purchase by weight was also discontinued with a view to induce the spinners to spin higher counts and the purchase at present is effected mostly by length. The count of yarn spun at present varies from 10 to 18. The average production of a spinner for a month's working during spare time is about 2 lbs. and her daily earnings vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 anna a day. Small as this amount would seem, there are 1,000 spinners who find it worth while to earn this wage by putting three or four hours of work at the wheel daily.

Along with the introduction of hand-spinning in the centre, arrangements were made with some of the looms at Badanval to weave the yarn into cloth. At first only towels could be made with the yarn. As finer yarn was produced, sheets, coatings and turban cloth was made.

The following paragraph gives an idea of the earnings of the weavers and their hours of work:

The total sales by the end of June amounted to Rs. 3,777, of which Rs. 714 was sold through the Stores Purchase Committee and the balance to the general public. The Stores Purchase Committee have since placed an order for about 15,000 yards of double thread coating cloth and 696 turbans with the centre and about half the production is absorbed by Government departments at present. Careful statistics are maintained of the earnings of weavers. It is found on an average that they weave about 62 yards of cloth a month and earn about Rs. 7 during the period. They work from two to three hours a day. A balance-sheet was struck at the end of June 1928. It was found that the working capital had suffered no diminution and it had on the other hand increased Rs. 152. The provision of Rs. 500 to meet any loss that might occur had proved unnecessary.

The Art of Article-"lifting"

In the last April number of *The Modern Review* we published an English translation of a French article by M. Romain Rolland under the heading "India on the March." Professor Kalidas Nag had obtained that great master's permission to publish a translation of the article in this Review, and that was stated in a prefatory paragraph signed by Dr. Nag. The translation was specially made for this Review.

Liberty has reproduced this translation in a mutilated form in its issue of June 23 last, page 19, without acknowledgement and without obtaining our permission. In this it has proved a true successor to *Forward*, which also lifted from our pages some articles by Dr. Sunderland and others without acknowledgement, though when Dr. Sunderland's book, "India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom," was sent to it for review in December last by registered packet, it never noticed it. That was, no doubt, quite in keeping with its practice with respect to books sent to it from the Modern Review Office. For instance, when Major B. D. Basu's "Consolidation of the Christian Power in India" was sent to *Forward* for review, no review ever appeared; but immediately after the receipt of that book a leading article appeared in that paper containing extracts taken from the

book—of course, without any acknowledgment.

In the case of M. Romain Rolland's article, *Liberty* has changed our heading into "Orient's Clash with the Occident"! And a sub-heading has also been given, *viz.*, "India's Symphony," which has been marred in the borrowing from our prefatory sentence, "Another Indian Symphony from the Beethoven of European thought!" But this is not all. The article has been mutilated in a senseless manner by the omission of many paragraphs, without any indication of such gaps. The first eleven paragraphs have been omitted. Then, after the mention of Ram Mohun Roy and Aurobindo Ghose, the seven paragraphs devoted to Ram Mohun Roy, the Tagores, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Saraswati, etc., have been omitted, obviously because *Liberty* does not like the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. What views that paper may hold of these two bodies is its own concern. But it has no right to indirectly misrepresent a great author by making him appear unappreciative of many great Indians, by unauthorized mutilations of his article.

Direct Russo-British Relations

London, June 22.

The 'Observer's diplomatic correspondent says that negotiations have been started through the German Embassy in London and the Norwegian Legation at Moscow, which respectively represent Russian and British interests in questions affecting Britain and Russia, with a view to the restoration and subsequent regularization of direct relations between the two last-named countries.—(Reuter).

European Representation in Bengal

The European constituency in the Burdwan and Presidency divisions of Bengal has the right to return three members to the Bengal Council. There are 12,820 voters in this constituency. But in the recent elections only 752 votes, about 6 per cent. of the total, were recorded. The European voters, all educated men, come from a country where the representative form of government has prevailed for centuries. But here they are quite indifferent as regards the exercise of their franchise—perhaps because they know that, the government of the country being in the hands of their own countrymen, their interests are quite safe, whether they vote

or not. The question then arises whether educated and well-to-do people who do not care for the franchise should have it at all. And then just think of only 12,820 voters having the right to return three members! At this rate how many hundred members should the people of Bengal have the right to return?

There is a rule that if a candidate is unable to secure a certain fraction of the total number of votes, he has to forfeit the deposit money. Should there not be a similar rule that, if in a constituency a certain percentage of votes is not recorded, its right to vote would be withheld for a certain number of years?

Dr. Ansari on Communalism

A section of Indian Musalmans is sending a deputation to England under the leadership of the Aga Khan ostensibly for the protection of their minority rights. This is an occasion when the views of the leading Muslim nationalist in India should be known and calmly considered. Addressing a crowded meeting of Panjabi young men, recently held in Lahore under the auspices of the local Students' Union, Dr. M. A. Ansari said, according to the *Hindu Herald's* report:

In the eagerness to pursue sectarian or communal objects, we have, to an extent, unwittingly strayed away from the main objective. Loyalty to the cause of national freedom has, perhaps without intending it, become subject to loyalty to doubtful communal interests. This is the tragedy of the present situation. And the responsibility is not confined to any single community. There is communalism amongst sections of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs alike, varying, of course, according to the peculiar situation of the particular community. Everything is set in the perspective of communalism and judged by communalistic standards. The mentality of mutual antagonism, thus engendered, naturally reacts to the prejudice of national harmony, the one condition of political success in India to-day. What is the result? A premium on reaction harmful to the country and beneficial to none.

To prove it, he cited the Nehru report. Said he:

I claim that it is by far the best of all solutions of the communal problem and that, with some modifications, it is the only solution that can possibly command, given of course a sense of reasonable compromise, universal acceptance. Instead, enthusiasts claiming to speak in the name of their particular community, while forgetting everything else, can think of nothing better than its complete rejection. The Sikhs, whose minority rights in the Punjab have not, I freely recognize, been protected, as the rights of Hindu and Muslim

minorities in other provinces, are entitled to the full consideration of their just and reasonable claims. But is complete rejection of the Report as an alternative to exaggerated demands the method of compelling its consideration? Does it not on the other hand show an unwillingness to face the facts of the situation from the broader point of view of the country? The Sikhs have the sympathy of every man who has a sense of justice and fairplay. If only, while making their demands they were to give proper consideration to the claims of other communities and also of the country as a whole, they would receive willing support from all quarters. I am sure it will not be too much to hope that they would reconsider their attitude and help in the achievement of national unity.

As regards the demands of the Muslim communalists, he observed :

The Muslim is worse. He got almost enough, but he wanted more. Unfortunately, however, in the process of wanting more, he began to demand too much. But I am not surprised at it. The section that has been loudly proclaiming fantastic rights is the Simonite section of the Musalmans. It is mainly composed of men who never concealed their faith in the all-British Statutory Commission, although it has been unconditionally boycotted by all representative organizations, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, in the country. They are men to whom the freedom of the country from alien rule comes merely as a bad second to communal privileges. However regrettable it may be, one is obliged to rule them out of consideration. Still there are persons in this section, like the Ali brothers, who do count. The fact that they have been led into the camp of national reaction is more tragic than anything else. The tragedy is that they are there without realizing it. For I believe that they have not yet surrendered their loyalty to the fundamental principle of Indian politics, freedom from foreign domination. And yet they are strengthening that very domination.

But this section alone, however vocal it may be, is not the whole Muslim community. It is not half as representative as it claims to be. It has been challenged by Nationalist Musalmans, who are very happily growing in strength from day to day. And it would have been successfully challenged but for the disorderly incidents at Calcutta in December and Delhi in April last. The Nationalist Musalman believes in negotiation with the representatives of his own nation rather than in an appeal to those of the British. He would, therefore, suggest, as he did in April last, amendments to the Nehru Report, instead of applying to the British Government, directly or indirectly, for protection. Personally, I regard the amendments suggested by the Muslim League at Delhi as superfluous. But because I do not regard them as harmful, I would, in the interest of national harmony, earnestly plead for their acceptance.

Dr. Ansari's observations on Hindu communalism are also quoted below :

If communalism is bad among Sikhs and worse among Muslims, what shall I say of Hindus? They are the majority community. Large-hearted toleration and voluntary generosity should be naturally associated with them as obligations implicit in the fact of their being the majority community.

When against this background, therefore, the Hindu reveals the impatience of narrow-mindedness, the picture becomes ugly. To take the Nehru Report again as an instance, the Hindu opposition to the communal settlement or to such modifications therein as are likely to increase its acceptability, is based mainly on academic grounds. Theories may be all right. Fidelity to the principles of political philosophy may be very admirable, but it seems to me that to insist too much on general constitutional or political theory is, in the present conditions, to neglect woefully the first and last necessity of contemporary Indian politics. I mean, the achievement of National Freedom.

This is why I do earnestly hope that, when the opportunity comes, my Hindu brethren will not be unwilling to respond to the advance made last April by the Muslim League, at Delhi.

As the editor of this Review presided over the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha, he might be expected to comment on the above extract from Dr. Ansari's speech. But the speaker's criticism of the Hindus is expressed in too general terms to make any comment practicable. One does not like to throw stones in the dark. The presidential address at the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha was meant to be an exposition of the Hindu attitude *vis-a-vis* Indian Nationalism, and to show that as a body the Hindus were true Nationalists.

Dr. Ansari's sobriety of tone is appreciated.

With respect to communalism in general, Dr. Ansari observed :

It is too harmful to be left to itself in the hope that it will die a natural death some day in the definite future. By dividing the nation into communities it is in the meantime killing each of them and protecting nothing but our slavery. It comes between us and our struggle for freedom. Communalism must, therefore, go. If there is to be action, the deck must be cleared. And no body of Indians can be expected to do it better or more effectively than you young men and women whose idealism is pure and who are free from prejudices.

Your first duty, therefore, is to carry on a relentless crusade against communalism as an active guiding principle of Indian political life.

A "Conceivable" Alternative Indeed!

London, June 22

Reviewing the prospects in India in the light of Lord Irwin's speech and his suggestion that the new constitution ought to be a living organism with the power of spontaneous and unlimited growth, the "Manchester Guardian" advances a "conceivable alternative" to the old plan of progress dependent on dates and independent of events, namely :

An Executive should be appointed by the Viceroy or Governor from the Legislature and responsible, not to the Legislature, but to its appointer and vested with wide powers for the efficient conduct

of the administration, even without the consent of the Legislature in case of need.

The paper expresses the opinion that such an Executive would in practice find it increasingly necessary to strengthen its position, by securing the support of a compact party in the Legislature, thus gradually developing a Cabinet controlled by and responsible to the Legislature.—(Reuter.)

Indian newspapers have been spared the duty of commenting on this amusing suggestion of the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Englishman* has done it as follows :

The "conceivable alternative" suggested by the "Manchester Guardian" to present plans of progress in Indian self-government is not at all the sort of proposal one expects from that Liberal organ and "conceivable" is the last adjective I should think of applying to it. If Manchester thinks to-day that a reinforced Executive appointed by the Viceroy, and responsible to him only, would be welcomed by Indian opinion, Manchester must be very poorly informed.

Further, it is difficult to see why an Executive completely independent of the Legislature should in practice find it necessary to secure the support of a compact party in the Legislature."

Sir William Marris's Educational Appointment

Sir William Marris, ex-governor of the U. P., has been appointed principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle. Some time ago Sir Thomas Holland, of Munition Board cases fame, was appointed principal of the Edinburgh University. Does the appointment of men with Anglo-Indian traditions to high educational offices in Britain bode any good to that country?

Mr. Lloyd George on Mahatma Gandhi

In a speech to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Mr. Lloyd George indulged in high praise of Mahatma Gandhi, which he no doubt deserves; though Gandhiji's most devout *bhaktas* will admit that he is not "the greatest Indian ever produced." But why of all men should the Welsh politician praise Gandhiji? He must have had some object in view. But Gandhiji, though a saint, is not a simpleton. He is too wary to be caught in any trap. He will not walk into any politician's parlour.

Mr. Lloyd George was mistaken in thinking that Christianity was permeating the life of the cultured classes in India. But he was right when he observed that a great obstacle to the progress of Christianity in India was the greed and hatred and strife of Western Christian nations.

A Myth About Lord Irwin

Writing in the *English Review* Mr. H. A. L. Fisher makes the plea that Lord Irwin should have a further term as Viceroy, because "Lord Irwin's elevation of character and conspicuous ability has deeply impressed the Indian mind and a change at this juncture will be very unfortunate." But Lord Irwin is still far from completing his term of office. It is not at all necessary to decide just now who should be the Great Moghal during the next term. The Indian view is that so long as India is ruled by a foreign bureaucracy instead of being self-ruling, it is a matter of indifference to her who the head of the executive government may be. As for his lordship having impressed the Indian mind, it is perfect news to us.

Anything But Self-rule for India

The *Manchester Guardian's* "conceivable alternative" has been noticed above. Englishmen love to delude themselves with all sorts of fantastic notions about the governance of India, which they think would make Indians immensely happy. One of these absurd fancies is that India is crying for a Viceroy of royal blood and "won't be happy without it!" Do any chemical, physical, moral, intellectual, political and spiritual virtues, especially and invariably, characterize the royal blood in any country? Another is that the offices of Viceroy and Governor-General should be separated and two men should occupy the two thrones. And, of course, India must pay for both of the twin gods. But financially sufficient unto the day is the one god thereof.

Unemployment in Britain and India

In Great Britain, to be employed is the rule, and hence, unemployment being the exception, exact statistics of the number of unemployed is available. The figures sometimes mount up to some lakhs. But in India unemployment is the rule and employment is the exception. So no statistical estimate of the extent of unemployment here is practicable—perhaps it is not thought desirable by Government.

It is the labourers in all countries who suffer most from unemployment. So the Labour Government in Britain has lost no time

in tackling the problem. But in India the problem is much more serious and urgent and vaster in dimensions. Will the British Labour Cabinet attend to it here?

Unemployment and poverty go together. India's poverty is phenomenal. Let Britain's present Prime Minister bear witness. Says he in "The Awakening of India":

"The people are the most industrious in the world; much of their land is fertile and yields rich crops; whenever a famine comes, they are stricken with starvation and die by the thousands, while millions are shattered in physical vigour. Sir William Hunter said that 40,000,000 people in India go through life with insufficient food; Sir Charles Elliot estimated that one-half of the agricultural population never satisfied hunger fully from one year's end to another. From thirty to fifty million families live in India on an income which does not exceed 3^d. per day. In July, 1900, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, famine relief was administered daily to 6,500,000 persons. The poverty of India is not an opinion, it is a fact. At the best of times the cultivator has a millstone of debt about his neck"—*The Awakening of India*, by J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., popular edition, pp. 102-3.

Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, declared that

"Seventy millions of Indian peasants are in such a condition of hopeless poverty that no reforms can do them any good. Testimony of a similar kind could be multiplied indefinitely"—*India: Impressions and Suggestions*, by J. Keir Hardie, M. P. Second Edition, pp. 3-4.

The following passages are taken from the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*:

"Two dominating conditions will be quickly apparent to anyone who turns to the records and reports. One is that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe" (para. 132). "The Indian Government compiles no statistics showing the distribution of wealth, but such incomplete figures as we have obtained show that the number of persons enjoying a substantial income is very small. It is evident that the curve of wealth descends very steeply, and that enormous masses of the population have little to spare for more than the necessities of life" (para 135).

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research

For a people who are so miserably poor, what is going to be provided first of all among the things recommended by the Royal Agricultural Commission is an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, recently inaugurated by Lord Irwin. Indian peasants are evidently so well-educated and so well-financed that all the agricultural researches hitherto carried out in India have been applied

to practice. And so, it seems, they were crying for more researches. That demand is going to lead to the supply.

The real fact is "that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe," and are, therefore, unable to take advantage of agricultural research to any appreciable extent. Such research is undoubtedly necessary. But there is a mass of it yet unapplied. So according to the rule of first things first, the problem which should have been tackled before any other—at least simultaneously with any and every other—is the removal of the illiteracy and dense ignorance of the bulk of the male and female population of India. In order that, as desired by the Linlithgow Commission, their whole outlook on life may be changed.

But instead of this, we are going to have first of all something imposing, something which will tell the "civilized world" that great things are being done for the Indian peasant, something which will bring grist to the mill of some British "experts," some British manufacturers of agricultural machinery and implements, and others, including some educated Indians, in the shape of salaries, allowances, prices of manufactured articles, etc.

Floods in East Bengal, Assam and Burma

The floods in East Bengal and Assam are the most appalling and devastating within living memory. The district of Tipperah, Sylhet and Cachar are the worst sufferers. A very large area is still under water. It is impossible for men or cattle to live there. The area affected in Sylhet and Cachar alone is 5,500 square miles with a population of 17½ lakhs, the population of the worst affected area, which is 3,500 square miles, being more than 12 lakhs. Dead bodies of men, women and children have been seen floating on the waters of the rivers. Almost all the cattle in the affected areas have been destroyed and houses washed away. Thousands of people have been rendered homeless and foodless. Communications have been cut off. Helpless men, women and children have taken shelter on hill-sides, rail-roads, mounds, *bunds*, house-tops and tree-tops. Crops have been destroyed. Help of various kinds is urgently needed. The Governments of Bengal and Assam have

set on foot relief operations, but not on an adequate scale. Public bodies, like the Ramakrishna Mission, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, the Hindu Sabha, the provincial Congress Committees, etc., have opened relief centres. They should be given generous contributions to enable them to do their work thoroughly.

In Burma also devastating floods have occurred in Arakan, Akyab and adjoining areas, which are not less disastrous than those in East Bengal and Assam. Help is urgently required there also.

The Maharaja of Tripura has set an example of dutifulness and munificence by sanctioning an expenditure of Rs. 100,000 for the relief of distress in his dominions and in his Zamindari in Tipperah. This example should be emulated by the British provincial Governments concerned. If necessary the Government of India should help them to do their duty.

What requires to be done immediately is obvious. Steps are to be taken to drain off the waters from the flooded areas as quickly as possible. People in distress are to be given shelter, food and clothing. Those who have already fallen ill should receive medical treatment. And steps should be taken to prevent outbreaks of epidemics; but should they break out, medical help should be ready at hand. The task is gigantic, but the resources of a willing Government and people are also vast. Once that will is roused to action, nothing can be impossible.

Those who wish to send contributions direct to local committees may, in the case of Sylhet, do so to Babu Madan Mohan Aditya, Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Karimganj, Sylhet; in the case of Tipperah, to Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, Abhaya Asram, Comilla; and in the case of Cachar, to Babu Naba Kumar Das, Treasurer, Relief Committee, Silchar.

It is not enough to outline and accomplish the immediate task. Government and the people should take counsel together to ascertain what should be done to prevent similar devastation by inundation in the future. In America engineers have used their knowledge and skill to prevent the waters of the Ohio and some other rivers overflowing their banks and destroying life and property. The expenditure has been very large. The United States being very wealthy, such expenditure has been possible. The bulk of the people of India are miserably

poor. But the Government of India is not poor. A Government which can spend crores upon crores on wars, ought to be able to spend similar amounts for protecting the life and property of the people. If this cannot be done from current revenue, loans should be raised, as is sometimes done for military purposes.

Though India is poor, she has been the cause of other countries becoming rich. No country has obtained so much wealth from India as Great Britain. India should get back at least a fraction of this wealth. It is not suggested that in some future time India would be in a position to subdue or peacefully penetrate Britain and get back her wealth by all the means by which the latter has grown rich at the expense of the former. Invasion and plunder of Britain by India even in the distant future are unthinkable, and, even if possible, would be undesirable. Peaceful penetration of Britain for the purpose of economic exploitation is also out of the question. What is suggested and desired is that Great Britain should pay her debt and get a reputation for generosity to boot, by coming to the rescue of the areas in India liable to devastation by floods. The British Treasury has not yet spent a pice for India. Now is the time to spend liberally on vast engineering works for flood prevention.

League Malaria and Leprosy Mission

The League of Nations has decided to send some experts to India this year to study the malaria problem here. This League mission will spend about four months in this country, devoting about a fortnight to the most populous and most malarious province of Bengal. The time to be spent in India and Bengal does not seem at all adequate, unless the League malaria experts are supermen or are merely to say ditto to the dicta of the Government I. M. S. officers.

If a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing thoroughly.

A League Leper Mission is also to come to Asia, including the Far East in its itinerary. But India is not included in the programme, though this country is badly stricken with leprosy. The efforts made by the Mission to the Lepers for the relief of lepers and the eradication of leprosy are highly commendable. It receives some Government help. But Government cannot be said to have done its duty in the matter.

Increase of the World's Wealth

According to the League of Nations news sheets the world's wealth has been increasing. The majority of the world's population are in subjection to the minority. Is it meant that the subject peoples also have been growing in riches equally with the ruling nations? It is easy to understand that with the progress of scientific and mechanical knowledge and skill there must necessarily be a progressive development and exploitation of the natural resources of the world, adding to man's wealth. But the question is, what portion of this wealth falls to the lot of the subject peoples of the earth and the labourers of the ruling countries of the world.

So far as India is concerned, it is certain that more wealth is extracted from the bowels of the earth and obtained from the forests, cultivated lands, rivers and the animal creation than ever before. Nevertheless, the people of India are extremely poor. It is not enough that more and more wealth should be obtained from all sources. There should also be an equitable distribution of this wealth among all those to whom the sources of wealth naturally belong and all those who labour and otherwise contribute to the production of wealth.

Rights of the Masses and the Whitley Commission

Mr. I. B. Sen has been giving a series of educative discourses in College Square, Calcutta. In the course of one of them he is reported by the *Basumati* to have said :

(i) The abolition of private property and the consequent abolition of inheritance and of the wage system, (ii) abolition of parasitic middlemen in every sphere, (iii) the nationalization of the means of production, including land, mines, raw materials, machines and means of transport and (iv) production for the enjoyment of all but not for the profit of a few, are among the comparatively distant rights which, however, the workers in the cause of Swaraj must never forget in their pursuit of the immediate rights of the masses.

This is a brief recapitulation of the principal items in the socialist programme. It would not be possible to discuss them within the compass of a note, nor can we claim to have made a study of any of the approximately three score varieties of socialism. But we may note here our belief that private property can never be thoroughly abolished anywhere and that some portions

of inheritance appear to be based on natural justice. For instance, if a man inherits some bodily diseases, mental defects, disadvantages, etc., there does not appear to be anything wrong in his inheriting some compensating material wealth.

Mr. Sen passed on to mention the rights which the masses can immediately lay claim to.

Wiping out of certain classes of debts of agriculturists, right to employment and its corollaries, amplest maternity benefits, prevention of child mortality, minimum living wage fixed on a liberal scale, maximum working hours, old age pensions for the masses, right to as good an education as each child is capable of, abolition of untouchability, are among the immediate rights in which the masses should be educated and for which they should be taught to organize themselves and agitate.

This declaration of rights we can wholeheartedly support.

In conclusion Mr. Sen gave reasons and facts in detail to show why the labouring population of India cannot expect any appreciable advantage from the labours of the Whitley Commission.

Mr. Sen said that he did not mean that not even a crumb would be thrown at Labour out of the abundance ostentatiously displayed on the table of Messrs. Alexander Murray, Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Victor Sassoon, Ghanshyam Das Birla & Co. Some good would come no doubt from the commission counterbalanced nevertheless by the spirit of the Trade Disputes Act. But was such large expenditure during and after the sitting of the commission justified when no money was or would be available for years to give effect to even the acknowledged portion of the elementary rights of the masses?

What then could be their attitude towards the Commission? Let it alone. It should receive no attention from persons interested genuinely in the welfare of Labour who held the above outlined notion of the rights of the masses. The only attention it could and should receive was in so far as the advent of the commission served as an occasion for stimulating the education and organization of the masses to enable them to help themselves. Probably it was not possible to boycott the commission effectively any more than it was possible to boycott effectively the Simon Commission. But that was no justification for labour leaders diverting their energy from their main immediate duty—education and organization of the masses.

Byomkesh Chakrabarti

Memory of the tragic close of Mr. Byomkesh Chakrabarti's earthly career, which has now ended, fills the mind with painful thoughts. Gifted with a versatile intellect and great powers of application, he achieved brilliant success in his academic career.

The range of his intellectual interests and attainments will be evident from the fact that, after obtaining his M. A. degree from the Calcutta University, he taught in College such subjects as English, Mathematics and Physical Science. He then went to England to study agriculture at the Cirencester College. While in England he pursued legal studies also and was called to the Bar. Returning to India he adopted law as his profession and became one of the most successful and distinguished advocates of his time. He was Secretary of the Landholders' Association, President of the Bengal National Council of Education, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1920 and President of the Bengal Provincial Conference. Towards the latter part of his career at the Bar, he turned his attention to banking and industries. He risked much and made sacrifices for the Bengal National Bank, which is now non-existent and which proved his ruin. Some of the men chosen to manage the affairs of the Bengal National Bank and the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills proved untrustworthy.

Mr. Chakrabarti was for some time one of the ministers of the Bengal Government. He was an erudite Vedantic scholar.

Disarmament and World Peace

The Kellogg Pact has not completely outlawed war. Britain has made reservations, described in a previous issue of this journal, by which she would be able to have recourse to war to bring back to subjection any of her subject peoples if they tried to become independent by any means. Still, if that Pact and the proposed conversations between Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hoover can prevent fresh future aggression on peoples who are not now subject to any of the predatory nations of the world, that would be some gain.

Keeping any people in subjection is a state of permanent aggression and warfare, something like a state of siege during war. So long, therefore, as any country and people remained in subjection, it would not be correct to say that war had been outlawed.

It has been suggested that freedom of the seas and peace should be maintained by placing the oceans of the world under two spheres of influence, British and American. But will the other maritime nations agree

to this Anglo-American joint suzerainty over the ocean? And what of the air? Will that, too, can that, too, be divided?

Debt of the Educated, to the Nation

We have repeatedly tried by speech and writing to impress on the minds of the educated classes the fact that they are indebted to the nation, particularly to the masses, for the education they have received, and that, therefore, if they try to educate the masses by personal service or by pecuniary contribution, they only repay their debt—they are not benefactors and patrons. That this is not a figurative statement but an actual debtor and creditor account has also been repeatedly shown by us in speech and writing. We shall illustrate our observation again by taking some figures from the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1927-28. The table given below, compiled from this report, shows the average annual cost of educating a student in different colleges and the share of the cost borne by provincial revenues.

College.	Cost per student.	Share borne by Prov. Rev.
Presidency	Rs. 475.5	Rs. 301.5
Dacca Intermediate	" 431.9	" 343.4
Hooghly	" 515.5	" 427.2
Sanskrit	" 556.3	" 509.0
Krishnagar	" 535.3	" 435.6
Chittagong	" 208.4	" 120.3
Rajshahi	" 285.3	" 192.6
Islamia	" 248.2	" 149.2
Aided Colleges	" 134.7	" 28
Unaided Colleges	" 105.9	" nil.

The share of the average annual cost of educating a student borne by provincial revenues comes from the taxes paid by the people, another share in all classes of colleges being borne by the students in the shape of fees. That portion of the taxes which is paid by wealthy people is really paid in the last resort mostly by the peasants and other labourers. Hence all persons educated in Government and aided colleges are literally debtors to the nation. Their debt is not measured only by the share of the annual cost of educating them borne by provincial revenues. Large sums were needed for the college and hostel buildings, for furnishing the libraries with books and for purchasing the scientific apparatus in the laboratories. The tuition fees paid by the students did not provide these sums even in part. These sums also are part of the students' debt to the colleges and, therefore, to society.

Another fact has to be taken into consideration. In Aided Colleges and even in Government Colleges some teachers receive inadequate salaries. If they had been as highly paid as the European and the adequately paid Indian professors, the cost per student and the share borne by the provincial revenues would have increased. So the enforced sacrifice of these underpaid teachers really means an addition to the debt of the students.

As regards the unaided colleges, it is true that no share of the current annual cost of educating students there is borne by the provincial revenues. But that does not mean that provincial revenues, and hence the people, do not contribute anything towards the cost of educating their students. In 1927-28, "A sum of Rs. 1,29,000 was distributed by Government, as previously, on the recommendations of Calcutta University among private colleges mainly for the improvement of libraries and laboratories. In addition to this amount a sum of Rs. 2,80,423 was spent by Government directly in giving capital and maintenance grants to non-Government Arts colleges during the year under review." During some previous years also such grants were made from Government revenues, that is, from the money paid by the people as taxes. For these large sums the students of unaided colleges are indebted to the masses mostly.

Other additions have also to be made to their debt. The buildings of the unaided colleges have cost large sums. These were raised, partly at least, by public subscription. Whoever paid the subscriptions, the money came ultimately from the workers of the nation. Many professors, lecturers, tutors and demonstrators in unaided colleges get inadequate salaries. The students of these colleges are indebted to these gentlemen to the extent of the additional sums which they ought to have got but do not get.

As regards students in the post-graduate classes of the University, we have no exact figures before us of the average annual cost of educating a student in the Arts and Science Departments respectively. But it is known that the cost in each case is very high and the tuition fees paid by the students cover but a small fraction of it. The remainder is met from the income from endowments, from examination fees, from the sale of books owned by the University and from provincial revenues. All these

different items of income are derived in the last resort from the people. The cost of the buildings, laboratories, libraries, etc., belonging to the University, was met also in the same way by the people. Many university teachers are poorly paid, getting in some cases salaries, smaller not only than those of teachers in Government Colleges in the provincial service, but even than those of professors of the same or even inferior standing in some unaided private colleges. As explained before in the case of underpaid teachers in unaided colleges, post-graduate students are debtors to these underpaid postgraduate teachers.

Assembly Bomb-throwers

Batukeswar Dutt and Bhagat Singh, the two young men who threw into the Legislative Assembly in Delhi two bombs which did not and could not seriously hurt anybody and fired shots in the air, have been sentenced to transportation for life. Such a terrific sentence was quite uncalled for and is calculated to secure public sympathy for these misguided young men and make heroes of them.

Racial Discrimination in Jails

The note of dissent written by two members of the committee appointed to inquire into and report upon jail administration in the U. P. has served to draw attention to the racial discrimination in favour of "Europeans" (including Eurasians) in the jails there and probably in other provinces also. Pandi Jagat Narain and Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, the writers of the note, state that European prisoners are more comfortably housed, have some furniture, are given more clothing and more decent clothing, some bedding and more blankets, and better food of greater variety and greater in quantity than Indian prisoners. Moreover, the general arrangements to enable Indian prisoners to answer calls of nature in their cells are more suited to beasts than to men, whereas arrangements for the same purpose for European prisoners make it possible to observe health rules and decency. This is what can be gathered from the note of dissent. The dissenting members do not want European prisoners to be treated worse than they are but they rightly contend that Indian prisoners not only of the higher classes of society but of humbler ranks as well, should have

better and more food, better clothing and better accommodation.

Fitness for and Possession of Self-rule

It is sometimes contended that if Indians had been fit for and had a right to self-rule, they would have got it and that the very fact that they have not got it proves that they are unfit for it.

This sort of reasoning is valid only in one sense. If it be taken for granted that the fighting power needed to win self-rule back from those who have deprived a subject people of their freedom and are unwilling to give it back unless forced to do so, is an *essential* part of the fitness for self-rule, then it must be admitted that so long as a people remain in subjection they are unfit for self-rule. In no other sense is the reasoning valid.

Let us test the argument by means of concrete examples. The Poles were a subject people for centuries, and therefore they were unfit for self-rule. But as a result of the World War their freedom was restored to them by other nations—they did not win it back by their own prowess—and, therefore, they immediately became fit, though they were unfit immediately before getting freedom back! The collection of different peoples who now live in Czechoslovakia must be considered to have been unfit for self-rule so long as they had not been restored to freedom by the victors in the World War. They did not win back their freedom by themselves defeating the Austrians. So all through their period of subjection, down to the moment of signing the treaty which made them free, they were unfit for self-rule, but the very next minute after the signing of the treaty they became fit all at once!

It is not at all true that every one gets what for which he is fit. There are thousands of persons who are fit to perform various kinds of duties which they never get the opportunity to perform. Similarly, we Indians may be fit to do all those kinds of work which a self-ruling people require to do, but we do not get the opportunity to do these things, we are considered unfit.

One might argue that if Indian non-commissioned officers were fit to do in battle the work of leading and commanding troops which English lieutenants, captains, majors, etc., do, they would have got King's commissions these officers long ago. But they do

not usually get the opportunity to prove their fitness. During the World War, accidentally, they got the opportunity and proved their worth. When during the World War, at some stages, the British officers commanding Indian troops were killed or disabled, the Indian officers took command and did so with complete success. But in spite of their proved fitness they were not given King's Commissions afterwards. Of course, before the Mutiny and during the pre-British period India had produced numerous leaders in war.

If the rightful owner of a zemindari, being dispossessed by some one, comes to a law-court to be restored to his property, he is not told by the court, "If you were fit to be the master of the zemindari, you would surely have been in possession of it." Nor is he told indirectly by the court to get together a band of *lathials* and snatch back his property from the usurper. If the people of India appeal to the British people and to world opinion to get back their freedom, surely neither the British nor any other people would ask our countrymen to prove their fitness by actual winning of self-rule by fighting. And if any people come to be in possession of self-rule, by whatever means, they would not care to give any proof of fitness to anybody.

Actual possession and enjoyment of a thing does not always co-exist with fitness for and moral right to it.

Examination of Sandhurst Candidates

According to a Delhi message,

An examination for the selection of candidates for the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, the Royal Air Force Cadet College at Cranwell and the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich began here yesterday in the office of the Public Services Commission, Metcalfe House.

Sixty-five candidates are competing for ten vacancies at Sandhurst and three each for the other two colleges.

In addition to written examination, the candidates will be required to pass an oral test before a board composed of four British officers and Dr. B. S. Moonje, a non-official Indian.

Dr. Moonje has been all along to the fore in pressing the question of military education of young Indians on the attention of Government. Hence his place on the board.

Medical Examination of School-boys

It is understood that a scheme for medical examination of school students in Bengal is under

the consideration of the Education Department of the Government of Bengal.

To carry out the scheme, a medical officer will be appointed on the staff of every institution. He will investigate all matters relating to the health and physique of school students and co-operate with the physical instructor regarding games.

The sooner the scheme is carried out the better. The plan ought to have been adopted long ago.

A Labour College in Bombay

We look forward with hope to the establishment of a Labour College in Bombay under the auspices of the Prarthana Samaj. The details given below are taken from the *Subodha Patrika*.

The subjects that will be taught will include Economics, Sociology, Trade Union movement and Co-operative movement. The object of the College is twofold: to create a general intellectual awakening among the factory workers and to train capable men and women for sane labour leadership. Our experience of the last few years has taught us that anybody with a set of imported ideas on Labour could become a labour leader provided he used sufficiently strong language against the Government and capitalists of the country. Such leadership is foredoomed to failure, because what holds good in the case of fully industrially developed countries, does not hold good in the case of India; and secondly, whatever shape the labour struggle may take, it must be thoroughly constitutional in its activities, that is, it must bring about the desired change by legislation and not by violence and bloodshed. It is the hope of the organizers of the College that it will turn out men and women equipped for labour leadership of a type that is thoroughly constitutional.

The institution is being started under the direction of a religious body like the Prarthana Samaj. The Samaj has taken an active interest in all the problems of social reform and, as Mr. Natarajan has said, labour ought to be one of the problems of social reform. Any way it is high time that we apply the principles of liberal religion to the solution of our economic and industrial problems. From the days of Raja Rammohan Roy down to the present time, the Brahma and Prarthana Samajes have been engaged in all questions of religious, social and even political reform. Now the time has come when we have to take up the question of economic reform and it is through this economic reform that we shall again be able to fire the imagination, and inspire the hearts of the younger generation.

The present labour movement in Bombay, we are told is mostly in the hands of men who have no organic conception of society as a whole.

The movement of social development, according to them, is based upon class consciousness, so that conflict between one class and another is a necessary condition of social evolution. According to this view, economic power will be concentrated in one or the other class according to circumstances. Now,

it is possible to evolve social conditions which will make it possible for this economic power to be equally distributed among all classes. And this can be achieved not when people become class-conscious but when they become declassed, that is, rise above all class distinctions; class consciousness simply reverses the order of society so that the highest is brought to the ground and the lowest raised to the position of the highest, a process which is incompatible with true democracy. To found an economic and industrial system on a truly democratic basis is a task which cannot perhaps be achieved in a few years and yet the intended College may serve as a beacon light amid the surrounding darkness guiding the generations to come in the path of right progress and right living.

In this College only those teachers will be employed who are imbued with the spirit of liberal religion, but no attempt will be made to enforce any specific religious teaching upon the students. The general outlook of the College will be theistic.

This college will most probably supply a great need in the city of Bombay.

The lectures would be given in a very simple form, omitting, as far as possible, all technical terms, so that the students who have studied English up to the Matriculation standard may avail themselves of them. If the College gets a sufficiently large number of students from the mills, it is possible to arrange lectures to be given in the vernacular of the people.

In addition to the regular classes that will be held in the evenings, the College will organize right types of trade unions and labour clubs and arrange public lectures by eminent men on the varied problems of labour. At this stage it will not be possible for this institution to address itself directly to the mill-hands and other factory worker but it can pick up the best and the most intelligent among them to train for their future work of organizing and guiding labour. Some of the highly paid and higher educated workers in the mill will be able to take advantage of this opportunity.

Needless to say, this institution will not be a college in the ordinary acceptance of one affiliated to a university and teaching for degrees.

Charkha, Handloom and Exigencies of War

The use of the charkha and the handloom has been advocated on various grounds. But that their use may prove serviceable during the exigencies of war is not generally borne in mind. Yet in any possible world-wide war in the future, countries like India without a sufficient number of power-looms and spindle may find them invaluable as a means of protection against shortage of cloth. This is brought home to us by some passages in an address on "The Present Situation in the Textiles," delivered by Mr. Ethelbert Stewart, United States Commissioner of Labour Statistics, before the Labour College of Philadelphia, of which he has kindly sent us a copy. Says he:—

The war had another effect, particularly in the remote countries of the Orient and the smaller countries of Europe. They saw that a war could be brought on by a dozen people whom their influence could not reach and yet that war could absolutely shut off their supplies, not only of clothing but of food and everything else. It aroused a determination in all of these countries to make themselves self-sustaining. During the last ten years India, China and Brazil have increased their output of cotton goods to take care of home requirements; and these were as a matter of fact our greatest customers.

While there have been a number of factories built in India, Persia, and China, *yet the people who were worst hit by the World War have placed looms in their own homes, not even daring to trust large manufacturing establishments in their own countries in the event of war. This is particularly true of China, and India.* For many years China was one of the best foreign markets for piecegoods of the United States, and nine-tenths of the total exports from this country to China consisted of cotton goods. Now less than 5 per cent. of our exports to that country are of that character.

England's control of India made her one of the chief customers of English cotton piecegoods. During the War India was practically shut off from this source of supply; and the Gandhi movement, which has put new life into eastern India, and into cotton manufacturing as the principal industry of that country, threw the manufacture of cotton textiles back into the home. The importance of this industry to India may be measured by the fact that Gandhi's political and economic movement adopted for its symbol the spinning wheel and the hand-loom. India uses for her mills the cotton she grows, and is putting up a tariff wall against imports.

This determination to be independent of war conditions over which they have no control has revived the great age-long traditions of those countries and is producing cotton cloths such as have never been surpassed. The erection of a tariff wall seems likely to produce the result that within another ten years Japan, China, and India will produce all the cotton yarns and coarse cotton cloths for the hundreds of millions of souls in China, India, Dutch East Indies, Japan, and the surrounding Islands, as well as a large part of the requirements of the Philippine Islands.

In other words, let us say bluntly and plainly, even though some people will not like it, that the great World War, which was inaugurated for the purpose of commercial expansion for two of the principal contending parties and which we went into because we thought it was a war to end war, really will eventually result in the end of commercial expansion.

Excessive Specialization and Use of Machinery

Mr. Ethelbert Stewart has sent us a copy of another address of his, delivered before the students of Cornell University, the concluding paragraphs of which he has himself marked. He tries therein to answer the objections urged against the factorization of mankind. Says he:

The objection of William Morris, of Tolstoy, of Mahatma Gandhi, in fact of the whole Eastern and European culture as opposed to the American culture, is that you are going to make men slaves of machinery, you are going to factorize mankind, and that sooner or later our very souls will rebel against the whole process.

Unless American culture finds some way to answer this, then Gandhi, Tolstoy, and William Morris are right. But is there no answer to it? Already the five-day week can be mentioned without serious danger of arrest. Already the ten-hour day is becoming an exception rather than the rule. If American culture will be willing to compromise with the views of the Orient, less radically held in Europe, that the purpose of mankind is to develop mankind, then this very machinery which the Orient so dreads, which Tolstoy and William Morris rail at with such venom will be the instrument of accomplishing the very thing that the Oriental point of view values most. In fact, in my opinion, it is the only way in which to accomplish it. I venture to say that there is not an industry in the United States to-day that could not produce all that it can sell with the present equipment working 30 hours a week. I am willing to leave room for one or two exceptions to this, though I do not know what they are. In most industries four days of six hours each would accomplish all that is necessary even at the present time; and as things go on, instead of working men to pile up overproduction, let machinery be our slaves, let machinery operate to give us the leisure for the contemplation that Gandhi considers the sole purpose of life.

Let us change our point of view as to the object of existence. At present it is work, work, work, produce, produce, produce, and sell, sell, sell. We have no education along any other lines. We do not know what to do with our leisure. We do not know what Mahatma Gandhi means by contemplation. The whole machinery of education should be turned at once toward a study of leisure and toward teaching the coming generation the use and purpose of leisure, for take it from me, they will have plenty of it.

In India, considering the conditions of factory labour, the environment of the mills and factories, the fact that many mill-hands are torn away from their own linguistic area and village society to other linguistic areas outside the pale of their own social influences, and other factors—considering all this we in India have certain objections against the factorization of man in addition to those urged in America. The whole question cannot be threshed out here.

Perhaps Gandhiji's attention will be called to what Mr. Ethelbert Stewart says, as he specifically mentions him by name.

Bombay Strikes

Not only now but in the past, strikes in Bombay have caused great pecuniary loss to both labour and the employers of labour.

But the injury to society is not confined to monetary loss alone. Strained human relations caused by strikes and lockouts are also to be greatly deplored. They effect a breach in the ranks of Indians, who must all present a united front to win back their freedom. At this distance, we are not able to correctly understand the situation. But in the interests of all the parties concerned and for safeguarding the cause of Indian industry in general, the sooner an amicable settlement is arrived at the better. Such a settlement should be possible through the combined efforts of the labour leaders, the representatives of the mill-owners and Government.

Opponents of Widow-marriage at Karachi

A recent public meeting, held at Karachi for the discussion of the desirability of widow-marriage, was broken up by the rowdyism of its opponents. These men are pests of society.

To meet rowdyism with rowdyism would not be justifiable. But when bad men combine, there should be sufficient cohesion, courage and physical strength among the promoters of good causes to frustrate the efforts of rowdies without the aid of the police.

Strengthening the Congress Organization

After the adoption of the resolution for strengthening the Congress organization by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay, many Indians who are not at present members of the Congress must have considered the question of joining it. So far as the present writer is concerned, both before and after the passing of that resolution, the idea did cross his mind. But having a distaste for electioneering and intrigue, for which he is not fitted, he did not act on any impulse. As with him, so with many others, the *Khadi* franchise is also an obstacle. The present writer is, no doubt, a habitual wearer of *Khadi dhoti*, *panjabi*, and *chadar*, though occasionally he uses garments made of other cloth also. But he does not like the exclusion of anybody from the oldest and foremost representative body of India for any sartorial reasons.

Regarding the *Khadi* franchise, Gandhiji writes in *Young India* :

Strictly, *Khadi* is no part of the franchise. Any person of age signing the Congress creed and tendering 4 annas can demand to be enrolled as a Congress member. Many, including Government spies, have thus found themselves on the Congress register. But at the time of voting at Congress

meetings these have to be habitual wearers of *Khadi*. This clause may be a hindrance to the proper running of the Congress machinery but not to setting it up. Whether the clause should or should not be removed from the constitution is a question which may be specially re-examined by the Congress and debated on its merits. If even at this hour Congressmen do not believe in *Khadi*, the cause should certainly be removed. If believing in *Khadi* they do not want it in the constitution, it should also go. If it is retained for the good name of the Congress it should be strictly enforced.

We confess we do not exactly understand what is meant by being "*habitual wearers of Khadi*" "*at the time of voting at Congress meetings.*" If a man is completely clothed in *Khadi* so long as he is present at a Congress meeting, will he be considered a habitual wearer of *Khadi*? If not, for how long a period before and after Congress meetings should he be a *habitual* wearer of *Khadi* to be entitled to vote at Congress meetings? Our objection, not on personal grounds but on grounds of principle, to the insistence on the wearing of *Khadi* would remain even if the rule were interpreted to mean that *Khadi* must be worn at least at the time of voting.

Robert Russa Moton

Robert Russa Moton is the head of the American educational institution, Tuskegee Institute, meant for Negroes. His is a remarkable personality. His credo deserves to be known, and is reproduced below:

I believe in my own people—in their native worth—in their attainments of character, accomplishment and service and their ultimate high destiny in the progress of mankind.

I believe in my fellow-men of all races—in their right to an equal chance to share in all the good of this world—and my obligation to respect to the full their person and their personality.

I believe in the essential goodness of human impulses—in the instinctive desire to do what is just and right—and the will to respond to the noblest appeals.

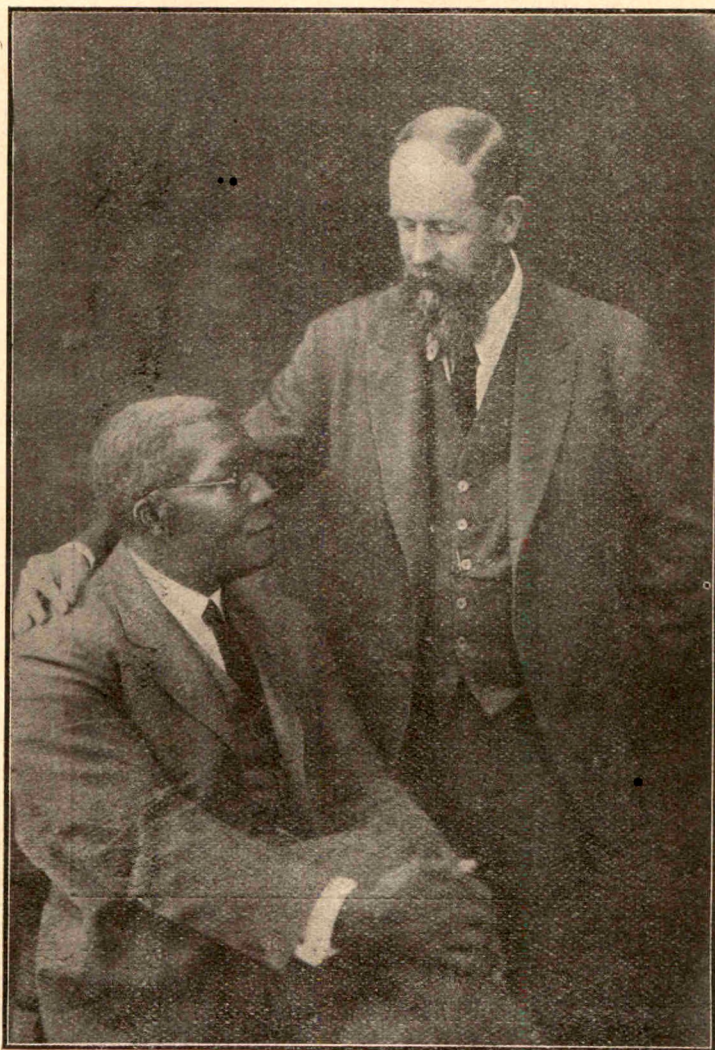
I believe in the power of good over evil—the power of love over hate—the power of truth over error—and in the final and complete triumph of right over wrong.

I believe in freedom—in freedom to live one's life to the full—to serve wherever there is need—to achieve the limit of divine endowment.

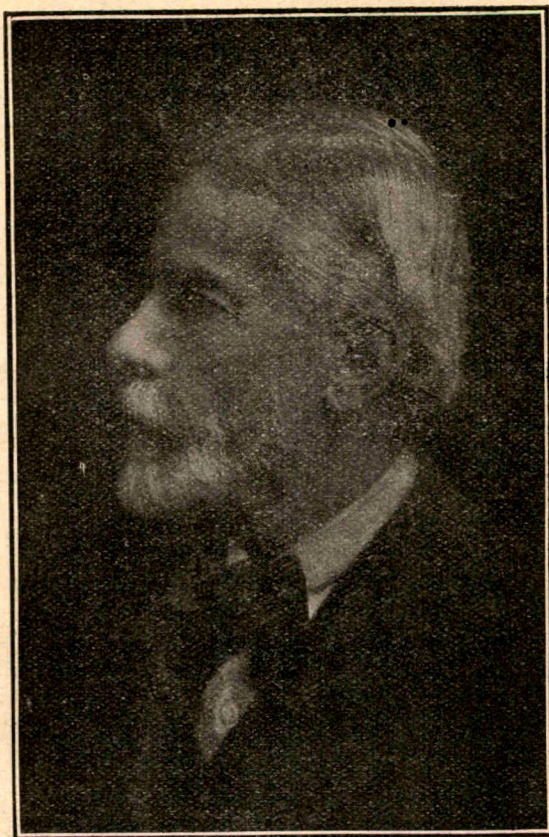
I believe in patience—in the beneficent workings of time—that a Providence, wise and good, will, with the years, bring fruition to earnest hopes and honest strivings.

I believe in the fellowship of men of good will—in their ability to live together in peace—and to co-operate in service and in the pursuit of truth.

I believe in my friends—who know my strength and my weakness—their confidence is my inspiration—their loyalty my comfort—their approbation my greatest earthly satisfaction.



MR. C. F. ANDREWS AND
MR. ROBERT RUSSA MOTON



Mr. Edward Carpenter, The Distinguished
Author whose Death is Announced in
the Dailies dated June 30, 1929

I believe in God—in His purposes of good toward all men—and the ultimate triumph of His justice and righteousness in all the earth.

Independent Labour Party's Attitude towards India

In a letter to *The People* of Lahore Dr. Norman Leys writes thus of the views of the Independent Labour Party concerning India:—

What we of the I. L. P. feel and think about India is that, while we are determined enemies of inferiorities of status for any human person, tribe or nation, and while we know perfectly well that English people can not judge as well as Indians what is best for India, and believe that democracy is the only system of society under which men and women have the status that is their right, we are profoundly anxious lest differences of caste and religion may ruin the efforts of Indian patriots to make India free and independent. We have seen in most of the Catholic countries of Europe, the success of dictators prove democracy in them to have been a sham. With few exceptions the fact has to be faced that democracy so far has been a success only where most of the people believe in Protestant Christianity. We should like to see English people show more faith in the capacity and integrity of Indians, and to see Indians more anxious to grapple with those social diseases and antagonisms such as in Italy and Poland and other countries have destroyed parliamentary government. We know that India has lost faith in Britain. But we want Indians to know that there are many thousands of people in this island who try to behave in Indian affairs as we ourselves would like to be treated if we had been born of Indian mothers.

We reciprocate the feelings of all persons who are really friendly to India.

The Independent Labour Party is not identical and co-extensive with the entire Labour Party. The real test of a party's principles comes when it is in office and power. Till that occasion arises, if it ever does, we must hold our judgment in suspense.

As for grappling with our social diseases and antagonisms, we have been doing it, in modern times since the days of Ram Mohun Roy, in the earlier days with the co-operation of officials, but latterly in spite of official indifference, non-co-operation and sometimes official antagonism.

Dr. Leys speaks of the destruction of parliamentary government in Italy and Poland. But nevertheless those countries still have some kind of *national* government—they are not ruled by the Germans, Austrians, Russians, Japanese or any other foreign outsiders, not even by God's Englishmen. That makes some difference: does it not?

Personnel of the Whitley Commission

In describing the personnel of the Whitley Commission in our last number we

wrote: "The majority are Britishers though the conditions to be reported on are those of India." The sentence ought to run: "The majority are *not* Indians, though the conditions to be reported on are those of India."

That, however, is a minor matter. For, even if all the members were Indians and the report recommended everything that is good to be done for India, it would have remained optional for Government to give or not to give effect to the recommendations. That has been the fate of many pro-India recommendations of many Commissions and Committees.

What is certain is that from now till the day of the publication of the Commission's Report many lakhs of the people's money will be spent. Nothing else is certain, and no hope of any substantial good resulting from the labours of the Commission need be entertained.

Its personnel could have been improved. For instance, Dr. Rajani Kanta Das of Geneva could and should have been appointed one of its members. He is special economist to the International Labour Office of the League of Nations. In addition to being the author of several valuable books on labour questions, he has extensive personal knowledge of the labour conditions of Indians in America and India. While in America, he was appointed special agent by the United States Government Department of Labour to report on the social and economic conditions of Hindustani workers on the Pacific coast. His valuable report has appeared in book form. He has direct knowledge of both factory and agricultural labour in India. His position in the International Labour Office at Geneva has given him opportunities to study the labour conditions of all countries—opportunities which he has utilized. He is *not* a politician but a scientific investigator. For all these reasons he would have been a valuable acquisition to the Labour Commission. Even now his services may and should be utilized as an expert adviser.

Professional and Technical Education in Bengal

In going through the annual report on public instruction in Bengal one is struck with the poor show which the chapter on professional and technical education makes. Agriculture is the principal industry in Bengal. Yet there is no agricultural

college in the province, and of schools there is only one. The arrangements for technological education are quite incomplete and inadequate.

Women's Education in Bengal

The arrangements for the education of girls and women in Bengal are utterly inadequate. While there are several high schools for boys in even the most backward districts, there are districts which are still without a single high school for girls. There ought to be at least one completely equipped Government Girl's High School in every district.

In the District School Boards of every district there ought to be an adequate number of women members.

The Associated Chambers on Law and Order

People thought a miracle had happened when the [European] Associated Chambers of Commerce declared themselves in favour of the transfer of Law and Order to a Minister, of course an Indian. The Chambers have since corrected their mistake. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* is, therefore, right in observing :—

We hope now the European residents of India will eat their dinners with more relish and dance and sleep with a greater freedom from anxiety. The Associated Chambers of Commerce which in a spirit of self-forgetfulness advocated the transfer of Law and Order to the popular representatives have cried 'toba' and swallowed their own words. In a letter addressed to the Secretary, Indian Statutory Commission, London, the Association has said that the majority of its members—various Chambers in the country—have now come to the conclusion that the transfer will be followed by dangerous consequences to the cause of peace and good Government in the land. It can by no means be countenanced.

Our contemporary adds :—

This is just like the European Associated Chambers. Their previous action was rather a puzzle. As a matter of fact the Indian public were taken by a pleasant surprise when they found a body of British exploiters from whom far-seeing statesmanship was the last thing to expect raising their voice in support of a measure which amounted to the biggest curtailment of the Bureaucratic powers. But these short-sighted British merchants are mistaken. They want to perform the impossible task of successfully resisting the demands of a nation. They are anxious to keep India for ever as a preserve of the British power, 'a cattle farm' of England in the words of John Stuart Mill. They will be disillusioned.

Dr. Dey's Temporary Appointment

The appointment of Dr. B. N. Dey temporarily, for four months, to the post of Chief Engineer of the Calcutta Corporation during the absence on leave of Mr. Coats the permanent incumbent, has been refused sanction by the Bengal Government. The objections of the latter, assuming that they are correct, seem to us to be trivial. Could not Government guess that as the Corporation would have soon to find a permanent successor to Mr. Coats, his term of contract being almost over, they were bringing out a highly qualified Indian from England in order that he might be that man? Perhaps Government has guessed as much and does not want an Indian to get the post. If it be not permanently filled up by promotion—there is no reason why it must, a suitable candidate must be chosen who had previously nothing to do with the Calcutta Corporation. He must take some time to get acquainted with the routine work of the office. That Dr. Dey must also take that amount of time is no valid objection, in view of the probable fact that he may become the permanent incumbent shortly after the period of officiating incumbency has expired. It is amusing to find a Bengali like him, who grew up to manhood in the country and received his preliminary education here, described as an outsider. Why, he knows all about the habits of his people and the details of their houses, sanitary arrangements, the thoroughfares and lanes and plague-spots of Calcutta and therefore he would take less time to take in the situation than a real outsider. As for Calcutta's engineering problems, they are not all quite *sui generis*. Dr. Dey knows a bit of his profession.

One wonders if the Bengal Government would have raised any objection if Dr. Dey had been an Englishman,

P. K. Telang

The death of Mr. Pandharinath Kashinath Telang is a loss to Indian journalism and to the cause of Indian progress in general. *New India* writes :—

With him *New India* had a special link, which was forged when he gallantly stepped in to fill the breach caused by the internment of Dr. Besant and two of her colleagues, and, as editor of *New India*, kept the Home Rule flag flying jauntily during those critical months of 1917. His association with the paper was renewed in 1925, when he came again to Madras from Benares, his headquarters during the main part of his career.

to perform the editorial duties which Dr. Besant had temporarily to lay aside on account of pressing work in Europe and America. He was however, even then not in the best of health, and had to give up his work in *New India* shortly before it was converted into a weekly in 1927. He was a deeply learned man, versed alike in Sanskrit literature and religious works and in modern historical and political studies, particularly concerning India. He exemplified in his person and conduct the value of the best Indian traditions in their application to modern life. He was a Nationalist to the core, but with cultured international interests; an ardent patriot, but one who never allowed that emotion to run away with reason or obscure the practical necessities of a situation; one who possessed a progressive orientation of mind, but did not encourage flighty idealism, devoid of the necessary weight of realism. He was dignified and courtly in his ways showing a dominant intellect, but also, in his personal relations, a very human and tenderly affectionate disposition.

An Answer to the Charge of Communalism Brought Against Hindus

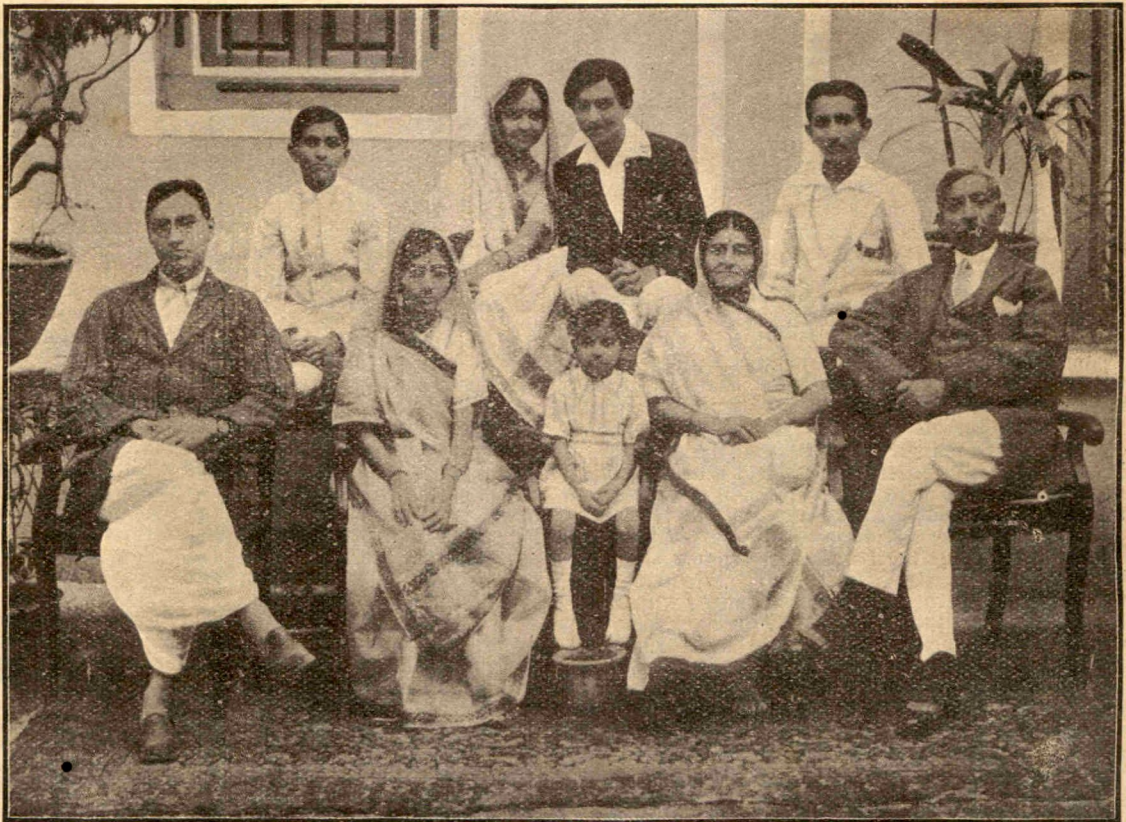
At the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held at Surat, Dr. Raeji, Chairman of

the Reception Committee, had something to say in answer to the charge of communalism sometimes brought against the Hindu community. Said he :

Hindus were naturally true Nationalists and deadly opponents of communalism. In support he quoted the help given by the Hindu leaders to the Khilafat movement, and added that he himself was elected Chairman of the Surat Khilafat Committee. He asked the audience to note that not a single Hindu leader had yet said he was a Hindu first and an Indian afterwards, while Moslem leaders had been saying they were Moslems first and Indians afterwards. The Chairman failed to see how service of one's religion could be styled Communalism, and opined that protection and keeping intact of the race, civilization and culture of one's own native land was nothing else but nationalism.

He added :

"One would like to go further, and say that the Congress, which calls itself national acts as an un-national body, by yielding every time to the aggressively self-seeking, unnational communal demands of Mussalmans, to achieve apparent unity which deceives none, but only the new type of Congress moderates of the present time, who thus directly foster the communal spirit. The Hindu Mahasabha, as a more national and rational body, has been serving



Dr. Raeji (seated figure at extreme right) and his family.

the purpose of a brake to the unnational actions of the Congress whenever it wanted to submit to the ever-increasing communal-demands of the Mussalmans.

Age of Consent Committee's Conclusions

The Tribune of Lahore writes :

According to the Mussoorie correspondent of the *Tej*, the report of the Age of Consent Committee, which is unanimous on the main points, recommends 14 years as the minimum marriageable age for girls, 15 years as the age of consent in marital cases and 18 in extra-marital cases. If the information of the correspondent is correct, the

recommendations of the Committee, while they will not satisfy the more ardent reformers, are certainly an advance on the existing state of things. Fourteen years as the minimum marriageable age for girls is not an ideal thing but it would put a check to marriage before that age. Some difference of opinion may also exist among the reformers as regards the separation of the age of consent from that of marriage ; but the Committee's recommendation, fixing 18 years as the consent age in extra-marital cases, is really welcome. It remains to be seen what attitude the Government of India, who have got an unenviable reputation for being lukewarm in matter of social reform, will adopt in respect of the report.

"Uncle Sham" *

The only excuse the author has for writing such a book is that it has been written under grave provocation.

Books of this type serve no purpose excepting the very doubtful one of retaliation. But retaliation is never a noble and elevating pursuit. Moreover, the author, along with many of our countrymen, forgets that it was not the American people who hired Miss Mayo to write her vile books, but probably some syndicate of Britishers. A research into the mental and moral perversions of a nation is no doubt of great value, if it be impartially done. But such impartiality can only be assured if the workers be a body of unbiased experts—preferably citizens of the nation under review. Such was the work of the Sydenham Commission on venereal diseases, held in Great Britain, and such would be—let us hope—that of the Wickersham Commission, recently instituted by President Hoover to enquire into the causes of lawlessness now prevailing in the U. S. A. Only those are entitled to criticize a people in these matters, who have lovingly served or are prepared so to serve that people.

The author has built up a very strong case against the people of the U.S.A., on the grounds of mental and moral depravity. But what nation or race is there on earth—with the possible exception of a few savage tribes who have preserved their pristine purity through isolation—that could not be thus indicted by the skilful manipulation of facts and fables leavened out with large doses of gross libels? We in India have had a taste of such work from the pens of two mercenary sexual maniacs, Abbe Dubois and Katherine Mayo.

The book under review presents the lurid picture of a nation steeped *en masse* in riotous debauch, and lawlessness, but somehow the deductions of the author seem to us to be at variance with other facts, such as the work of seers like Emerson and Thoreau, educationalists like Charles Eliot and John Dewey, idealists like Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, friends of subject peoples like J. T. Sunderland, and John Haynes Holmes, organisers like Gorgas, intrepid explorers like Peary and Byrd, aviators like Lindbergh and that of a

host of others. Only the other day, for example, we were stirred to the depths on reading of the tragic end of the extremely brave—if reckless—venture of a very courageous American gentleman at the lone ascent of Kinchinjungha. Would the author say that such high idealism, rigid adherence to principles and stern Spartan courage are the natural outcome of a degraded civilization? He cannot ask us to believe that such cases are but freak exceptions, since the names alone of such noble sons and daughters of the United States would fill a fair-sized book.

The fact is that a crime wave—however high the peak—does not prove that a nation is inherently criminal, any more than a heat wave proves that a country is within the torrid zone. We really have to judge, by the reaction of such events on the people. And judging from the information available the thoughtful American—who after all is the only one that counts in the cause of civilization, is very strongly resentful at the pass his country has been brought to through the actions of the lawbreakers and debauchees of his land.

The author does indeed say in a few brief sentences that there is a better side to American life. But what impression can this leave on the readers' mind in the face of a deluge of damnatory and defamatory matter?

Coming to the question of the effect on its readers, there is another point to keep in view. Such a book would have the tendency to make the unthinking among the author's countrymen feel quite satisfied with themselves, nay, even to fill them with a sense of moral impeccability as a nation. Such a psychological result cannot be conducive to the good of our country. There is no alchemy by which the demerits of a foreign people can be transmuted into the merits of our own.

If the author's object was to prove that no American "can afford to cast aspersions on the private or public morals of other nations" with impunity, then he has amply succeeded. In that case the book is meant for people of the type of Miss Katherine Mayo. But not having been cursed with the depraved filth-grubbing instincts of that delectable female, we cannot say that we have enjoyed reading this book.

K. N. C.

* Uncle Sham. By Kanhaya Lal Gauba. The Times Publishing Company, Lahore, Rs. 6.



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“A Weary Pilgrim.....”

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A weary pilgrim, I travel across the haunts
of iron-limbed monsters,
prolific of progeny,
shrieking and stinking,
befouling heaven and earth,
devouring life
to change it into piles of deadly peril.

The path is intricate,
unfriendly the night,
the barred gates guarded by snarling suspicion
that growls at the shadows of strangers seeking home.

Send thy welcome signal,
O Rising Sun,
Open the golden gate at the ancient shrine of the East

Where dwells the spirit of Man,
great as the grass that blesses the lowly dust,
and meek as the mountain under stars.

S. S. Taiyo Maru,
May 3, 1929.

Poem composed on the Pacific Ocean for Asahi Shimbun.

Race Prejudice

AN ANALYSIS

By C. F. ANDREWS

WHEN we make a study of race prejudice in history in modern times some very interesting factors become apparent. One thing is certain. Little children naturally make no race distinction. Furthermore, it can be proved, that there is no such thing as racial instinct "in the blood." For instance, New Zealand has been colonized almost entirely from Great Britain and yet there is very little prejudice against the Maoris. To take another instance, the prejudice in England against the Jews, which was at one time very strong there, has now almost entirely vanished.

If we consider the rise of race prejudice, it has almost always some form of conflict behind it. Sometimes the conflict is for money and therefore purely economic, at other times it is a struggle for position, status and social prominence. The origin of the caste system in India is somewhat obscure. Yet there is no doubt that in its historical development 'Caste' has been apt to run along lines parallel to those of 'race'. The fact that one person cannot eat with another, or inter-marry with another, leads almost inevitably to the growth of exclusiveness and aloofness. If we attempt to analyse the situation which has been produced in the modern world by race prejudice, the following factors seem to come out clear from the analysis.

(a) The prejudice against persons of another race, may appear suddenly anywhere in any land and people who are themselves the victims of race prejudice not seldom discriminate against others in their own country. To take one example the Japanese are themselves discriminating in Japan, while at the same time in California, they are discriminated against.

(b) One racial prejudice will sometimes lead to another. For instance, in California, the race prejudice already existing, which excluded Negroes from White society, has now been applied to Indians, Chinese and Japanese. In the Southern States of America a new

prejudice against the Mexican immigrants seems growing up, which is a counterpart of the prejudice against the Chinese.

(c) There are many different forms of racial exclusiveness, but the one barrier which always seems most difficult to overcome is that of intermarriage. Relations that are otherwise friendly between different races or castes may still preserve the barrier against intermarriage.

(d) Where for any reason, economic conflict, or social conflict becomes diminished and reduced, it is not unlikely that race prejudice, which had become involved in these things will become diminished and reduced also. Sometimes, however, the race prejudice will survive, even when economic and social barriers are broken down.

(e) Whenever religion enters in and accompanies racial prejudice the evil that ensues becomes worst of all. There is no prejudice stronger than that in which difference of race, colour, economic and social status are combined with difference of religion.

(f) It is of profound interest to notice that even a deep race prejudice can in the end entirely disappear. The hostility, for instance, between the Saxons and the Normans in medieval English history has no counterpart whatever to-day. There is a second example of obliteration which followed the Act of Union between England and Scotland. Jokes may be passed on both sides between the Scotch and the English, but it would be absurd to call this to-day, race prejudice. Indeed, wherever racial differences have become matters of humour and laughter they are obviously under way of disappearance.

(g) The most rapid methods of overcoming racial prejudices are those that of common education and common franchise. Wherever both these exist and a common religious background is also in evidence, race prejudices find it very hard indeed to get a permanent footing.

(h) Since racial prejudice is usually slow

in growth and development and linked up with social conditions the removal of race prejudice must not only be institutional, but also psychological. If both psychology and social structure are modified together the removal of race prejudice may come about rapidly without any reaction. But if merely institutional changes are made without any psychological change, a reaction is almost certain to occur, which may drive the race prejudice deeper.

From this analysis it may be gathered that when racial prejudices are very widespread they are not in any sense an essential part in human nature. They are accidents dependent on varied circumstances. They

are not birth inheritances, which nothing can obliterate. In all public teaching it is necessary to emphasize this fact and to regard race prejudice wherever it appears as an individual weakness which culture and refinement should do away with rather than increase. People who possess strong race prejudices should be pitied rather than praised. Their prejudice should be seen in its proper light as a hindrance to the harmony and unity of the human race, which is the only final race of mankind. Tagore's noble words "I belong to one Race, the Race of Man; I belong to one Nation, the Nation of Humanity," need to be taught in all schools and from all religious pulpits.

The Protection of Minorities

BY DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH. D.

Professor, Lucknow University

THE problem of Minorities is not the particular problem of India but a universal problem taxing the collective intelligence and statesmanship of the political leaders of the world. It has been less a live and burning problem in India than in Europe where it constituted one of the chief factors that caused the conflagration of the Great War. A proper and stable solution of this problem accordingly takes a principal part in the proceedings of the Peace Conference and in the Treaty of Versailles, and also in the scheme of political reconstruction of Europe that followed as a consequence of that Treaty.

The governing principle of European politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the Balance of Power. On that rested for some time the political equilibrium of Europe. With the growth of political consciousness and nationalism, it was soon found that the sources of conflict lay not so much in the external relations between different states as in their own internal conditions, and were deeper and more fundamental in their character. They were inherent in the states themselves, in their own composition and constitution, and

appeared more and more to be beyond the scope and purview of any superficial international diplomacy. Conditions rapidly developed calling for a new order. The call was unheeded. At last the change forced itself. It came by a bloody path. Europe had to bear to the full the travails of a new birth. The Ascent of Man has been always bloody, never peaceful!

The victorious Powers came to the Peace Conference at Paris with the conviction that a stable peace and political system could be based only on the principle of Self-determination to which the terms of peace should conform as closely as possible. It was not, however, easy to apply the theory or enforce the ideal in the actual conditions that had established themselves in Europe in course of history. It was by no means writing on a clean slate. The political evolution of Europe had proceeded on other lines. In most states of Europe it was difficult so to order that each race could constitute its own state or to prevent different races from coming together in the same state. A completely homogeneous state was not to be. The dictators of peace began by asking defeated Germany to be self-determined, *i. e.*,

to be governed by the will of her people, by a democracy and not by a despot. Elsewhere they had merely to find out how far they could apply and enforce Self-determination. An approximation to the ideal of Self-determination was sought to be achieved by a corollary and comprehensive scheme of Minorities Protection under which different elements, cultures, and communities could be brought together within a single state and reconciled to a common government. Treaties called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties were formed to secure a double object, *viz.* (1) to create in the Minorities a sense of loyalty to the new states under which they were placed and (2) to reconcile these new governments with their former enemies now accepted as their new nationals and citizens.

It is, however, to be recalled that the question of the treatment of Minorities is much older than the Treaty of Versailles and is referred to in several older international documents. The first Treaty, however, which contained definite stipulations concerning Minorities was the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, which followed the Crimean War. It laid down expressly the obligation that in any country a class of subjects should not be recognized as inferior to other classes for either *religious* or *racial* reasons. From that date, the question of racial or religious Minorities received greater attention at the hands of the governments concerned. It should be noted, however, that the question was not yet regularly treated by any state as a part of its administrative policy. It was only raised on certain important historic occasions such as that of the annexation of a part of one state to another, or that of the constitution of new states, or that of territorial reconstructions resulting from a war, or that which resulted from struggles on the part of certain states against the oppression of other states. Examples of this were the Treaty of Berlin of 13th July 1878 which imposed religious toleration on newly created states and on autonomous principalities (like Bulgaria, Serbia and Roumania) as an indispensable condition to an international recognition of their existence, and the Treaty of Vienna of 31st May 1815 between the Netherlands, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria regarding the reunion of Belgium with Holland.

These treaties may be distinguished from those following the Great War by the fact

that while the former confine themselves to the protection of individuals considered separately, the latter grant protection to Minorities recognized as collective groups or organized units, though this conception is not yet universally admitted and accepted even in the League of Nations.

The new rights of Minorities originate from Articles 86 and 93 of the Treaty of Versailles which are the source of the treaties of June 28, and September 10, 1919, the first concluded between Poland and the principal Allied and Associated Powers and the second between those powers and Czechoslovakia. The other treaties concerning Minorities were signed by the Central and Eastern European States concerned in 1919 and 1920 and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations in the same way as the first two treaties. In 1921 when Finland and Albania were admitted to the League of Nations they signed declarations which included the provisions of the Minority Treaties. Lithuania in 1922 and Latvia and Estonia in 1923 undertook similar engagements before the Council of the League of Nations with regard to Minorities. The protection of Turkish Minorities in Greece and of Greek Minorities in Turkey was assured by Articles 37-45 of the Treaty of Peace of Lausanne of July 24, 1923 and by the protocol of the same date signed between the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Greece.

The following states of Europe have become parties and signatories to stipulations concerning Minorities:

1. Albania (2nd October 1921)
2. Austria (16th July 1920)
3. Bulgaria (9th August 1920)
4. Estonia (17th September 1923)
5. Finland (7th June 1921)
6. Greece (10th August 1920 and 9th and 30th August 1924)
7. Hungary (6th July 1921)
8. Latvia (7th July 1923)
9. Lithuania (12th May 1922)
10. Memel (8th May 1924)
11. Poland (10th January 1920)
12. Roumania (16th July 1920, 26th July 1921, 4th September 1920)
13. Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom (16th July 1920; 26th July 1921, 10th September 1919)
14. Upper Silesia (3rd June 1922)
15. Czecho-Slovakia (July 16 1920)
16. Turkey (24th July 1923)

All these different treaties binding so many states and peoples adopt a common treatment, a universal and standardized solution of the problem of Minorities produced by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the world as represented in the League of Nations. They adopt also a common wording on the subject as the expression of a commonly accepted ideal.

The question is, should India be called upon to face and solve afresh this problem when she has herself helped to solve it for the world and is a signatory and party to the international solution of the problem which she has even guaranteed as an original member of the League of Nations? Why should India stand aloof from the League in this matter and not be permitted to set her political clock going by the world's chronometer?

I shall now present in brief and broad outline the essential features in the conception and provisions of these Minorities Treaties.

The first point claiming consideration concerns the definition of a Minority that is politically recognizable for purposes of protection or special treatment. A perusal of the many Minorities Guarantee Treaties shows that the Minorities are always to be taken to be "racial, linguistic and religious Minorities," i. e., citizens who "differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion" [Art. 93 of Polish Treaty of 28th June 1919].

The second feature of a Minority is that it must belong to the country permanently. This would rule out immigrants. As was once forcibly put by the Lithuanian delegate, M. Galvanauskas, before the Assembly of the League, immigrants as a Minority cannot claim protection because, "they entered the country of their own free will and by assuming the nationality of the country undertook to conform to its internal legislation. Distinction should, therefore, be drawn between immigrants and original inhabitants who, having been transferred by treaty from one nationality to another, might constitute what was known as a Minority." In fact, the Minorities problem became more prominent and acute in Europe after the Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles which undertook its reconstruction on three main lines, viz. (1) by the creation of new states (2) by modifying the frontiers of certain states and (3) by assigning to certain countries populations previously belonging to other States.

The third feature of a Minority is the numerical feature. A Minority, as was pointed out in a Meeting of the League Council held on 6th June 1928, "must be sufficiently numerous to constitute an appreciable percentage of the country's population." The stock expression invariably used in all the Minority Treaties to describe a Minority is that they must constitute "a considerable proportion of the population." This proportion is also defined in some of the new European Constitutions and Treaties. The Polish Republic has been induced by international representation to recognize a non-Polish Minority, provided they comprise at least twenty-five per cent of the total population. In Czechoslovakia, this numerical limit is reduced to twenty-three per cent to accommodate the German Minority to whom the new State owes so much for its intellectual and industrial progress, and international influence, while in Hungary, the limit has been brought down to twenty per cent. This limit of twenty per cent is, however, the minimum prescribed in these international arrangements [p. 120 of Mair's *Protection of Minorities*].

These treaties impose a higher numerical standard for a Minority in respect of its claims for protection in smaller, local areas. The theory seems to be that a Minority claiming special treatment should congregate in certain areas to render such special treatment administratively feasible. It must so distribute itself through the different parts of a province that it can register everywhere the minimum degree of density defined. It should not dwindle into thinness that is not recognizable. All the treaties insist on the preliminary requirement that a Minority must appear "as a considerable proportion of the population" by concentrating at certain areas. A Hungarian Decree of 1919 insists on Minorities "living in sufficiently considerable compact masses in the territory of the state." The Estonian and Hungarian constitutions go so far as to require that a minority must transform itself into even a Majority in a particular area to merit special treatment. This condition will seem more significant for the fact that these states are handicapped by very small Minorities, only twelve per cent, for instance, in Estonia, and that comprising 1.7 per cent Germans and the balance Russians and others.

This prescribed numerical standard ranging between twenty-five and twenty per cent of the population for the size of a politically

recognizable Minority is enforced with strictness by the League of Nations. Cases are on record showing that a Minority has been declared ineligible for protection on the ground that it has failed to attain numerical strength of the standard laid down. In one of the districts of Poland, the Government "forced the children of German-speaking parents to attend Polish schools" on the ground that the number of Germans in the district was not sufficient to constitute "a considerable proportion of the population" in the words of the Treaty. The Lithuanian Government deprived the Polish Minority of their rights because they registered a smaller percentage in the last census taken. The Czech Minority lodged a complaint about their treatment with the League of Nations and the reply of the Austrian Government was that "they considered that the population of Czechs was not in any part of Austria sufficiently large to enable them to claim special privileges" (pp. 93, 102 and 130 of Mair's book already cited).

It will thus appear that a Minority is not at liberty to distribute itself through the country in any manner it likes, if it is desirous of acquiring special political status.

In the light of this international definition of the size of a Minority that is politically eligible for protection, the problem of Minorities in India is a Moslem problem for India taken as a whole, and a Hindu problem for some of the provinces taken separately. Of the total population of India as a whole, the Moslems form about twenty-four per cent, which is above the international minimum, but in the provinces they are either in a Majority or in a Minority too low for recognition, as in Bihar and Orissa, U. P., Madras, Bombay, etc. The Hindus commanding a clear majority in India and in most of the provinces appear as a Minority in the Punjab and Bengal, but a Minority far above the standard for recognition, comprising more than forty-five per cent of the total population in each case.

Besides defining a Minority, the League of Nations and the Peace Treaties have also defined the scope and character of the special treatment or protection they can claim. A mere group or association is not a Minority unless it is distinct from the majority of the inhabitants of the country by race, religion, or language. This rules out a political Minority (like the Liberals or the Communists) as well as a social Minority (like the non-

Brahmins or Brahmins or the so-called depressed classes). Indeed, the theory of Minority Protection governing these treaties seems to be that such protection is not permissible for any artificial or accidental aspects or features which a Minority may acquire or assume in its career. It must take its stand upon its native, inherent, fundamental features—its particular cultural characteristics. These are worthy of all respect and recognition so as to enable the Minority community to develop along its own lines of evolution and make its own contribution to the general culture of mankind. As was well put by the Albanian representative, M. Mehdi Frasherî, at the meeting of the League Council of 9th June 1928 :

"When small peoples who have been injured in some way ask for separation, they do not do so in the name of religious charity or of a philosophic or moral ideal; they do so on behalf of the international community. The health of an organism requires organic balance—in other words, as complete harmony as possible between the various organs. Nature seems to have taken the most minute precautions for safeguarding these small organs in order that the organism as a whole may not suffer. In the same way, sociology proves the utility and the necessity of the existence of small peoples. There can be no doubt that in this world variety is indispensable to the symmetry and the harmony of all fine things." [Page 69 of the League of Nations Bulletin of January 1929, on the *Protection of Linguistic, Racial or Religious Minorities by the League of Nations*].

An Article in the Polish Constitution 'guarantees the full and free development of their *national customs* to Minorities.' The Estonian Constitution lays down that 'racial Minorities in the country have the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their *national culture* and to maintain special organizations for their welfare, so far as is not incompatible with the interests of the state.' Article 78 of the German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922 defines the point further :

"The fact that associations devote themselves to the interests of Minorities as regards their language, culture, religion, ethnical character or social relations cannot constitute a reason for prohibiting these associations, hindering their activities or preventing them from acquiring legal status."

Thus the League stands committed to the protection of only three classes of Minorities, linguistic, racial and religious, and cannot legally admit or recognize any other

kind of pretensions advanced by them. The protection of Minorities is strictly and rigidly limited to the protection of their cultural characteristics and interests and is not permitted under any circumstance to travel beyond these limits. Warnings have been uttered by the representatives of the leading Powers, at the meetings of the League of Nations against carrying too far the principle of Minority Protection. The following extracts from some of their speeches and the proceedings of the League meetings will form interesting reading in this connection :

"If the idea of the League of Nations were considered to be the establishment of a new order in Europe and if the Minorities Treaties were to be considered as tending to stabilize and fortify this new order, the question of Minorities had to be considered with a view to the protection of these Minorities when their rights were infringed. This view was accepted by Poland and by a certain number of other Powers. But if this question were treated in a clumsy manner, the result might be, not to stabilize the new order, but to exercise a dissociating and destructive influence which was certainly not the intention of the League of Nations or of its Council" [M. Skirmunt, representative of Poland, speaking on September 5, 1923].

"In the opinion of the Polish Government, the essential purpose of the protection of Minorities is to secure for them a normal existence within the limits of the states to which they belong. This object cannot be attained by means which are prejudicial to the consolidation of these states but only by the natural application, within each State, of the principles of Freedom and Equality in the political, economic, social and legal spheres. For this normal method, it is impossible to substitute any intervention or pressure from outside, it can only hinder the free development of relations between the majority and the minority." [From the Memorandum of the Polish delegate dated January 16, 1923].

"A Minority as defined by the Treaties assuring its protection is not only a racial group incorporated in the body of a nation of which the Majority forms a different racial unit. There is also a psychological, social and historical attribute constituting perhaps its principal differential characteristic. The mere co-existence of groups of persons forming collective entities racially different, in the territory and under the jurisdiction of a State, is not sufficient to create the obligation to recognize the existence in that State, side by side with the majority of its population, of a Minority requiring a protection entrusted to the League of Nations." [Report of M. de Mello-Franco of the meeting of the League Council of 9th December 1925].

"It seems to me obvious that those who conceived this system of protection (of Minorities) did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organization of the country." [*Ibid*]

"We must avoid creating a State within a State.

We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these Minorities will become disruptive elements in the State and a source of national disorganization." [M. Blociszewski in his Note of March 1922].

"The decision has been taken not only to protect, as before, *individuals considered separately* but, to a certain extent, to attribute rights to *Minorities regarded as collective entities*. There are thus formulated for the first time the rights of Minorities as such, as organized unities. We no longer confine ourselves to considering that the rights of Minorities are individual rights. The minority is regarded as a whole, and this Minority is recognized, in a sense, to have a right of organization or autonomy. This is a solution which perhaps is not without certain dangers; for if equality of treatment of all the inhabitants of a country is an element of political and social peace, the recognition of rights belonging to Minorities as separate entities, by increasing their coherence and developing among them a sense of their own strength, may provoke them to separate themselves from the State of which they form part; and, in view of the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, the recognition of the rights of these Minorities runs the risk of leading to the disruption of States." [Paul Fauchille in his *Treatise on Public International Law* quoted in the League Council Meeting of 9th December 1925].

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities Protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged" [Sir Austen Chamberlain speaking at the League Council on 9th December 1925].

"A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic and religious Minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges; they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority; the latter would be oppressed by the Minority and it would then be the Majorities question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations" [M. Dendramis, representative of Greece, speaking at the League Council on 9th December 1925].

There was a proposal before the League to extend the scheme of the Minority Treaties to all the States Members of the League. It was not carried for the reason that the most important members like France, England and U. S. A. did not admit the existence of the so-called Minorities in their respective States. The very suggestion was repelled by the French delegate, Jouvenel, who said :

"He could readily understand that States which had signed Minorities Treaties should think it unreasonable that others had not done so. He was quite ready to present the excuses of his country. France had not signed any such treaties because she had no Minorities. To find Minorities in France, they would have to be created in imagination."

The British Delegate, Viscount Cecil, took the point that the Minority Treaties concerned only the new States and those which had their territories modified after the Peace Conference at Paris of 1919.

On behalf of America and its nineteen nations it was urged that

"There are no distinctive characteristics in respect of race, language, and religion between the elements forming each of the peoples of that continent. Uniformity of language throughout the territory of each American State, complete religious tolerance combined with a completely natural assimilation of emigrants by the principal mass of the population of each of these States have produced in them national organizations of which the collective unity is complete. This means that the existence of minorities in the sense of persons with a right to the protection of the League of Nations is impossible."

It will thus appear that the leading Nations are agreed that Minorities must not be allowed protection of a kind or degree that might operate as a disruptive factor in the State. The ideal emphasized in all the treaties is: "There shall be but *one* Nationality in the State."

This rules out separate communal electorate and representation as legitimate means for achieving the end of Minority Protection and they have accordingly no place in any of the up-to-date Western constitutions including that of Turkey. None of these States even admits the existence of separate interests of Minorities in matters of political representation, public service or administration. The safeguards in these matters are purely negative in their character. They aim at removal of disabilities grounded on race, religion or language.

This will be clear from some of the Minority treaties quoted below:

Article 77—"All nationals shall be treated on a footing of equality as regards admission to public employments, functions and honours including military ranks, and to public establishments, and as regards the granting of degrees, distinctions, etc."

Article 78—"Nationals belonging to Minorities shall enjoy the same rights as other nationals as regards the right of association or meeting and the creation of foundations."

Article 80—"Nationals belonging to Minorities shall be treated on the same footing as other nationals as regards the exercise of agricultural, commercial or industrial callings or of any other

calling. They shall only be subject to the provisions in force applied to other nationals."

Art. 81—"Nationals belonging to Minorities shall have the right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious, cultural and social institutions."

Art. 75—(1) "All German nationals in the German portion of the plebiscite territory on the one hand and all Polish Nationals in the Polish portion on the other hand shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion."

(2) Legislative and administrative provisions may not establish any differential treatment of nationals belonging to a Minority. Similarly, they may not be interpreted or applied in a discriminatory manner to the detriment of such persons. The above principally concerns the supply of products subject to a centralized system of exploitation such as articles of food, coal, fuel, paper used in the printing of newspapers etc., the distribution of means of transport, the assignment of premises to persons, companies or associations, the granting of official authorizations relating to transfers of real property and ownership, measures relating to the distribution of land etc.

Art. 76—"Nationals belonging to Minorities may not be placed at a disadvantage in the exercise of their right of voting, notably in the case of a referendum, and of their rights of suffrage and eligibility as regards all elections to representative bodies dealing with social matters." [From the German Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia done at Geneva on May 15, 1922.]

Art. 7—"Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Greek national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries [Treaty with Greece signed at Sevres on August 10, 1920].

We shall now consider the regulations contained in the Minority Treaties regarding the three-fold protection, racial, religious, and linguistic, granted to Minorities.

The racial and religious protection is of the following form:

Art. 14: "Greece agrees to take all necessary measures in relation to Moslems to enable questions of family law and personal status to be regulated in accordance with Moslem usage."

Greece undertakes to afford protection to the Mosques, Cemeteries and other Moslem religious establishments. Full recognition and all facilities shall be assured to pious foundations (Wakfs) and Moslem religious and charitable establishments now existing, and Greece shall not refuse to the creation of new religious and charitable establishments any of the necessary facilities guaranteed to other private establishments of this nature." [From the Treaty of Sèvres with Greece].

Art. 10—"The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to grant to the Musalmans in the matter of family law and personal status provisions suitable for regulating these matters in accordance with Musalman usage."

[Treaty with Serb-Croat-Slovene State of 10th September 1929].

Chapter III of German-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia deals with religious protection which means liberty to "religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities as well as orders and congregations" to administer their affairs, "to employ the language of their choice" in such administration, to appoint their own staff, "ecclesiastics, functionaries, assistants, sisters of charity, deaconesses and other auxiliary personnel," to cultivate external relations with a view to co-operation in regard to "creed, doctrine, worship, charity and receipt of gifts from abroad," and to claim "an equitable share of the sums provided for religious or spiritual purposes in the State, municipal or other budgets, taking into account the requirements of the nationals belonging to the religious minorities."

As regards the linguistic and educational protection of Minorities, we find the following Regulations :

"The needs of Minorities as regards public elementary education shall be supplied by means of the following educational institutions :

(a) Elementary *Schools* employing the Minority Language as the language of instruction—i.e., *Minority Schools* ;

(b) Elementary *Classes* employing the Minority Language as the language of instruction, established in the elementary schools employing the official language—i.e., *Minority Classes* ;

(c) *Minority Courses*, including :

(1) Teaching of the Minority Language (*Minority Language Courses*)

(2) Religious teaching in the Minority Language (*Minority Religious Courses*)."

The above scheme also provides that there must be also forthcoming at least

(i) Forty children of the Linguistic Minority belonging to the same district to claim (a), i.e., a separate elementary *school* ;

(ii) Eighteen pupils to claim (b), i.e., *Minority Language classes* in the public school ;

(iii) Twelve pupils to claim (c), i.e., *Minority religious courses*.

There is a similar scheme for the needs of the Minorities in regard to Secondary and Higher Public Education providing for

(a) separate *Minority schools* ;

(b) *Parallel classes* in the public schools where the Minority Language will be used as the language of instruction ;

(c) *Minority*

(i) *Language*

and (ii) *Religious Courses*.

As many as 300 pupils are required to claim (a), 30 to claim (b) for lower, and 20 for higher forms, 25 to claim (c) (i) and 18 for (c) (ii).

It is further laid down that

"Minority educational institutions may be closed if for three consecutive school years the number of their pupils is lower by at least twenty per cent than the number required for their establishment ; and if during one year the number of pupils is less than half the number required for its establishment, the educational institutions may be closed at the end of the school year."

[From German-Polish Convention already cited]

The Peace Treaties have thus sought to reconstruct Europe on the basis of the two principles of Self-determination and Minority Protection. The reconstruction has proceeded in two different directions. Firstly, it has resulted in the creation of some new states and, secondly, it has changed the constitutions and frontiers of some of the old states so as to base them, as far as possible, on the principle of Self-determination. The new states thus formed on the basis of a new ideal could not be completely homogeneous in their composition. They had to include influential Minorities like the German Minority of twenty-three per cent in the new Czechoslovak State. It is to be noted that none of these new States of Europe, started on an ideal basis, and under the best of conditions that could be devised by the highest statesmanship of the world, is less handicapped by Minorities than India. The majorities with which these new States have been composed in Europe are only artificially obtained, the outcome of treaties dictated by the victorious Powers, and are not larger than the initial, indigenous, standing and historical Hindu majority of India. The comparative figures for the different majorities are 69 per cent for Poland, 64 per cent for Czechoslovakia, 73 per cent for the Serb-Croat and 75 per cent for the Hindus of India.

The task of statesmanship in Europe was to reduce as far as possible the sources of conflict resulting from a variety of peoples, classes, and communities having thus to live together under the same state. This has been done, as we have seen, by a scheme of Minority Protection which has been incorporated as a common and inalienable feature of the Peace arrangements affecting the old states or creating new ones. To such Peace arrangements India is a party and signatory with the other big Powers. There is no vagueness, no element of doubt or dispute

left in the solutions proposed for the problem of Minorities. For Europe the problem is closed and finally solved. First, no mere group or community can call itself a Minority in the political sense unless numerically it is sufficiently strong to constitute "a considerable proportion of the population" ranging practically from 25 to 20 per cent. When a Minority satisfies this preliminary numerical test, it has to satisfy several other tests to attain political recognition. It must show that it has separate interests and features which differentiate it from the majority of the population of the country, that it has a separate language to cultivate, different racial customs, usages and personal law governing its social life, and a different religion to follow. Then alone can a Minority claim special treatment or protection which will be

strictly confined only to its linguistic, cultural, racial and religious aspects or features. Any other kind of Minority, political or social, is not recognized for protection by the League of Nations which has now laid down what may be called the International Law on the subject. It is a pity that the question is being treated as still an open one for India when she has herself already, along with all the big Powers of the world, contributed to its most scientific and satisfactory solution for the rest of the world. It is a pity that what she has herself proposed and guaranteed as good for Europe she is not permitted to appropriate for herself! The problem of Minorities in India should be solved on international lines and not by a small committee like the Simon Commission.

Ruin of the Hindus of the Madras Karnatak

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

THE STATES AND THEIR RELATIONS

IN connection with the life of Shahji Bhonsle published in the July number of this review we have seen how the numerous Hindu States of the Mysore plateau were conquered or reduced to vassalage by the Sultan of Bijapur during the years 1636-1648. The same ruin, but on a vaster scale, now befell the infinitely richer and more populous plains lying between the Eastern Ghats and the sea-coast of Madras, known in Indian geography as the Eastern Karnatak (lowlands). The whole of this tract still in theory belonged to the empire of Vijaynagar. The last representative of that dynasty, named Sri Ranga the Sixth in the English genealogical lists and Sri Ranga Rayal (or simply the Rayal) in the Muslim histories, now had the seat of his government at Vellore at the north end of the Karnatak plain. The steady pressure of Muslim arms, had, ever since the fatal day of Talikota (1565), been driving the fallen Vijaynagar monarchs further and still further south-east, to a safe distance from that centre of Muslim power Bijapur. Anagundi, Penukonda,

Chandragiri, Vellore,—all in succession had been the refuge of these fallen monarchs, who still bore the historic title of Narasinha ("Narsinga") in the Jesuit and Portuguese accounts.

Proceeding southwards from Vellore, along the Karnatak plain, the next principality was that of Jinji (the ruler of which is named Rajah Rup Nayak in *Busatin-us-Salatin* and further south, across the many branches of the Kaveri river, lay the State of Tanjore (the Nayak of which was Vijay Raghav, or Vishwaray according to another source). Adjoining Tanjore on the south was the kingdom of Madura, then under the famous ruler Tirumal Nayak (reigned 1623-1659), whose successor Chokka-nath was to reverse Tirumal's policy by shifting his capital from Madura to Trichinopoly once again.

RUINOUS POLICY OF THE HINDU RAJAHS

All these three Nayaks were hereditary feudatories of the Vijaynagar empire, and their realms had enjoyed peace and prosperity and the limited but actually substantial independence of mediatized States under suzerains

of their own race and creed. Only a strong and large Central Government, loyally supported by its vassal States or provinces, can defend national liberty against foreign aggression in a vast plain like India, which has no difficult natural barrier to present to an invader. The Swiss cantons, happy in their isolated freedom, are possible only in the poor and obscure nooks of the frowning Himalayas. On the other hand, in the Indian plains or easy plateau as soon as the central bond of union is dissolved or even weakened in its authority, and provincial autonomy asserts itself, our national liberty and garnered wealth become an easy prey to any compact body of invaders. In trying to be fully sovereign in our own locality and to throw off the legal dependence on a distant suzerain, we have lost even the semi-sovereignty of the component parts of an empire. That passion for absolute local autonomy and unwillingness to form compact federations for the greater end of national self-preservation by sacrificing some of the smaller rights of full sovereignty, which ruined the republics of ancient Greece, was ever present in Hindu India. The evil was aggravated by the insane personal pride and territorial ambition of the vassal kings.

Every one of them considered the distress or decline of his Hindu suzerain as a golden opportunity for gaining "complete freedom" and "enlarging his territory" (*rajya-vistar*.) Blind to the ultimate consequences of their selfishness, the feudatories of Vijaynagar not only refused to rally round their overlord when hard-pressed by the Muslims, but openly renounced their allegiance, declared themselves fully sovereign each within his narrow bounds, and began to plunder their fellow vassals, among whom the strong arm of Vijaynagar had once kept peace and promoted the growth of wealth and culture. For the attainment of this noble ambition, they invited the arms of the Muslim sovereigns of Bijapur and Golkonda, dreaming that the latter would march back after overthrowing their former Hindu overlord.* Nor did their delusion end here; instead of doing their own work themselves, these Hindu provincial

Rajahs—with a folly equalled only by their military weakness,—hoped to ensure their independence and territorial aggrandizement by setting the different Muslim Powers (invited by them) against each other! This was the very game that Rana Sanga had played, with fatal consequences to himself, a century earlier, when he invited the Turk from Kabul to oust the Pathan of Delhi.

The following sections will illustrate how Indian history repeats itself and how the insane ambition of grasping all ends only in the loss of everything, even local sovereignty under light tribute.

HOW THE MUSLIM CAME TO THE KARNATAK

Tirumal, the Nayak of Madura, wanted to free himself from the yoke of Vijaynagar, of which he was a tributary. Indeed, the founder of this Nayak dynasty had been a general of that empire posted to Madura (1558). Tirumal formed a league with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Jinji against their common sovereign Sri Ranga. But the Nayak of Tanjore betrayed his allies. Sri Ranga struck the first blow and marched with a large force against the nearest rebel, the ruler of Jinji. Then Tirumal sent a secret letter praying to Golkonda viceroy on the frontier to invade Vellore. Sri Ranga had, therefore, to turn back from the way to Jinji and expel the Muslim force that had entered the Vellore district. Then the three rebels sent their agent to Mustafa Khan, the Bijapuri general, who had reached Bangalore, invoking his protection. The Khan, as we have seen after long fighting, took Vellore, about April 1647. Sri Ranga, thus losing his last capital, fled to the forests of the robber tribes situated north of Tanjore [Akali Nayak's wood?] He lived there in great poverty and hardship, abandoned by his courtiers, and finally took refuge with the ruler of Mysore, who had once been his vassal. His futile appeals to Aurangzib, then viceroy of the Deccan, against his Muslim spoliators have been described in my *History of Aurangzib*, vol. 1.

[The Jesuit missionary Antoine de Proenza, in his letter from Trichinopoly dated 1659, records the rumour that Sri Ranga was expelled from Vellore by a second and stronger Golkonda force. But the authentic Persian history *Muhammadnamah* states that the conquest was achieved by Adil Shah.]

The Golkonda forces advanced from the north conquering towards Jinji, and the

* This mentality seems to have survived to our own days. In 1919 one of our nationalist orators was said to have invited the Amir of Afghanistan to invade India and drive away the present sovereign power. Thereafter, this disinterested helper of Swaraj was expected to retire peacefully to his sterile mountains.

Tanjore Nayak made a treaty with them, throwing himself on their mercy. Tirumal had once before been betrayed by the Nayak of Tanjore and had thus become his mortal enemy; he now appealed to Adil Shah, who sent 17,000 horse under Mustafa Khan to invade Jinji. Tirumal joined this force with his 30,000 soldiers of the ill-armed militia type. The only hope of salvation of the Jinji Nayak lay in a quarrel between the two bodies of Muslim invaders. But as we have seen they made a mutual agreement by which Hindu Karnatak was to be amicably partitioned between Bijapur and Golkonda in the proportion of two to one. Mir Jumla, the Qutb-shahi viceroy, retreated from the neighbourhood of Jinji, leaving it to fall to the Bijapuri besiegers, while he resumed his career of conquest further north, in the Kadapa district.

HOW JINJI WAS LOST TO THE HINDUS

The Bijapuri siege of Jinji was prolonged over a year (1648), owing to the severe illness of Mustafa Khan and the refractory conduct of his chief subordinates Raihan and Shahji. But the arrival of the new wazir Muzaffar-ud-din Khan-i-Khanan Khan Muhammad (shortly after Mustafa's death on 9 Nov. 1648, infused an unwonted vigour among the besiegers and struck dismay into the hearts of the garrison. He made a most heroic attack, with his full force, on the defences. After a bloody fight on the first day, the soldiers of Jinji lost heart; killed their women, and took to flight. The Bijapuris gave chase, killed many of the fugitives, and captured the fort, while the Nayak took refuge in the citadel, perched on the highest rock. [For a description of the forts, see *History of Aurangzib*, vol. 5]. This he held for one entire day, but admitted defeat at night, begged for mercy, waited on Khan Muhammad, and made his submission.

This is the account given by the Bijapur official historian Zahur bin Zahuri. The Jesuit letter says nearly the same thing: "The Adil-shahi forces continued the siege of Jinji... A revolt broke out among the garrison. In the midst of the confusion, the gates of the citadel were opened to the enemy." [*Mission du Madure*, iii. 46.] *Busatin-us-salat*, p. 328, gives a different version of the event: "Rajah Rup Nayak, the ruler of Jinji, whose family had owned the place for seven hundred years past and made the country famous for its cultivation

and population,—was, unlike his predecessors, too fond of youthful pleasures and intoxication to attend to the administration; affairs were neglected and delayed. All the zamindars of that tract and neighbouring rulers, like the Rajah of Tanjore, turned their faces away from him and gave him no aid during the siege. At last owing to the length of the siege, his provisions were exhausted, and losing all hope of help from outside, he surrendered his fort to the Muslim heroes... The spoils taken by the Government amounted to four *kror* of *hun* (20 *kror* of Rupees), besides what the soldiers plundered for themselves."

HINDU DISUNION: FURTHER MUSLIM PROGRESS

After the fall of Jinji the Bijapuri army marched against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura, plundering and devastating their realms. They made submission, offering to pay tribute. As the Jesuit missionary writes, "The Adil-shahi forces returned to Bijapur after conquering a vast country, subjugating two powerful kings, and gathered treasure beyond calculation, without having had to fight one battle and almost without losing a single soldier." [*Mission*, iii. 47.] This was evidently in 1649-50.

But, while Khan Muhammad, who had grown sick of long campaigning and wished to enjoy himself at the capital, was absent from the Karnatak, Sri Ranga with the help of Mysore recovered a part of his former dominions and repulsed a Golkonda army that had advanced to fight him. [Proenza supported by *Muhammadnamah*]. But Hindu disunion and mutual bad faith prevented him from freeing the whole of the Karnatak from the foreign invaders.

Tirumal Nayak, instead of helping to restore Sri Ranga, appealed to the Muslims, opened the mountain passes to them and thus enabled them to carry the war into Mysore. Thus Sri Ranga, losing his last ally, fell finally. Khan Muhammad left the country after levying enormous contributions from Tanjore and Madura!

The war was renewed. The king of Mysore attacked the ever faithless Nayak of Madura. But Tirumal died in 1658 at the age of 65 after 30 years of reign. His son and successor, Muttu Virappa, refused tribute, and Adil Shah, therefore, sent an army of chastisement, which suddenly turning from the east to the south, fell upon Tanjore by surprise, on 19th March 1659. The

commandant of the capital, on being struck by an arrow, which made a slight wound, disgracefully capitulated ! The victorious Muslims marched against Manarcoil and Vallankota, south-west of Tanjore. They found the latter fort deserted, and put a small garrison in it. Then they sat down, enjoying the fertile and beautiful kingdom !

BIJAPURI OCCUPATION OF TANJORE

The Jesuit letter for 1662 written from Trichinopoly informs us : "The Muslims under the command of Shahji and Moula [? Mulla Ahmad Navaiyat], generals of Adil Shah, have occupied the realms of Jinji and Tanjore for the last two years, and seem to wish to fix their domination there. The people have submitted to the yoke of a conqueror from whom they get less cruelty and more justice than from their own sovereigns." [*Mission*, iii. 119.] From the same source we learn that a famine, due to the disorder and devastation attendant on war, was raging in all that country, in an extremely severe form, so that all the inhabitants who could have fled to Madura and Satya-mangalam (in the centre of the Coimbatore district). "The Muslims were the first victims, their horses and men perishing from disease. Finally, disunion broke out among the generals and officers of the Bijapuri army. Moula, alarmed at the sad condition of his troops, ... was forced by famine and pestilence to abandon Tanjore. He advanced to besiege Trichinopoly, 'the key to the kingdom of Madura'; but it was ably defended by Lingama Nayak, and Moula was forced to accept a small sum as the price of peace and to retire beyond the hills." [*Ibid.* 120.]

THE TROUBLES OF THE MADURA KINGDOM

Muttu Virappa died shortly after this peace and was succeeded by his son Chokkanath (or Chokka Linga), aged six years. The government was conducted by a very able Brahman regent, who, with his secretary monopolized all power and sent the other nobles and generals into banishment from the Court. These two deputed Lingama Nayak with 40,000 troops to attack Shahji and capture Jinji, but Lingama was bribed by the Bijapuri general to waste the royal treasure in a long and fruitless campaign. This failure reacted on the situation at Court. The Brahman regent and his secretary were overthrown by the Rajah with the help of

Lingama. Chokkanath afterwards tried to seize Lingama but the latter escaped to Shahji and returned with 12,000 horse and 7,000 horse to besiege Trichinopoly (to which the capital of Madura had been transferred.)

Chokkanath had more than 50,000 men to defend his capital with, but the faithlessness of his new Brahman minister caused division and trouble among his troops. He, however, made a personal appeal to his army and with such good effect that Lingama was foiled and fled for refuge to Tanjore, the Nayak of which had favoured his traitorous invasion.

The Madura Nayak, at the head of 70,000 "well-disciplined warriors," now marched upon Tanjore. The two Adil-shahi generals who were supporting Lingama took to flight and were pursued towards Jinji. The Tanjore Nayak made a humble submission.

The usual horrors of war were intensified by famine. The Muslims, during their temporary occupation, were terribly oppressive, and the Tanjore Christian converts had to flee to Trichi for refuge, returning to their homes only after the invaders had left.

FALL OF THE TANJORE KINGDOM

In 1663 the Bijapuri army repeated its invasion of Madura, under a general whose name is spelt as Vana-mian [Bahlol Miana ?] in the Jesuit letter. He laid siege to Trichinopoly, but was stopped by the bombardment from the fort-walls, and plundered all that he could. At last he was bribed to retire on the payment of a large sum by the Nayak under the name of war contribution.

Then Chokkanath turned upon the faithless Tanjore Nayak who had, in violation of treaty, joined the Muslim invaders. He took Vallam, a citadel eight miles south-west of Tanjore city, and on the Nayak submitting left a garrison to hold it for him.

Shahji died on 23rd January 1664, and was succeeded by his son Vyankoji in his post as one of the three Adil-shahi generals among whom the territory of Jinji was partitioned. [*Mission*, iii. 201.]

At last, probably in 1674, the Nayak of Madura attacked Tanjore, defeated and killed its Nayak Vijay Raghav (called Vissaraya in the Jesuit letter), and seized the kingdom. The son of the vanquished king appealed to Adil Shah, who sent Vyankoji Bhonsle with an army to restore him to the throne. The elder brother of Chokkanath, who had been left to govern the new conquest, ably

checked Vyankoji, who was forced to halt for one year on the frontier of Tanjore.

Then a quarrel broke out between Chokkanath and his brother. Vyankoji profited by this disunion and took Tanjore at the first assault, and gradually occupied all its territory (1674-5).

The first effects of the conquest were deplorable. A famine broke out. "The Tanjore kingdom was despoiled by Vyankoji from one side and the Mysore king from the other." [Jesuit letter of 1676, in *Mission*, iii. 248.] But after usurping the throne, Vyankoji assumed the title and authority of an independent king, and then sought to make himself beloved by the people. The justice and wisdom of his government began to close the wounds of the preceding reign and to develop the natural resources of the country. By repairing the canals and tanks, he gave fertility to the vast fields which had been left untilled for many years, and "the last harvest [*i. e.*, in 1676] has surpassed all that was seen before." [*Ibid.* 249.]

The new king was threatened by attacks from a fresh Adil-shahi army, all the forces of the Madura Nayak, and a third body of troops assembled by the ruler of Mysore on his frontier "in alarm at the establishment of an audacious people (*i. e.*, Marathas) on his border." But these war clouds rolled away and Vyankoji remained safe in Tanjore while retaining possession of one part of the province of Jinji, *i. e.*, the southern extremity of it immediately north of the Kolerun.

[The popular Maratha story, given in the *Chitnis Bakhsh*, i. 22, that Shahji conquered Tanjore at the invitation of the Nayak of Madura, who gave him five lakhs of Rupees, must be rejected in the light of the contemporary information quoted above.

The Tamil account of the fall of Vijay Raghav is given in Marathi in Parasnis's book *Tanjavarchen Raj-gharanen*, pp. 13-14, but it throws no light on the subsequent conquest by Vyankoji.]

LAST DAYS OF SHAHJI BHONSLE

In 1663, when Ali Adil Shah II opened a campaign against the Rajah of Bednur and marched from his capital to Bankapur (entered 28th April), in order to be at the base of the operations, he summoned his generals from all sides. Among others, Abdul Rahim Bahlol Khan came from the Arcot district with Shahji Bhonsle, by forced marches and had audience of the king at Bidarhi on the bank of the Tungabhadra. The war ended speedily in the complete triumph of Bijapuri arms.*

On 20th July 1663, Philip Gyfford, the Chief of the English factory at Rajapur, writes from Goa: "On the 19th arrived a man from Kolhapur who met with *jasud* (courier) of the king [Adil Shah] who told him he [had] left the king at Bankapur... This *jasud* swears that before he came out of Bankapur he saw irons put on Bahlol Khan and Shahji, Shivaji's father, but taken off the latter in two days, who is now with the king without any command. Bahlol Khan's mother [having previously] denied the king entrance into Bankapur, the king wrote to Shahji to persuade Bahlol Khan to come and stand to his mercy, for the king being denied entrance was so incensed that... he would never have pardoned him." [*F. R. Surat*, vol. 103].

This is all the information we have about Shahji in the authentic contemporary sources that have survived.

* Nurullah's *Tarikh-i-Ali II* (my MS.), 163-165.

Interview to the Newspaper Men at San Francisco

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

YOU ask me for interviews. I am reluctant to lend myself to them, knowing that they would mostly be useless and even dangerous. For, I find that you have already made up your mind about me. You gave out in some of your papers even before

I came that I was against the United States in my attitude of mind which is a gross exaggeration and I should be ashamed of myself if it were a fact. In my experience of this country which is not that of the western part of it, I have often met with

individuals who are profoundly earnest in their love of humanity, who are gifted with an intellect that can combine wisdom in practical matters with a genuine faith in idealism.

I find that an unfortunate experience of mine in an American immigration office in Vancouver has attracted prominent notice in your papers and you have ascribed to me strong language—which I am never in the habit of using—against the officer of that department. I confess that during my former visits to the United States I was not subjected to the indignities which your recent regulations impose upon all Asiatics coming to your shores. At the very entrance to your land you make us feel in the rudest manner, by the most absurd questions that we are undesirables and must be treated with suspicion and discourtesy. It naturally discourages me from claiming hospitality from unwilling hands and remaining in the country on sufferance for the strictly limited period of time allowed to me by an ungenerous contract which carries in it a humiliating attitude. And as it is not in Tibet or in the continents which you describe as dark, the shock comes to us with all the greater violence and surprise.

The very first question that has been asked to me directly I came to your land was what I thought of Miss Mayo's book *Mother India*. I suppose you realize that the publication of this book has done more in poisoning our mutual relationship than anything in recent happenings. It almost has the same effect as your immigration regulations in creating a barrier against American lady visitors who try to come to our homes. What surprises me is not that the book could at all have been written but that it could so readily be accepted by such a vast number of your readers. We all know that India never occupied a very prominent place in your mind even when she fully merited it but directly a woman of your nationality vilifies our country with a malignity which is indiscriminate in its wholesale aspersions, your people voraciously devour its contents and India at once offers the largest possible target to the fury of your attention. Could it be because the welfare of my country has ever been the loving object of

such a vast multitude of your countrymen or is it because all accounts of vice and sexual perversity offer you a mental food for which you have cultivated an eager avidity? I cannot help suspecting that it was a shrewd business instinct in the authoress which induced her deliberately to misquote me and impute to me opinions which I never held, to use information from a book written over a century ago and cleverly omitting to mention that important fact, to use for the material in her book private conversations with no guarantee whatever that they were honestly recorded. I am informed by my friend Mr. Andrews that when he claimed from the writer the authority of her statement that I had expressed my scepticism against western medical science, she told him that it was reported to her by a well-known medical man of her own country to whom and to no one else in the world I had confided this secret of mine. I refuse to believe that the United States could produce a male malefactor of her calibre. I must, for the sake of my faith in her country, believe that this medical man was a fiction, like many other fictions supplied by her for her readers; or that his conversation had been tortured out of shape by the authoress for her own nefarious purpose. I do not feel any enthusiasm in contradicting this book, knowing that most of her readers are not interested in truth but in a piece of sensationalism that has the savour of rotten flesh. Now that this woman has discovered a mine of wealth in an unholy business of killing reputations, no appeal to truth will ever prevent her from plying a practised hand in wielding her assassin's knife, carefully choosing for her victims those who are already down. Curiously enough she offers her justification for erecting such a sky-scraper of calumny, a tender partiality for those whom she knows or imagines to be under-dogs! She must have laughed in her sleeve when she made such a statement, for she was perfectly aware that, like the Philippines, India is one of the under-dogs of the world who could be molested with impunity for the delectation of all super-dogs and these super-dogs have enjoyed her performance and amply rewarded her.

Bose Institute Magnetic Crescograph

By PROF. N. C. NAG

IN the July issue of *The Modern Review*, (page 71), there appears what is styled a synopsis of a lecture by Mr. S. C. Guha, delivered at Geneva, describing his invention of a Micro-Crescometer. Well and good. But his remarks about Sir J. C. Bose's Magnetic Crescograph shows his absolute failure to grasp the mechanism and principles underlying Sir Jagadis's instruments.

Take for instance, the method of magneto-optic amplification used by Sir J. C. Bose. He uses it in various ways, not in the Magnetic Crescograph only.

According to Mr. S. C. Guha, "In 1920 Sir J. C. Bose invented the Magnetic Crescograph. With this apparatus Sir J. C. Bose claimed to have obtained a magnification of a million times; this claim was challenged by Professor Waller and Sir J. C. Bose invited a committee of seven eminent English physicists and biologists to examine his apparatus. This committee certified the perfect functioning of the Magnetic Crescograph. But one important point was missed by all those who were interested in the Waller-Bose controversy, namely, a rigid physical test of the magnification obtained and its calibration. This was an unfortunate omission on the part of the committee and up till now Sir J. C. Bose's claim of obtaining a million times magnification remains untested and hence in many quarters unaccepted."

On page 180 of Sir J. C. Bose's *Photosynthesis* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1924), is a clear diagrammatic representation of the Magnetic Crescograph functioning as a Radiometer. One can have an idea of the magnification and accuracy obtained by going through those few pages.

One with a little mechanical bent of mind will see how the fine adjustment of lowering and raising of the magnetic needle lever, by means of the strip attached to the shorter arm of the magnetic needle at the top and to a micrometer screw at the lower end at the base, can be effected.

The micrometer screw, pitch 0.5 mm.,

say, as in ordinary spherometers may be worked through the centre of a graduated disc as in polarimeters and spectrometers, &c., allowing a reading of *one minute*, if not less. It will be observed that a rotation of *one minute* means a movement of the strip, and therefore of the magnetic lever end attached to it by $\frac{0.5}{360 \times 60}$ mm. up or down.

Now this will produce a movement of the pointed end of the magnetic lever near the suspended system carrying the reflecting mirror, producing a deflection of the spot of light to the right or to the left, as the case may be, of the Zero point on the scale graduated in mms. and placed at a distance of one meter. With moderate distance of the suspended system from the magnetic needle by proper adjustment one can *easily* get a deflection of 100 mms. (I am intentionally keeping myself to a statement of facts and results easily obtained by beginners). Calibration is not such a difficult matter now, *then and there*.

Let us see what magnification we obtain under the above conditions :

Magnification...100 divided by $\frac{0.5}{360 \times 6}$ which comes to 432×10^6 or over 4 millions.

Could the Members of the Committee (Fellows of the Royal Society to boot) have missed this point in the Bose-Waller controversy ?

Bogies like "lines of magnetic force," "magnetic dip," &c., had better be left out or be *screened and not allowed entrance*. Yet to Mr. Guha these are drawbacks.

Mr. S. C. Guha seems to be even less acquainted with the other apparatus. The Optical Plant Sphygmograph, if I read him aright. Questions of buoyancy and adjustment of tension and such little details do not escape the scrutiny of even beginners. Could these have escaped the notice of men like Prof. Hans Molisch who worked with the apparatus for weeks and weeks ?

Nanking

By AGNES SMEDLEY

IF you stand on the ancient walls of Nanking, you face the past and the future. The walls are very gray and old and meander like a cow-path for near to thirty-two kilometers. To the north the rolling Yangtze is a ribbon of light, and to the north-east the sombre Purple Mountain guards the simple, majestic tomb of the first Ming emperor and the relatively snappy, up-to-date tomb of the late father of the Chinese

other impatiently. The plan of the nationalist government is to wipe out the seventeenth century. It might be said that the Chungshan, or Sun Yat-sen memorial highway, is the dividing line between these two centuries. Broad, macadamized, modern, it is some fourteen miles in length, running from Hsia Kwan on the outside of the wall along the Yangtze, through the scattered ugly, gray, square European houses, right down to the



Workmen, harnessed to granite rollers like horses, are finishing the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

Republic. When, in the fourteenth century, the first Ming emperor extended these fine old walls to take in the vast territory they enclose to-day, the city had a population of a million. But to-day it has less than half a million, concentrated in the extreme southern part of the walls. There are stretches of open country within the enclosure—peasant villages, farms, gardens, bamboo groves, lovely pools shaded by trees, a canal system, two universities, an agricultural experimental station, and a military academy. The city of Hsia Kwan on the Yangtze just outside the wall is also a part of Nanking.

Within the walls the seventeenth and twentieth centuries keep nudging each

other, through a part of it, then turns sharply to the east and flees as if for its very life right out to the Purple Mountain, knocking the sides out of one of the thirteen gates on its way.

Now twentieth century Nanking in the saddle at present is a ruthless young man in horn-rimmed spectacles, a sport suit, a cigarette in his mouth, and an American pronunciation. Since Nanking is seventeenth century, this young man goes to Shanghai every week-end, on holidays, on business trips, and on convenient sick-leave where he recovers from illness to the tune of the latest American jazz, the gentle concern of sing-song girls, and the music of the

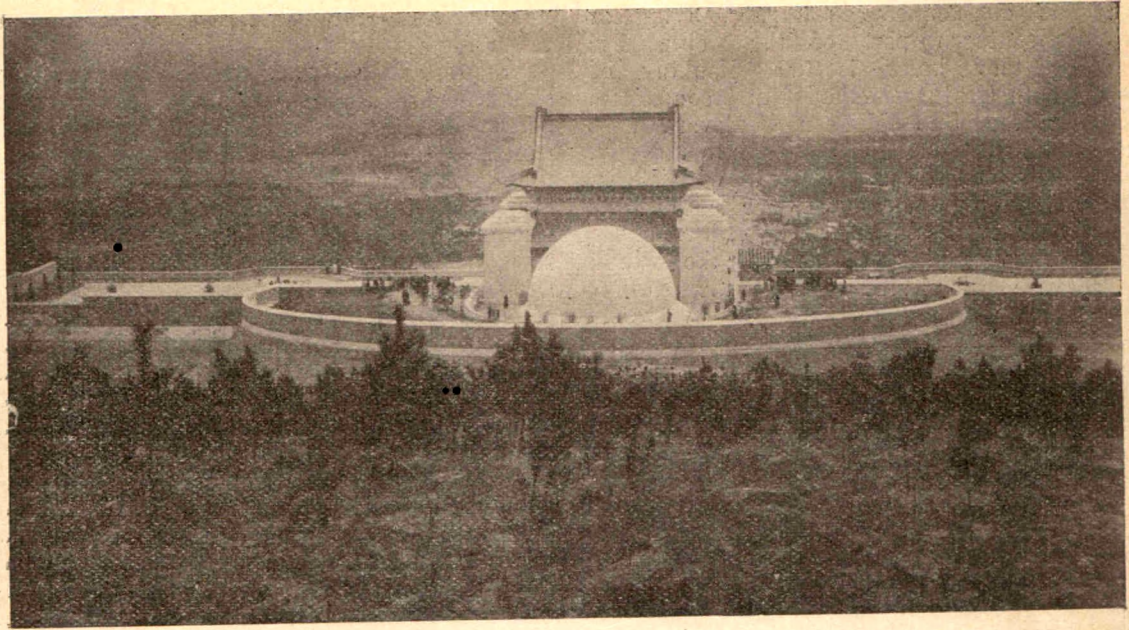
Shanghai stock exchange. He is American in education, manners, dress, mentality, in his admiration of American speed, size, efficiency, and in the American method of destroying trade unions and making them company unions. He is so modern that companionate marriage is a back number until it comes time to marry, when he chooses what in Nanking is called a "good" girl who has never put into such practice new embarrassing ideas about the single standard of morality. He may be modern about himself, but he won't be modern about the single standard.

You don't have to meet this twentieth century Nanking in the flesh to know of his presence in all walks of life. All you have to do is to study his tracks: take a beautiful old Chinese temple in Nanking to begin with; on either side of this building two square, box-like buildings with square factory windows are being built. Or turn to the Ming Tomb of ancient dignity. The delicate old Chinese windows with their filigree designs, have been knocked out of one of the buildings connected with the tomb, and in their place four square factory windows, glass panes and all, have been set in. Even the tomb of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen has an American air about it as if its young American-trained architect had set out to show that modern China can produce a tomb just as smart and big as any American could. It lacks completely the quiet and simple dignity of the Ming Tomb a short distance away. The memorial wreaths in glass-cases that hang in the *foyer* of the Sun Yat-sen tomb have leaves made of gold and flowers of stone; in the heart of each flower is an electric bulb, and at the top is an electric bulb to light up Dr. Sun's picture in the middle! But still there are some Chinese touches: Dr. Sun's last will, his principles of reconstruction, and the Three People's Principles, are carved in the inside walls of the tomb, and the more than three hundred steps leading up to it are of real granite, when they might have been an escalator. It is possible that when the forest of trees around the tomb have grown, the glaring whiteness may be absorbed to some extent and the Tomb take on an atmosphere of repose. Just now it is a place in which no man's spirit could rest.

Twentieth century Nanking also decided that the ancient city wall ought to be knocked down and the bricks put to some useful purpose, such as building more gray, square

houses. It looked as if the country might be flattened out generally for speed and efficiency. The work of demolishing the old wall was actually in progress when the hand of Mr. Twentieth Century was stayed. The Americans whom he worships took the wheel again in China as in so many other things. These Americans are telling him that the city wall can be repaired and made into the oldest, longest and biggest city wall in the world, from which one can get one of the grandest views in the world; that Nanking can be made into a model city, the biggest and best in China, and with much adapted Chinese-American architecture that would simply knock the world silly. Outside Chinese inside American. Also, that the seventeen square miles inside the city walls can be laid out with an eye to one or two centuries hence, and "Greater Nanking", like "Greater New York" extended to over 200-300 square miles beyond the wall; that the city should be planned with an eye to two million inhabitants; that Nanking can be made the junction between the Peiping-Pukow, the Nanking-Canton, and the Nanking-Shanghai railway, with tunnels under the Yangtze to connect the city with Pukow on the northern shore. Furthermore, that Purple Mountain and its surrounding hills, and the western hills inside the city, need not be rolled out as flat as Chicago in order to be modern, but that these hills and mountains can be terraced with great automobile roads, along which twentieth century Nanking himself can build villas far from the poor of the city. Living conditions of the poor could be raised—perhaps to the height of the poor of East Side, New York or Chicago; a sewage system and a water works, the last somewhere in Purple Mountain, will abolish the "germs of Communism"; instead of finding it necessary to shoot or chop off the heads of thousands of Communist working men as to-day, they can be eliminated in the silent, deadly American fashion. In other words, the dawn has come when, as Bertrand Russell prophesied, American civilization is going to save a lot of Chinese lives and at the same time make them not worth saving.

They are hard at it in Nanking—a City Planning Department with four American city planners and advisers and some twenty Chinese architects and engineers. They are making clay models, maps of everything above and under the earth; laying out the municipal centre inside the city walls around



The Tomb of Sun Yat-sen

the old Drum Tower, and the national government buildings on the outside within sight of Dr. Sun's tomb where they can be defended by batteries from Purple Mountain; five aviation fields; a colossal military camp to the south-west of the city that will cost thirty two million dollars. Another cool fifty millions is to start the work of transforming the city within the next five years. The money is to come from taxes, land sales and mortgages, appropriations, and from loans—American loans be it understood.

They also have a publicity agent to make the scheme popular. For China's poverty is as deep as India's, and many people feel that they can no more afford such a luxurious undertaking than Indians felt the necessity of New Delhi or money spent on making the life of the rulers of their country one long sweet dream. And although much publicity is carried on, some things are not given publicity: Chinese "in the know" declare that Generals, Government officials, and members of the Central Executive of the Kuomintang whose advantageous positions give them much inside knowledge, are buying up land for speculation purposes along all the routes where the new boulevards of the city will be laid out. Nor is it a secret that the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Road was built by the simple

method of literally demolishing the homes of thousands of people, or cutting them in half according to the needs of the boulevard. Nanking Municipality paid nothing for the houses, and many of these buildings stand to-day, as if cut in half with a knife. One man, who protested for months, was paid exactly \$5.90 for the destruction of half of his home; there it stands to-day along the boulevard, and when the representatives of the Great Powers roll along the boulevard in the trail of the coffin of Dr. Sun Yat-sen whom they scorned and hated while alive, they will see this demolished building.

The Chungshan, or Sun Yat-sen boulevard, is being rapidly finished. On this boulevard, the seventeenth and twentieth centuries walk side by side. Two tractor engines pull a huge granite roller back and forth over the highway; side by side with it is a group of some twenty Chinese working men hitched like horses to another granite roller. Upon the backs of such men the new Nanking is being reared. Their hands, their backs, their sweat, is the foundation of the Nanking of the future. Yet their homes are not and will never be in the districts called the "better residential quarters", nor will they ever be villas on the rolling hills around Purple Mountain. Their homes are instead, mud huts that could not

even be dog-kennels in Europe, lying far to the southern part of the city. The Nanking they know is the Nanking of Seventeenth Century methods and conditions. Crossing the Sun Yat-sen boulevard they are building, you go down into the city. The streets, narrow and choked with traffic, are bordered by one-story shops with fronts entirely removed during the day, leaving the whole shop gaping out upon the world. There are no side-walks; the streets



A Chinese girl sewing at her door

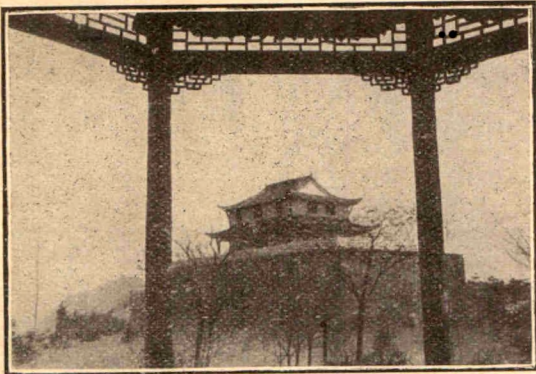
seethe with pedestrians, with rickshaws, wheelbarrows, donkeys, an occasional automobile or horse, with wagons drawn by men harnessed like horses, with heads down, their eyes for ever on the earth as they strain and groan at the load. The muscles of their necks and shoulders are drawn taut, their mouths are open and their eyes bulge and glisten like the eyes of an animal in mortal pain. The endless pain of China, the unforgiveable crime of human slavery, is written on their bodies. And yet

nobody sees—the sight is so common, so taken for granted.

In the open shops on either side of the street food is cooked on open hearths. Men stand kneading bread dough; this much can be said of it—their hands, dirty when they start, are nice and clean when they finish. And if a swirl of dust from the street settles too thickly over the cooked food, someone cheerfully takes down an ancient feather duster and dusts it vigorously. The dust arises in a cloud and then settles down again. In the open shops also the industries of the city are carried on. Men sit weaving mats and baskets, rope sandals for rickshaw runners; they saw and plane boards for coffins or furniture, or carve wood with the leisurely precision that has created the wonders of Chinese art. Women and men alike bend over looms and spindles of ancient make and some at an occasional modern sewing machine. Half-naked ironmongers, with glistening, beautiful bodies, swing heavy hammers with gigantic blows, sending a shower of sparks from the glowing iron. An occasional simple working woman, in blue trousers and jacket, goes from shop to shop and sits in the doorway with her feet resting on the cobble-stone pavement, mending clothing for a few coppers. You rub shoulders with half-naked rickshaw coolies, an occasional twentieth century official, women workers and shopkeepers in long dark, dirty tunics, girl and boy students, swarms of children with scalp diseases, coolies with swollen, diseased eyes. Fat little children, their hair done up into charming little pigtailed or shaved into many fancy designs, run about; their little trouser legs cover only the side of their legs from the hip to the ankle; front and back are innocently bare. And everywhere and at all times are soldiers, soldiers, soldiers reminding you that Nanking is under military rule.

Now, unlike the twentieth century this seventeenth century is in no hurry. This you can test by pausing to ask a man an address. At once a crowd of at least a hundred will gather to help, and the card bearing the address, passes from hand to hand; they may not be able to read and they may not be able to help: but if one would learn things, one must be curious; and if one would know what a foreigner looks like one must stop and study every rag on his body and every movement he makes. One man's

business is everybody's business and curiosity is, after all, no crime. Thus it comes about that seventeenth century Nanking needs no newspapers; and even if one does come into the hand of a man, he can only study the amazing ignorance of modern editors. Modern editors know nothing, but seventeenth century Nanking knows everything. In the street running past the Chinese inn in which I live, there is not a man but who knows everything about me, down to the details about every visitor I



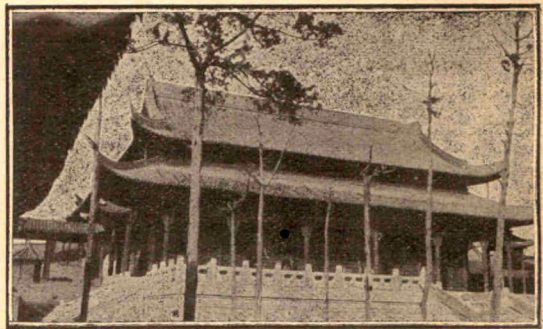
The Ancient Drum Tower in Nanking dating from 1092 A. D.

have. If they don't know, they invent. But generally they know. If you wish to know, just how many thousand dollars Madame Chang Kai-shek paid for her fur coat last winter; if you would know the latest amour of a high official; if you are interested in how many concubines the generals and officials have; if you would know just when the city mayor presented his fiancée with ten thousand dollars as a present while he was having poor people made homeless along the Sun Yat-sen boulevard; if you would know anything that is rigidly excluded from the press—you have only to step out into my street and ask, or drop into the tea-shop on the corner where you can meet the people who gather here to exchange the latest news.

Everybody has time to gather news and everybody has time to stop and listen. After all, what's the hurry, what's the big idea of being efficient? If a woman sits sewing in a doorway, her feet hanging out on the street, you merely walk around; if another hangs her trousers out to dry right in front of her shop, you make a *detour*; if a beggar lies flat on his back in the middle of the street and holds his crippled legs right up into

the air, shouting all the while, you merely move to the right or the left and pay no attention; for the poverty of China is so deep, so devastating, that one must either go insane, or dull the senses to forget. And when a man brings his donkey into the middle of the street for a roll and a shake, you wait until he has finished, or you nudge your way past. Everybody has time to run after a band, playing to Chinese time a tune from the American Civil War, or to follow a wedding that is preceded by a band playing "Her Bright Smile Haunts me Still."

Over all this goes a humming and a shouting, a clanging and a honking. Rickshaw men keep up a constant, desperate warning shouting as they run; an occasional automobile honks its way painfully through; the wooden-wheeled wheel-barrow squeak and grind painfully by; working men, with heavy buckets poised at the end of their long bamboo poles over a shoulder, keep up a running walk, singing a painful, rhythmic labour song "hei ya ho, hei ya ho," and a partner in the back comes in between pauses, "hei ya ho, hei ya ho". Only the men sing; the women seem never to sing.



The Temple of Confucius in Nanking

Away down close to the south wall are narrow winding streets, bordered by huts made of mud, patches of rags, tin cans, boards anything that can be used to shut out the cold in winter or the rain in summer. Here live those upon whose shoulders the vast weight of subjection rests the most heavily—political subjection, social subjection, economic subjection. Here is squalor and disease, and the crime that is the choice flower of poverty and ignorance. Down other streets are old Chinese homes behind high blank walls. These homes are built around lovely courtyards where not only the buildings and verandahs, but the very

walks, are made into the most beautiful of designs. One courtyard leads into another and one scene of loveliness into another. Here is the comfort, the peace, the elegance, the culture of upper-class China, the atmosphere that has created poetry, painting, and philosophy, the classes that have bought and preserved, but not created, the works of art produced by working men who work lovingly with their hands in the little open shops of the city.

It is into this world that twentieth century Nanking, as represented by a young man to whom America is the goal of all endeavour, has stepped. He keeps himself apart from the seventeenth century and recalls with longing his life in America. And, sitting in the saddle of power, he decides to make Nanking into a little copy of America, under American guidance, with American money. At what price to the independence of China he does not say.

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Higher Education in Germany

BY DR. JATINDRA NATH BASU, Dr. Ing. (Berlin)

Professor of Mechanical Engineering, College of Engineering and Technology, Bengal

IN Germany higher education is offered through a series of institutions known as Hochschulen. They are distributed throughout the country and comprise twenty-three universities (the Universitäten), ten Engineering universities (the Technische Hochschulen), four Agricultural universities (the Landwirtschaftliche Hochschulen), two universities of Veterinary Medicine (the Tierärztliche Hochschulen), three universities of Forestry (the Forstliche Hochschulen), two Mining Academies (the Bergakademien), and five Commercial colleges (the Handelshochschulen). Each of these, except the last, commands the same rank and reputation as the universities of other countries and have characteristics which are typical of the German universities only.

The most remarkable point about all these Hochschulen is "academic freedom", which is enjoyed as much by the students as by the professors. Thus a student does not find an worked out plan for his studies in the Universities in each year. He can get a book known as the "University Programme" in which are to be found the names of professors who constitute the different faculties, names of subjects taught by each professor, and the time of lectures which, however, is subject to necessary changes by the professors concerned after proper

notification. From this information every student is required to follow his own programme of work. There is neither any system of registering the attendance of students or of checking their normal working. Attendance at the lectures and laboratories is left entirely to the option of the students. An attempt was once made to introduce a system by which the students might be forced to do their work. But the scheme fell through mostly out of fear of interfering too much with the academic freedom of the students. German youths, in most cases, have an aptitude for learning things, better without compulsion. It is very doubtful whether the same holds true of other countries and the introduction of such academic freedom for the students in our universities is perhaps a matter of question. One thing which is enforced in all Hochschulen and can be enforced to any degree by every faculty is the number of subjects in which a student has to pass and the number and magnitude of practical work he has to perform before he becomes entitled to get his degree from any faculty of the University. This being probably the only check on the students it has, of late, been enforced as much rigorously as possible. Thus the syllabus of the degree examination, especially of the Faculty of Machine Engineering of the Engineering University

of Berlin, has been so much increased in the number of subjects as well as in the elaboration of each subject, that the degree work, according to the regulation of 1922, is 60 per cent more than that of 1910.

The academic freedom of professors of German universities is traditional and is maintained with fame and can be copied well with honour in our universities. The honour and respect which every professor of German universities commands from the public and from officials, as well as his scholarship rightly entitles him to the academic freedom he enjoys. He has to lecture three hours a week on subjects attributed to him. He directs not only the research work in his subject, but manages every academic and official work connected with his chair in his own way. Even the ministers who appoint the professors have no right to interfere with the work of the latter. The minister does not dare to do things against the wishes of the professors even in matters which lie with the former for decision. The faculty and the senate of every university consist of professors only who hold different chairs under the university. The most responsible work of a university is probably the examination of a thesis for granting the degree of Doctor; even in this matter the professors' decision is final. It is this academic freedom together with the honour and respect attached to a chair explains why a person earning Rs. 5,000 or more per month does sacrifice this post to take charge of a chair under the university on a salary of about one-fifth as large. It has thus become a tradition in Germany that the best scholars of the land have been and are professors of the universities and other Hochschulen. So we see Martin Luther of Evangelical Theology, Helmholtz of Physics, Herz of Electric Waves, Röntgen of X-rays, Kirschow of Pathology, Haber of Electro-Chemistry, Bergius of Chemistry, Nernst of Physical Chemistry, Linde of Ice-machines, Einstein of relativity and so on are all professors of universities.

All the universities and Hochschulen of Germany are solely maintained by the Government. Before the formation of the German Empire in 1870, each independent State had its own Hochschulen. This tradition was kept up even after the formation of the German Empire in 1870. So now the universities are all under the provincial

governments and not under the central government. This naturally causes a slight variation in the regulations and management of the institutions. Though the Universities are solely financed by the Government, its voice in the control of university affairs is not such as we may expect. The university autonomy is so strongly formulated that the government does not like and sometimes cannot interfere with its academic freedom. I remember one instance that happened during my stay in Berlin. The Minister of Education (Professor Backer) tried to introduce a scheme which would have generalized the regulations of the several universities under the different provinces. This is quite fair. But the university professors did not like the measure and the Minister had no other alternative but to drop the reform scheme.

It will be found from the appended chronology that the oldest Hochschule in Germany is the university of Heidelberg. It was founded in 1386 for the purpose of imparting education in Theology. In course of development the university came to incorporate other faculties namely, the Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Philosophy, the last one comprising a wide range of arts and science subjects. Beginning with 1386 there grew up in Germany, in about four hundred and fifty years, twenty-three universities, which came to stay, each with a Faculty of Law, a Faculty of Medicine and a Faculty of Philosophy. The last of these universities, the university of Munich, was founded in 1826. Between that year and 1914 no new university grew up; but in 1914 the university of Frankfurt and in 1919 those at Hamburg and Cologne were established. Those twentieth century universities are characterized by the fact that they have no Faculty of Theology. This however is not the only difference singling out the last three universities, nor are the differences limited to them alone. The twenty-three universities taken together have as many more or less distinct faculties as thirteen. The differences are however fundamentally so technical that it may without serious error be generalized that all German universities, as a rule, consist of the four faculties, *viz.*, the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine, and the Faculty of Philosophy.

It is a characteristic of all the universities in Germany that none of them have any faculty of Engineering or Technology. The

great importance attached to the study of these subjects led to the development of other distinct institutions, such as the Technische Hochschulen (the Engineering Universities). The first Engineering University in Germany was established in 1745 at Brunswick. Other similar institutions for higher education in Engineering, Mining, Veterinary Medicine, Agriculture, and Commerce followed in quick succession and by 1919, in about hundred and seventy-five years, there were in Germany twenty-six of them, bringing up the total number of Hochschulen or universities of all kinds to forty-nine in which an average number of 100,000 students could be accommodated for receiving higher education.

It has been said above that excepting the Colleges of Commerce (the Handelshochschulen) all the Hochschulen enjoy the same rank and reputation as the great universities of other countries. The standard of training imparted in these institutions will become evident from the fact that the minimum requirement for admission in them, so far as Indian students are concerned, is the Degree of Bachelor of Arts or Science. The course of study varies from 3 to 5 years according to the different faculties in which one seeks admission. After completing the prescribed course of study in his subject, a student has to appear at an oral examination. If the professors are convinced that his knowledge is satisfactory, he is offered the Degree as mentioned below.

In the universities, each faculty confers its own Degree. Thus the Theological Faculty of all universities offer the degree of Dr. Theol. (Doctor of Theology). Similarly, the degrees of Dr. Jur. (Doctor of Law), Dr. Med. (Doctor of Medicine), and Dr. Phil. (Doctor of Philosophy) are offered by the faculties of Law, Medicine and Philosophy respectively. Generally speaking, subjects such as political science, natural science etc. come under the faculty of Philosophy. But there are universities which have distinct faculties to teach each of these and other similar subjects. These universities, therefore, offer the respective degrees of Dr. rer. pol. (Doctor of political science), Dr. med. dent. (Doctor of Dental medicine), Dr. phil. nat. (Doctor of natural philosophy) etc.

In the Technische Hochschulen and the Mining Academies, a student must first earn the degree of Dipl. Ing. (Diplome Ingenieur). He can then qualify himself for the degree

of Dr. Ing. (Doctor of Engineering). The same rule holds in the Agricultural, Veterinary and Forestry Hochschulen which offer Dr. agr., Dr. med. vet., and Dr. forest, respectively. In all these universities the Doctorate can only be earned by a Diplome Ingenieur after a considerable amount of research work. In the Engineering Universities one can study Architecture, Structural Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Naval Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Metallurgy and other related sciences. In awarding the Dipl. Ing. or the Dr. Ing. degree, no distinction is made as to which branch of engineering or applied science one has studied. The Engineering University of Dresden is an exception to this general rule in that it confers, besides Dr. Ing., the degree of Dr. rer. oec. to those who graduated from the faculty of Economics and Social Science, which this University contains. In Munich also, one can become a "Diplom-Physiker" which however leads to Dr. Ing. Agriculture is taught under the faculty of Philosophy in the universities of Breslau, Giessen, Gottingen, Halle, Hamburg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig and Rostok and a student graduating in that subject is naturally offered the degree of Dr. phil. (in some cases Dr. rer. nat.) Similarly, the forestry school at Tharandt, being a Hochschule under the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Leipzig, offers Dr. phil. to a graduate in forestry whereas the Forestry Hochschulen at Eberswalde near Berlin and at Münden offer Dr. forest. The only institutions of higher education in Germany which cannot offer a Doctor's degree are the Colleges of Commerce of which there are five in number.

It has been said above that to be admitted to any University or Technical University one must be, in the case of India, a graduate of an Indian University or possess equivalent qualification. Another requirement is that he must possess a knowledge of the German language to enable him to follow the lectures. To help foreign students in this direction, the "Institution for Foreign Students" attached to the University of Berlin has been started. The Institution offers a course in the German language. The whole course covers a period of eight months and is divided into four sections, each of two months' duration. It is possible to shorten the time to four months by private study and preparation before admission to the institution. A foreign student, possessing the required qualifications

and paying the necessary dues, is allowed to join the classes and laboratories; but so long as he cannot produce a certificate from the said "Institution for Foreign Students" as to his competency in the German language, he is recognized as a "Hearer" and not as a "Regular Student" of the University. It would, therefore, be to the advantage of a foreign student to learn the language as much as possible before proceeding to Germany so that he may cut down expenses in securing the certificate of the said Institute.

Each of the German Universities and Hochschulen has two semesters. Each semester covers a period of six months. The Summer semester begins towards the end of April and ends in September. The Winter semester begins towards the end of October and extends up to March. The semesters in the Engineering universities begin one or two weeks earlier. One can begin either with the Summer or with the Winter semester. It is, however, better to begin with the Winter semester.

Because of the fact that the Universities of Germany are maintained by the Government, higher education in Germany is very cheap. On an average the monthly fees do not exceed Rs. 16, a sum equal to that charged by the Presidency College of Calcutta. The actual fees are charged per semester as follows:

1. An admission fee of 10-25 marks.
2. A fee of 30-60 marks. This entitles one to become a regular student of the university.
3. A fee of 2.5-3.5 marks per hour of work per week.

Besides every university charges a further sum of 3-7 marks on behalf of its "Student Organization." In exchange that body, the student organization of the university, arranges to give him medical aid when necessary. Each also gets the student's journal free and can take part in any game organized by the university. In fact, to become a graduate of any German university one has to prove that he has taken part in some sort of sport for at least one year according to the regulation of the Minister of Education, Prussia.

Besides rendering medical aid free of charge, running journals, and arranging sports and other activities, the student organizations, as a rule, run "dyeing and clean ings", shaving saloons, restaurants for supplying cheap lunch and tiffin. Recently a movement

has been set afoot to afford accommodation for poor students where one may have board at as cheap a rate as 6 as. per meal and Rs. 6 for lodging per week. This is decidedly cheaper in comparison with the minimum charge of Re. 1 per meal in hotels and Rs. 10-15 for lodgings per week in private families.

In addition to these privileges, the fee charged by the student organizations entitles one to an insurance to any accident which he may meet with while on his way to or back from the university or while working in the university. There are exceptions, however, where the accident insurance is covered by a separate fee of 1-3 marks per semester. (1½ mark is approximately equal to Re. 1).

German universities are not residential. Students generally live in families and at distances, often as much as ten miles from the university compound. Transportation facilities are, however, so complete in Germany that difficulties of non-residential universities do not arise at all. The effect of having to reside in a family, among other things, makes it possible to live cheaply and comfortably. It is possible to live decently on Rs. 100 per month. This includes boarding and lodging only. On the whole, higher education in Germany costs about Rs. 180 per month or more depending on individual ways of living.

It has been pointed out in passing that the forty-nine Hochschulen of Germany impart higher education to an average number of about 100,000 students. Actually, in the Summer semester of 1925, the total number of students studying in the Hochschulen were 93,040. Of these, 68 per cent were studying in the universities, 21 per cent in the technical universities; 2,278 agriculture, 336 Veterinary medicine, 352 forestry, and 1,213 and 4,892 mining and commerce respectively. Of the 93,000 students, 8,824 were from foreign countries representing fifty-five nationalities of the world. The largest number, 1,061, hailed from Bulgaria, Roumania and Czechoslovakia following the lead by 706 and 670 respectively. Among the oriental countries, China held the first place by having 294 students. The number of Japanese students were 103. India was represented by 67 students only, of which 43 were in the universities, 20 in the Engineering universities and the rest in other Hochschulen. It is interesting to note that generally the University of Berlin

leads in the number of students, followed very closely by the University of Munich, whereas, the Engineering University at Munich commands the largest number of students, followed very closely by Berlin. It seems, however, that the majority of Indian students flock to the Berlin University and Technische Hochschule.

Foreign students in Germany representing the different nationalities have formed their respective national associations. Thus there are the American Students' Association of Berlin, the Arabic Students' Association and so on. There is in Berlin an Indian Students' Association known as the Hindusthan Association of Central Europe. This Association renders much help to the Indian students arriving in Germany. It is recently announced that the Indian National Congress has sanctioned the establishment of an Information Bureau in Berlin expressly for the purpose of supplying all necessary information to Indian students and to help them on their arrival in Germany.

Besides these associations, there are in every university, professors who have been assigned the duty of helping foreign students.

Lastly, a brief comparison of the higher education in India with that in Germany will be of interest. It may be remarked

here that university study in Germany practically begins after the Graduation course of the Indian universities. It is, therefore, only right to compare the post-graduate students of the Indian universities with the students of the German universities. Neglecting such an important factor even if we compare both the undergraduate and post-graduate students of our country with the university students in Germany, we find that though India has four times as many people as Germany the number of students in the Indian universities and colleges totals 87,518 as against 111,271 in Germany. Again, the number of students studying law and medicine in Germany are more than double those in India and the number of Engineering students in India is one-eleventh those in Germany. Yet India is full of the cry that the professions particularly those of law and engineering, are already over-crowded. Regarding Agriculture also, we find that though agricultural land in Germany is far less than that in India, the number of students receiving higher education in Agriculture in Germany is eight times as great as in India. In every other profession the number of students in the German universities is distinctly higher than in India.

A Victim of Imperialism — Korea

BY PROF. N. N. GHOSH, M. A.

KOREA, one of the oldest countries in the world, which had maintained its independence for three thousand years acknowledging a nominal suzerainty of China, is another victim of Imperialism. With her back to Japan and her face turned towards China, Korea has fallen a victim to greedy and imperialistic Japan. Possessing an extensive river system the country is well-watered; her land is highly mineralized as Mexico. Both coal and gold can be had in abundance in the country. Its northern border is densely wooded and is full of timber; its soil is rich and alluvial; its climate is superb. With a delightful climate,

a productive soil and abundant rainfall, with mountains rich in minerals and coastal waters teeming with every variety of fish it is no wonder that Korea should excite the cupidity of imperialistic nations. And Japan being her next-door neighbour naturally outbid the others.

The afternoon of August 1905 which witnessed the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war in the treaty of Portsmouth also saw the signing of the death warrant of a third nation. Russia accepted Japan's demand for "paramount political, military and economical interests" in Korea. Before the ink of the treaty was dry, Japan

proclaimed a protectorate over Korea. Thus an independent and innocent nation was made a subject people because two powerful nations chose to do so, in order to establish peace between them. The strategic importance of Korea to Japan is pleaded as an excuse by the latter country to dominate the former. But this excuse is no more valid than that for England's occupation of Egypt. The incident of the occupation and the excuse thereof are the outcome of Imperialism. The excuse cannot be condoned when Imperialism itself is condemned.

And how can we believe that Japan established a protectorate in Korea in 1905 only on account of its *strategic importance* to Japan and for no other reason, when we have seen a continuous and systematic exploitation and *denationalization* of the country by Japan since that year? Naturally patriotic Koreans tried all means to rid the country of Japanese *protection*. Secret associations were formed and conspiracies, the foster-child of military impotency, sprung up throughout the length and breadth of the country. Political associations became common, and when the Japanese Proconsul Prince Ito fell a victim to assassination, Japan punished Korea by formally annexing the country to her empire in 1910.

Then followed the ruthless and systematic Japanization of Korea—a wrong policy applied to an old country with an old civilization. I make bold to assert that Imperialism and Militarism of Japan have shown themselves in their ugliest form in the manner in which she is governing Korea after her annexation. One of the first steps taken by the Japanese in the organized campaign of denationalization of Korea, was the enactment of legislation denying freedom of the press and speech and of assembly to the Koreans. The Government Annual Report says that "at the end of the fiscal year 1916 there were twenty newspapers published in Korea of which eighteen were Japanese, one in English, and one in Korean," and the last one is a Government organ.

During the period of repression 1910-20, the Korean newspapers were printed secretly, while their publishers "were on the run," and distributed from hand to hand like the famous Belgian journals issued during the German occupation. The hand-press and type were conveyed from hiding-place to hiding-place under cover of night, the lives of editors being as thrilling as Japanese police and

spies could make them. In order to kill Korean language and Korean literature, Japanese has been made the official tongue in public documents and court proceedings and wherever possible, in the schools. The text-books used in the schools were printed in Japanese under the supervision of Japanese censors; the teachers were either Japanese or Japanese-speaking Koreans. And in order to impress the children with the military might of Japan the teachers wore swords (not very unlike the occasional military march past of British soldiers on Indian streets to overawe the citizens). Imagine the effect on a class of little girls when their teacher emphasized his authority by rattling his sword.

Korean history, though it reaches back into the past for two thousand years, is not allowed to be taught in the schools. Koreans were not permitted to go abroad for study except to Japan, and those who had been studying abroad were not permitted to return. Korean students in the Imperial University at Tokio were discouraged from specializing in such subjects as Law, Constitutional Law, History or Economics, it being the Japanese policy to encourage industrial education along practical lines for their new subjects to the exclusion of everything else. Higher education, the Japanese thought, would be an incentive to patriotic agitation.

A passage in the Annual Report reads thus: "The holding of public meetings in connection with political affairs or the gathering of crowds out of door was prohibited except open air religious gatherings or school excursion parties, permission for which might be obtained of the public authorities. Most of the political associations or similar bodies were ordered to dissolve themselves at the time of the annexation. Since then there has been no political parties or association as such among the Koreans." This regulation was even more comprehensive than its wording suggests. For example, a Y.M.C.A. had to submit to the police the date, hour, speaker and topic of discussion of a proposed meeting before it could obtain permission to hold it; and the same prohibitive principle applied to inter-scholastic field-meets in which two or more schools proposed to participate.

Another example of Japanese autocratic and despotic rule in Korea is Government's interference in religion. Religious gathering of more than five persons were required to obtain permit from the police, and native

Christians had to obtain special authority to hold religious services. This interference with religious liberty was, in itself, the height of political unwisdom, but the over-zealous police, by their harsh and unintelligent methods of enforcement, turned it into something perilously close to religious persecution. For example, such hymns as "Onward Christian Soldiers" were forbidden on the ground that they tended to develop militaristic spirit among the Koreans. Prominent churchmen, leaders in Korean thought and education, were arrested and sometimes thrown into prison on absurd and ridiculous charges. For example, the pastor of one of the native churches was arrested for having referred in his sermon to the Kingdom of Heaven. He was freed with an admonition not to repeat the offence, the police magistrate warning him that the only kingdom in which Koreans should display an interest was the kingdom of Japan. I quote below the case of pastor Kil of Ping Yang published in "Truth about Korea."

Pastor Kil preached against the evils of cigarette smoking by boys and was charged by Japanese authorities with treason. The argument of the Japanese prosecutor runs as follows :

Pastor Kil preached against the use of cigarettes.

The manufacturer of cigarettes is a government monopoly.

To speak against their use is to injure a government institution.

To injure a government institution is to work against the government.

To work against the government is treason.

Ergo, pastor Kil is guilty of treason.

Though upon annexation Korea became, in theory at least, a province of the empire, the Koreans were permitted neither a national assembly nor representation in the Japanese diet, thus giving them justification for adopting the slogan : "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Had the Japanese been more familiar with American history they would have realized that the same slogan caused England her American colonies. Though in principle the Koreans were to be accorded the same treatment as other subjects of the Emperor, discrimination of the most flagrant character was practised against them everywhere. Koreans and Japanese were subject to two entirely different codes of legal procedure. The codes applying to

Koreans were severer, on the assumption that they needed severer penalties to bring about a desired result. For example, corporal punishment could be legally administered only to Koreans. Hence, if a Japanese was convicted of misdemeanour, he was imprisoned or fined. If a Korean was convicted of the same offence, he was flogged sometimes into insensibility. If a Japanese was killed by the Seoul street-railways, his family was paid two hundred Yen. If the victim was a Korean, the indemnity was half that sum. A Japanese common labourer received over half again as much pay as a Korean labourer engaged in the same task, and the same rule applied to skilled workmen and, for that matter, to government officials. While eleven years are allotted to Japanese youths for primary and secondary education, only eight years were allotted the Koreans. It has been suggested, incidentally that this discrimination in the curricula was the highest unintentional compliment the Japanese could pay the exceptional intellectual ability of the sons and daughters of Korea. Even more humiliating and degrading were the various forms of social discrimination practised against the Koreans. As staunch a defender of Japan's policy in Korea as Dr. George Gleason admits this in his book *What shall I think of Japan ?* "Nearly all Japanese assume an air of superiority towards the Koreans", he says. The great majority of Japanese treat the Koreans in personal intercourse as the dirt beneath their feet. A Japanese always takes his place, as by right, at the head of a waiting line at a post office, bank, or railway station. The Japanese coolie kicks or punches the Koreans who chances to stand in his way. The Japanese petty functionaries assume an air of hauteur and disdain in their dealings with the Koreans. Even the Korean nobles and princes of the royal house are treated with studied condescension. It is only fair to add, however, that this disregard of Korean susceptibilities is confined in the main to Japanese of the lower and middle-classes. Every nation has its gentlemen.*

Immediately upon annexation the peninsula was flooded with gendarmes, police, spies and informers, who promptly proceeded to inaugurate a reign of terrorism. On the pretext of searching for arms or seditious literature the police entered private residences

* See "Korea" by A. Powell, the famous war-correspondent.

without search-warrants, still further irritating the Koreans by invading the apartments of the women. Spies, usually local Koreans, were everywhere, adding to the general demoralization. No one knew when, or in what form, the most harmless acts or words might be reported to the authorities. Yet the Koreans had no appeal or views of opposition because, with no newspapers, they had no way of making themselves heard.

"In the peninsula," to quote again from the official "Annual Report", minor offences relating to gambling, bodily harm, etc., or to a violation of administration ordinance, which ordinarily come under the jurisdiction of the lowest courts, are adjudicated by the police, instead of by ordinary judicial procedure. Thus it will be seen that the police, in addition to their regular functions of crime prevention and the apprehension of criminals, were given judicial power. They could sentence prisoners to fines, flogging, imprisonment or exile. The extreme unwisdom of granting such wide powers to the police, who were totally incompetent to exercise them with discretion and who, to make matters worse were in the most part men of petty minds and narrow sympathies, requires no comment. Add to this the fact, of which there exists indubitable proof, that the police frequently tortured innocent persons in order to extract testimony from them, it will be seen that the Koreans had abundant ground for complaint.

That the police gendarmes and soldiers associated with them in the enforcement of the law led the Koreans to regard the police not as civil servants and protectors, but as oppressors. This feeling was intensified by the multitude of petty and vexatious regulations many of which the people could not understand, and by the harsh and indiscriminating manner in which they were administered. The records of the summary courts for 1915 show a total of 59,483 persons brought to trial and only seven acquitted. Dr. Gleason, who is strongly pro-Japanese in his sympathies, asserts that in the four years, 1913-16, 221,000 persons were tried and only 496 acquitted. In the report issued by the government for the year 1916-17 it is stated that out of 82,121 offenders dealt with "in police summary judgment", 81,139 were sentenced, 952 were pardoned, and only 30 were able to prove their innocence. Dr. Hugh C. Cynn, in his dispassionate and, on the whole, remarkably

religious book "The Re-birth of Korea", drily remarks that "either the Japanese police in Korea are so superior to those of all other nations in abdicating crime that they almost never run down any but the actual criminals, or the Koreans, when they get into the meshes of the police and gendarmes-interpreted ordinance, find it next to impossible to prove their innocence."

Instead of putting Korean interests first, Japan made the mistake of ruling the peninsula primarily for her own glory and the benefit of her own people. The Japanese settler, the Japanese trader, the Japanese concessionaire, were the men whose needs the government at Seoul studied and whose demands it heeded. The Koreans without influence and without protection and hampered by serious political disabilities and restrictions, could be exploited with impunity, provided the methods used were not too outrageous. Under the old Korean government the land was divided into four classes :*

1. Private lands, owned by individuals.
2. Crownlands, belonging to the Emperor but leased in perpetuity to private individuals.
3. Municipal lands, the titles to which were vested in the various Municipalities, but the practical ownership of which was in the hands of private individuals.
4. Lands belonging to the Buddhist temples.

Owners of private lands paid taxes to the government. Tenants of crownland paid rental to the royal household. Those occupying Municipal lands, paid fees to the respective Municipalities. The temple lands, which were held under a communistic party by the Buddhists, were exempt from taxation. The leasehold of these lands had acquired a value almost equal to that of land held in full possession. One of the first acts of the Japanese administration was to survey the country and expropriate all crown, municipal, and temple lands, on the ground that, as they did not belong to private individuals, they must be the property of the government. They were then turned over to a concern known as the Oriental Development Company, which was a government fostered organization for encouraging the immigration of Japanese into Korea. This company, by demanding gradual increased rentals from the Korean

* "Truth About Korea," by C. W. Kendall.

tenants, forced them to abandon the lands which they had tilled for generations in favour of government assisted Japanese settlers. The economic un wisdom of this policy is shown by the fact that, that some 400,000 Japanese have settled in the peninsula since the annexation, upward of 1,000,000 Koreans have gone into voluntary exile in Manchuria and Siberia because they could not stand the pressure thus brought to bear upon them. The repeated assertions of the Japanese that they went into Korea for the benefit of the Koreans, resembles the anecdote about the first ruler of the house of Hanover, George the First, who addressing his new subjects upon his arrival in England, assured them in his broken English, "I am here for your own good—for all your goods."

By virtue of article V of the Treaty of Annexation, which bound "the Emperor of Japan to confer peerages and monetary grants upon Koreans who on account of meritorious services, are regarded as deserving such special recognition," some seventy-two Koreans were made Counts, Viscounts, and Barons. Had Japan chosen for the new nobility those men who, by reason of their integrity, ability, and patriotism, held the respect of the Korean people, this measure would have met with popular approval. On the other hand, the leaders of the former progressive party, who were the real brains of the country, were proscribed and persecuted. As a result, many of them were forced to leave the country and the lives of those who remained were made miserable by espionage and bullying. Had these men, the real leaders of Korean public opinion, been treated in a tactful and friendly manner by the Japanese, been consulted on Korean problems, as England consulted and honoured her great Boer adversaries, Botha and Smuts; I am convinced that it would have done more than anything else to have won the confidence of the Korean people and to have brought peace and contentment to the new province. Instead of availing herself of their knowledge of Korea's needs and profiting by their advice, Japan made the mistake of driving them into exile or imprisoning them. In so doing she made martyrs of them in the eyes of their own people. What a pity that the Japanese, in their treatment of these men, could not have been blessed with the shrewd common sense of that English sovereign who, speaking of the

leader of a rebellious faction, said, "I would not let him make martyr of himself."

In the foregoing pages I have sketched in brief outline the methods by which Japan sought to assimilate the Korean people during the ten years following the annexation. In doing this I have tried to be absolutely fair. All the abuses which I have cited are fully substantiated by the final reports of the Government itself. Of certain other charges, which I have not been able to verify to my own satisfaction, I have made no mention. Viewing the question impartially, it appears to me that at the beginning of 1920, when Japan inaugurated a milder and more sympathetic rule in the peninsula, the Koreans had no less than a dozen distinct and justifiable grounds for complaint against the Japanese administration. These might be summed up as follows :

1. Taxation without representation.
2. Denial of freedom of the press, of speech, and of assembly.
3. Measures tending to the eventual extirpation of the Korean language.
4. Educational discrimination.
5. Interference with the religious activities of the people.
6. Abuse of power by the police.
7. Multiplicity of irritating laws and lack of judgment in their enforcement.
8. Expropriation of public land.
9. Economic pressure against Koreans.
10. Persecution of Korean Leaders.
11. Lack of tact, sympathy, and understanding on the part of Japanese officials.
12. Social discrimination.

By these methods the Japanese sought to remould their new subjects in their own image. But, much to their surprise and perturbation, they discovered in the Korean a character as hard, as obstinate, and as unyielding as their own. At every turn they found themselves confronted by that most baffling of all obstacles—passive resistance. Had the Japanese been far-sighted enough to treat the Koreans who are not a conquered race, as England treated the conquered Boers, there would have been a genuine amalgamation of the two peoples. And it is not a long step from amalgamation to assimilation. But the Japanese ignored this golden opportunity to win the loyalty and friendship of their new subjects. They entered on their task in a wrong spirit ; they were hampered by mistaken ideas. Failing utterly to under-

stand the Korean psychology, they assumed an attitude of contempt instead of sympathy. And without sympathy on the part of the governors for the governed, good government is impossible.* The Japanese insisted that the Koreans should speak their language, read their newspapers, follow their customs, lead their lives, even wear their clothing, in short permit themselves to be

re-made mentally, spiritually, and outwardly. That the complete break-down of this policy has been clearly recognized by the more progressive and discerning of the Japanese themselves is shown by the report of Mr. Kenosuke Morya, whom the Japanese constitutional party sent to Korea.

* "Korea's Fight For Freedom," by F. A. McKenzie.

Why Indians Should Come to France for Study

By ANIL K. DAS

IN view of the considerable increase in recent years in the number of Indian students in the universities and other educational establishments of France, it is probable that these institutions will, in the years immediately before us, occupy, for Indians, a still more important place than they occupy at present. They are now virtually indispensable for certain branches of study and research and for students of advanced attainments and special promise; the same may be said about the libraries and museums of France. We shall, therefore, in the present article, try to give some general information* concerning the educational facilities which France offers. We shall indicate as well the special advantages of study in France.

THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The French system of public instruction, different as it is from the British or the British Indian, is still a simple and logical construction easy to understand in its essentials. The following brief account of it will give the Indian student the information necessary for his orientation in the French academic world.

The French educational system is, first of all, a State system. All the French institutions of learning, universities, high schools

and primary schools, are manned by a body of State officials, trained, appointed, and supervised by the State under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Hence a public school teacher, a high school teacher and a university professor are all State officials, and are appointed only on presentation of degrees granted by the State. In France no one but the State can hold examinations that lead to degrees. There are, of course, private establishments as well, among them, not only primary and secondary schools, but also certain Catholic institutions for higher education; but these institutions themselves cannot grant the degrees for which they prepare, although the teachers there, are holders of State degrees attesting their ability to teach. Their students must, therefore, look to State examinations given by State institutions for the official sanction of their studies—for the degrees which open the door to certain careers. Some of the highly specialized independent schools, such as the "Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques", however, hold their own examinations and grant their own diplomas (*not degrees*), certifying simply that the holder has successfully completed a programme of studies offered by the school. Also the "Doctorat de l'Université" constitutes an exception, being awarded by the universities and not by the State.

The French system of education is essentially centralized, universities, as well as secondary and primary schools being administered from Paris. This unity and uniformity

* For details about any particular subject the reader is referred to the "Bulletin of Information" for Indian students coming to France, published by the "Association des Etudiants Hindous en France," copies of which can be had on application enclosing stamp for postage.

bear a certain resemblance to what exists among the high schools, colleges, etc. affiliated to the same university in India. In France, in the matter of holding examinations and conferring degrees, the State takes the place of the university in India. All the institutions of learning of the same rank have officially the same standing, regardless of their size and geographical position; and likewise, the degrees, no matter where granted have the same value and carry with them the same prestige.

French public instruction is divided into three classes: primary schools, secondary schools, and institutions of higher education (*enseignement supérieur*).

Primary education includes schools which resemble Indian high schools to a certain extent, but which teach no classical languages, and also the technical schools of lower grade, and the normal schools for the training of primary school teachers. Primary schools have more immediately practical ends than secondary institutions, where the training is more distinctively cultural, and where Latin and Greek have an important place in the curriculum. Tuition is free everywhere in the primary schools. In France primary and secondary education run parallel from beginning to end.

In the secondary schools tuition is not free. On passing a series of examinations at the end of his secondary school course, the student is awarded his bachelor's degree (*Baccalauréat*) which entitles him to become a candidate for university degrees. The standard of the "*Baccalauréat*" is similar to that of the I. Sc. or I. A.—perhaps in certain respects it approaches the B. A. or B. Sc. (pass course) standard of Indian universities, for example, the university of Calcutta.

French institutions of higher education include the seventeen universities and a number of highly specialized technical schools, such as "*l'Ecole Polytechnique*," "*l'Ecole Centrale*," "*l'Ecole des Mines*" etc.,

For the administration of the French system of education, France is divided into seventeen "*academies*." An "*academy*" is an administrative and territorial unit which comprises several of the political divisions—"departments" of France. At the head of each academy is a State official known as "*Recteur*" who represents in his territory the Minister of Public Instruction and has full authority in that territory over all three degrees of public instruction—primary, and secondary

as well as higher. He is also the administrative head of the university in his academy—the "*Recteur*" of that university.

The doctorates on the one hand, and the certificates given by the "*Summer Schools*" and "*Cours de Civilisation*" (explained below) on the other, French university recognition naturally takes the form of certificates or diplomas. It will suffice here to describe some of these which are typical.

DIPLOME D' ETUDES SUPÉRIEURES

It is possible to obtain this diploma in one year after pursuing certain courses and doing some independent research work. A thesis (which need not be printed) must be written in French, and defended.

LICENCE

Two years' time and the passing of four certificates are required for "*Lettres*" and three for "*Sciences*." The degree is called "*Licence-ès-Lettres*" or "*Licence-ès-Sciences*," according as it is given for literary or scientific studies. The standard is more or less like that of the B. A. (Hons.) or B. Sc. (Hons.) of British universities. No thesis is required.

Two doctorates are offered in French universities—the "*Doctorat d'Etat*" (*State Doctorate*) and the "*Doctorat de l'Université*" (*University Doctorate*). The former, with the "*licence*" and "*agrégation*," * opens certain careers to French citizens. Foreigners, though they take "*Doctorat d'Etat*" are not eligible to all posts to which it opens the door. The "*Doctorat de l'Université*" is usually meant for foreigners though sometimes French citizens, too, take it. A stay of at least two years at the university has recently been made compulsory for both the degrees.

ADVANTAGES AND FACILITIES

Down the long centuries, French universities have offered the most generous hospitality to students from the four corners of the earth, and have offered it gratuitously or for a song. The universities and establishments of higher education of France collectively and those of Paris particularly are recognized to be among the most important of existing institutions for higher studies and research.

* "*Agrégation*"—It is a diploma that entitles a Frenchman to become a teacher in a secondary school. Foreigners, however, have no interest in it.

Paris, still the intellectual centre of the world, affords rich educational facilities in almost all fields, and incomparable opportunities in some—for example, in the Romance languages and literatures, in international law, and in the history and criticism of Art and in training for the practice of Art. The university towns of France often rival Paris in this or that field of study and supplement it in all fields. The provincial universities are some of them—Montpellier for example—amongst the oldest in the world and most of them have a long past. There are sixteen of these institutions, each bearing the name of the town in which it is situated. Certain university towns have very important museums of art or antiquities, and well-stocked libraries, and, in or near all of them are historical monuments of great interest and beauty. A word regarding some of these towns, with a view to indicate the tempting varieties of their appeal may not be out of place here.

AIX-MARSEILLES

Marseilles is five hundred odd miles to the south of Paris and Aix-en-Provence nearly eighteen miles to the north of the former city. Aix and Marseilles divide the university between them. Aix has faculties of law and letters, Marseilles the faculty of science and the school of medicine. During his travels in southern France the present writer was never more struck by anything else than by the violent contrast which exists between the noise and the stir of Marseilles and the tranquillity of Aix, the old capital of Provence. Its ancient mansions and public buildings, built of stone of golden hue, saturated with southern warmth and sunlight; its dusty streets; the rich green of the trees; its bright gardens; the easy and leisurely movement of the city's life—all these give it the full charm typical of the old towns of Provence. Within easy reach are other famous cities and towns of the Midi—Arles, Nîmes, Avignon, Orange, Sainte-Baume, Les Baux, Montmajour, Pont-du-Gard, Martigues called "La Venise provençale" etc.

CLERMONT-FERRAND

The historical and intellectual capital of Auvergne, Clermont is surrounded by the mountains of the central plateau of France. Within easy reach are famous watering-places and points of historic interest. The country

around is beautiful and varied in landscape. Immediately about the city itself is a range of extinct volcanoes possessing a startling picturesqueness.

GRENOBLE

"The snow-capped Alps of the Dauphiné, by their varied sporting resources and on the score of their natural beauty, make of this charming city, held in the silver loop of the River Isère, a most attractive spot for foreigners." It is cold and dry in winter and the summer climate is simply charming.

CAEN

Some hundred and forty miles to the west of Paris is Caen, the "Athens of the North," after Rouen, the most interesting town of Normandy. It prides itself upon the beauty of its ancient churches, the collections of its museums and its past guided by art and letters.

The universities of France have certain peculiar advantages regarding their summer schools. These summer schools are in session for three or four months between the end of June and November, and attract annually hundreds of foreign professors and students who come here for perfecting their knowledge of French. Some of these summer schools are held in towns in which the universities that organize them are situated. This is the case with the schools of Besançon, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, Nancy, Paris, and Strasbourg. The other summer schools add one more element of variety to the appeal of the provincial universities, since they are not in the university towns themselves. Lille has its school by the sea at Boulogne-sur-Mer; Poitiers has its thriving school in the heart of the "Chateau Country" at Tours; Rennes chooses for its summer courses Saint-Servan on the sea-shore near St. Malo; in the heart of the Pyrenees, at Bagnères-de-Bigorre, a pleasant summer resort, are the courses of Toulouse.

The French universities, as well as the faculties and schools which constitute them, enjoy a large measure of autonomy, which has tended to differentiate them one from another, and has greatly promoted their intellectual activity. Further, each university in addition to its regular functions as a national institution of higher education, devotes special attention to the study of its immediate region, its history, its speech, its

economic conditions, etc., and thereby acquires its special individuality.

Besides devoting a due share of their energies to the traditional instruction, the universities devote an increasingly larger attention to research and to the application of science and scholarship to the needs of the modern world. These activities have led to the organization of the Institutes which, formed by assembling all the facilities which a given university can furnish for some special line of study, have, particularly in the field of Applied Sciences, developed into Professional and Technical schools of the first rank.

With two exceptions (Besançon and Clermont-Ferrand, which have no Faculty of Law), all the universities of France have Faculties of Letters, Science, Law, and Faculties or Schools of Medicine and Pharmacy. The Faculties of Letters give instruction in Philosophy, Philology, Language, Literature, History, Geography, Educational Science and related subjects. The Faculties of Law give instruction not only in Law but also in Political Economy, Finance, and related subjects. The institutions devoted to Medicine and Pharmacy are variously organized as Faculties of Medicine, Schools of Pharmacy, Combined Faculties (*Facultés Mixtes*) of Medicine and Pharmacy, and Practical Schools (*Ecoles de Plein Exercice*) of Medicine and Pharmacy, all of these giving complete courses or as Preliminary Schools (*Ecoles Préparatoires*) of Medicine and Pharmacy, which give only the instruction corresponding to the first three years of Medicine and the first two of Pharmacy.

Most of the French universities have organized, during the academic year, special courses in French for foreigners. These courses cover a period of four months each, the first semester beginning early in November, the second on the 1st of March. The university of Paris has organized courses called "Cours de Civilisation Française" especially for foreigners. They are held at the Sorbonne (the name for the buildings in which are situated the Faculties of Science and Letters of the University of Paris). They are not language courses but are designed to give a bird's-eye-view of French literature from the Middle Ages to the present, of French history, of French art, science and ideas—in short, as the title of the courses implies, a survey of French civilization. They constitute an admirable

initiation into the various fields in which the French genius has excelled.

PARIS—ITS SPECIAL ADVANTAGES

One of the vivid impressions borne in upon the visiting student is that all Paris is electric with intellectual activity, a very clearing-house of the world's ideas. Beyond the walls of universities and libraries, there is a rich fringe of opportunities that supplement all kinds of organized instruction. No student can spend an academic year in Paris without benefiting by a variety of precious activities beyond anything that academic curricula make provision for. Meetings of French academies and learned societies, hospitable to the learned or studious stranger, are for ever in session. The remarkable courses of the Collège de France, an institution for the promotion of science and scholarship by investigation and dissemination of the results of research by lectures and publications, are open to the public without any charge of formality. The Bibliothèque Nationale, one of the world's richest libraries and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève keep their doors open for all kinds of students. The free evening lectures of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, an institution devoted to teaching the application of science and art to industry, are of great interest to all students of science. The Institute of Radium directed by Mme. Curie, the Institute of Applied Optics under the direction of Professor Charles Fabry, the X-Ray Institute of the Duc de Broglie, the Institute of Meteorology, the Astronomical Observatory at Meudon (within easy reach of Paris) directed by the celebrated astronomer and physicist M. H. Deslandres, the Institute of Aerotechnics and above all the "Institut d'Ethnologie" and hundred other institutes form some of the special features of Paris in the field of pure and applied sciences.

No less remarkable are the activities of Paris in other fields of learning. Most of the best institutes for historical, archaeological, and other studies are in Paris. No other country can compare with France in the number and wealth of her anthropological and archaeological museums. No nation from the day of Cuvier, the father of Paleontology, up to the present has done as much as France to advance the study of vertebrate fossils. A course in this subject is offered in the Faculty of

Science of the university of Paris. Also the "Institut de Paleontologie Humaine" gives free lectures and courses. As a centre for archaeological study Paris is unsurpassed. Instruction is given and research can be advantageously pursued there in almost all branches of the subject—Oriental, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, French, etc.

In the field of social sciences Paris offers remarkable facilities. The "Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales" offers annually a series of lectures of great value. Social doctrines of every tendency are presented in full liberty, and often by those who represent them with authority. Anybody may enter the school without any troublesome formalities. There are other schools devoted exclusively or partially to similar ends, among which the "Ecole Interalliée des Hautes Etudes Sociales" deserves special mention.

The French capital is the art centre of the world. The artistic resources of Paris, for students of art in general, are incomparably above those of any other city. There are not only the many rich museums, private collections and historic monuments that represent the great artistic achievements and traditions of the past, but there are also unnumbered exhibitions, retrospective and contemporary, held under the auspices of societies or seen in the shops of the dealers. Schools and academies teaching all branches of art are numerous in Paris. Paris is a great musical and dramatic centre too.

Paris has a charm and a practical as well as sentimental appeal to the student, the artist, the man of letters and the savant, which no other of the world's cities can rival. It has the secret of creating the atmosphere in which artists and intellectuals breathe most freely, are most at home, and work most happily and to the best advantage. A portion of the city is virtually consecrated to them.

The section of Paris called the Quartier Latin, which students and artists regard as their own domain preserves even to this day the spell it had for all Europe in the twelfth century. To-day it bears no striking resemblance to the "Bohème" of Henri Murger but still, even the man with the most modest pretention to culture cannot walk unmoved on the mount of Sainte Geneviève and its slopes. On the top of that little eminence is the Panthéon, and below, within a stone's throw are the university of Paris, the Collège de France, the Polytechnique, the Ecole Normale,

the Odéon and its book-stalls, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Luxembourg Garden with its shaded alleys, flowered terraces and noble prospects where the student in any field of science or art loses himself in transports of imagination as he enjoys its cool shade and soft sunlight.

Apart from all these advantages the very atmosphere of Paris has something that inspires an international spirit. Indians of a critical turn cannot fail to notice that the Indian student is usually a man of narrow prejudices and limited views. He is sure to derive much benefit from a stay in the perfectly free atmosphere of Paris where he will learn to understand the mentality of other people. There he will observe for himself the contact or shock of opposing currents of thought and sentiment, of opposing theories of life and art. All this makes a student's sojourn intensely and variously stimulating and renders him liberal and cosmopolitan in ideas and at the same time critical and penetrating in his judgment of things. It is not only students directly concerned with politics, international law and the like who benefit in the way just indicated, but even those engaged in fields of work seemingly far removed from affairs and politics are consciously or unconsciously, indoors and out, by the books and papers they read and by endless daily contacts, familiarizing themselves with ways of thinking and feeling and with points of view not their own, for the student in Paris is pretty certain to be brought into personal relations with representatives of other nations as well as the French.

SOCIAL POSITION OF FOREIGNERS IN FRANCE

Now a word must be said about the social position of the foreigners in France, for the agreeableness of a student's sojourn in a foreign country depends very much on his relations with his teachers and the people around.

The French savant is a humanist in the broad sense of the term—his pre-occupations are not with the abstract and the supra-mundane. Whether scientist or scholar, the typical French savant is a perfect stranger to pedantry and never hyper-serious. He carries the weight of his learning with a certain gaiety and nonchalance that suit him well. One recognizes in him a man, who, in a commercial age prizes the liberty of giving himself up to finer activities of the mind

and spirit above the allurements of fortune. Foreign students can never fail to admire their French professors.

Another special advantage of study in France is that the foreigner never feels that he is in a strange land. His colour or race does in no way come in his way. In any case the coloured man, Asiatic or African, has the same freedom of movement as anybody else. We have never heard of a single case in which an Indian or other Oriental has been shut out from a restaurant, dancing-hall, or any other public place.

To conclude, whatever might be said of French educational advantages, it is certain that France is a country variously lovely and appealing; that its people have the charm that is proverbially theirs; that Paris is a splendid city which does not consist simply of the Montmartre and where one can get the best facilities for serious work; and that the Indian student will return from his French sojourn the richer by many memories of a delightful experience and will become a centre of influence whence ideas and sentiments will radiate widely.

The Visit of the Poet to Canada

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE visit of the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, to the Educational Conference at Vancouver, at the invitation of the Canadian National Council of Education, was an amazing triumph of a spiritual personality from beginning to end. British Columbia is a part of Canada, that has been noted for many generations as a place where anti-Asiatic feeling is at its worst. All down the Pacific coast this feeling exists; and it was in one sense a venture of faith on the part of the organizers of the Conference to invite the Indian poet. Race prejudice is so fanatical and irrational that it might have broken out at any moment, even in the presence of one so august and saintly as Rabindranath Tagore.

But from first to last, among the Canadians, there was not a trace of it. On the contrary, Tagore's personality dominated the whole Conference in a most remarkable manner; and he was easily the outstanding figure in it, whom everyone went to see and hear, and reverence for his goodness.

In these notes I can only give the impression he made on all. It is that of one who came, as it were, from another world of spiritual peace and harmony and beauty and truth. Everyone felt this and the signs of it were manifest. There was reverence in the street crowd as he went

by, as if the figure of Christ were passing along the street. People unbared their heads in reverence, as an instinct which could only be immediately obeyed. Many told me, who were hard-headed people, not used to emotion, that they had never had such a spiritual impression before in all their lives, or such a realization of the Unseen.

The most beautiful thing of all was the way in which mothers wished to bring their little children, that he might put his hands upon their head and give them his blessing. Again and again, such mothers came to his door in the hotel, or waited for him in the street. One widow came with her little child of five, who looked with his great wide open eyes in wonder at the poet. When the poet saw him, he was evidently moved and put his hand on the child's head to give him his blessing. When the poor widow came out, she was weeping tears of joy. She said to me, that this was the greatest day in all her life, and that, her one child was all the world to her. The little boy was still filled with child-like wonder and said to me with grave eyes,—"Is he Jesus?" I could only say in answer, "He is like Jesus; and he loves little children."

It would be almost incredible, if it were not actually true, to recount the number of those who came to listen to him and

comparatively small population. Victoria, on Vancouver Island, where he gave his first lecture, is a small town of about 40,000 inhabitants. Yet on a very wet night, in addition to the two thousand who obtained tickets and got admission, there were 3,000 who waited outside eager to pay for a seat, if any should be vacated at the last moment. At one time the crush was so great that several women in the crowd fainted and ambulances were needed. The pitiless rain came down and still they waited, hour after hour, at least to get a glance of the poet, even if they could not gain admission to his lecture.

At Vancouver itself, on the mainland, the crowd was still greater. It extended in a long line for nearly a quarter of a mile down one of the main streets. The newspapers estimated it at 5,000 people. On the third and last occasion, when he spoke, the same thing happened again. The crowd began to collect at 3 P.M. in the afternoon, although he was not to speak till a quarter to ten that night! The rain again, on this occasion, came down in torrents, hour after hour; and yet the people waited there under their umbrellas. It was a sight I have never seen before. Twice over, I went out in the pouring rain to see the crowd. It was patient, good-humoured and determined. Yet, in the end, not one in fifty of those who waited got in. The poet's speech was put on the radio and was perfectly heard. Many who could not get in went quickly home and heard him over the radio.

All this was happening in what has often been described as the most 'anti-Asiatic' city on the Pacific coast; in the very place that had been the scene of the 'Komagata Maru' incident. This was the crowning wonder.

One pathetic disappointment awaited the crowd. After his last lecture, the poet was too ill to go back to Victoria in order to take part in the Sikh festival on the Baisakhi Day. It had been announced on the programme that he was going. A ferry boat had to steam across the channel to

the Island. So the crowd were certain that they would be able to see him, when he went down to the ferry boat to go across and they had collected in large numbers to see him. But their disappointment was very great indeed when I had to tell them that he had been too ill to come.

What did it all mean? It was certainly a triumph of Soul Force. Nothing else could have produced such an effect. I feel certain also, that there was something in it of repentance for the bad things that had been done against Asiatics in the past and that it betokened the dawn of a better day.

This same feeling of a new dawn of better feeling I had already experienced in South Africa at the reception of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, but it was not to the same degree or in quite the same manner. At the same time, I cannot tell how delighted I was to hear the news that Sir J. C. Bose had been invited to go to South Africa this year, for I am certain that his visit will increase the good effect. What I have been learning is this, that in these very areas where race prejudice had before been the most fanatical, the reaction also has been the most remarkable. The wheel has come round full circle, and the swing has carried people far beyond the point they ever thought to go. It is by definitely facing these dark spots, and going bravely forward, that the great victory will be won at last.

What the cost has been to the poet himself none but those who were with him can tell. The exhaustion after each supreme effort on the platform was extreme. He was evidently ill—ill sometimes beyond our comprehension with pain and suffering, and weariness and depression. He was not to go away, also, without touch of racial prejudice. On his way across the border into the United States, he saw, from his own treatment, what his own fellow-countrymen have to suffer. He tried to make light of it, but it was a dark and bitter experience. Nevertheless, it was the only single shadow during a visit which itself was an astounding moral victory.

Land Surveying and the Early History of its Development

By R. L. BANERJI

Principal, Bengal Survey School

"Land Surveying is the oldest of the applied Sciences."

—J. Park.

THE art of surveying must have had a beginning, however modest, as soon as civilization began to dawn and men formed settlements and acquired property. Its later development is connected with the kindred sciences of mathematics, astronomy, geography and navigation. Many of the problems which arose in it were more or less closely connected with these various subjects; and the history of the one is largely the history of the other, the progress made in each often materially assisting the advancement of all.

The word geometry is derived from two Greek words, signifying earth-measure or land-measure, and from this it may readily be assumed that geometry had its origin in attempts to measure exactly certain portions of the earth's surface. Some fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, land surveying had already reached a high degree of exactitude. According to records inscribed on Babylonian tablets, the ancient Chaldean surveyor defined the boundaries by the application of geometrical principles. He knew the 3: 4: 5 ratios of the sides of a right-angled triangle, and set off the distances with a standardized measuring rod. So the theory of right-angled triangle was known to the Chaldean surveyor about one thousand years before Pythagoras (530 B.C.) and twelve hundred years before Euclid.

We are, however, able to trace the simple beginnings of the art of surveying and mapping more than five thousand years ago. It originated in Egypt or Babylonia, where the obliteration of the landmarks by the seasonal inundations necessitated the frequent rectification of the boundaries. The lands were divided into small holdings; and intensive cultivation was carried on by a teeming peasantry. Herodotus also tells us

that surveying had its origin in Egypt, which arose out of the necessity for fixing the boundaries of properties and interests after the annual inundation of the Nile, which left the whole delta covered with a thick deposit of mud washed down from the mountains of Abyssinia. In his introduction to the first English edition of Euclid (1570 A.D.) Dr. John Dee says, "Upon these and such like occasions, some by ignorance, some by negligence, some by fraud, and some by violence, did wrongfully limit, measure and encroach, or challenge by pretence of just content and measure, those lands and grounds; and so, great loss, disquietness, murder and war did full oft ensue, till by God's mercy and man's industry, the perfect science of lines, planes and solids, like a divine justiciar, gave unto every man his own."

In the British Museum there is preserved a papyrus written by an Egyptian priest, Ahmes, and headed "Directions for obtaining a knowledge of all dark things." This papyrus which was written about 1700 B. C. acknowledges itself to be based upon an older work of much earlier period. It describes the process of setting out boundaries and measuring land, as well as the general principles of arithmetic and geometry, and the mensuration of the simpler solids. A similar work, but of a more advanced character was the Chin-Chang or collection of arithmetical rules collected by order of the Emperor Hwang-ti about 2637 B. C., which consisted of nine sections and two hundred and forty-six problems.

The first section (Fang-tien) deals with surveying problems, the third section (Shang-kung), deals with the mensuration of solids, the ninth treats of the Pythagorean proposition. It is interesting to note that the value of "pie" is taken as 3 throughout this work.

There are actually preserved a sufficient number of maps and charts to enable us to

form an estimate of the nature of these early maps. Even if none of them remained, the very necessity for their construction would lead us to presuppose their existence.

In the British Museum there is a plan of the city of Susa (mentioned in the Bible) which is as old as the 7th century B. C. A still earlier map exists in the museum at Cairo showing the basin of lake Moeris on the Nile, with its canal and the town on its borders, with information concerning them. At Turin there is a map of 1370 B. C., which gives a rough representation of the frontier of the Nubian gold-mines, worked by Rameses II (see "Maps and Map Making" Royal-Geo. Soc., Reeves). Several cartographical clay tablets depicting estates and properties, discovered in Babylonia are still more ancient. An ancient Chaldean document in the Louvre shows a plan of an acropolis accompanied with a scale of about 1 in 2300. As early as about 1330 to 1300 B. C., the Egyptians had made a cadastral survey of their country, and it was probably from such a map that Eratosthenes (a native of Cyrene born in 276 B. C.) took the length of his meridional arc between Syene and Alexandria in order to calculate the earth's size. Anaximander of Miletus attempted to construct a rough map of the world in the sixth century B. C. (fragments of which were preserved by Hecataeus), additions and improvements being made up to the time of Ptolemy (150 A. D.), whose map was for a long time accepted as the standard. These maps were constructed on scientific principles but because of the inaccuracy of the measured distances and because Ptolemy reckoned one degree as equivalent to 50 geographical miles, the actual distances on his map were considerably in error. The distance from Spain to China westward was too small by about 4,000 miles. This error is said to have encouraged Columbus to reach China by the westward route.

In the Peutinger Table we have an example of a Roman route map from Britain across Europe to the eastern boundary of the Roman Empire, showing the country and town on each side of the main route (see "The Story of Geographical Discovery"—Jacobs).

The earliest measurements were naturally linear, and were made with a rod and line. Thus we read 'And behold, there was man with a line of flax in his hand... and in the

man's hand a measuring reed of six cubits long by the cubit and an hand breadth; so he measured the breadth of the building, one reed, and the height, one reed.'*

The earliest attempt at angular measurement was the taking of the sun's altitude by means of the shadow cast by a vertical pillar or stick. Observations of this kind were common in China and other countries at a remote period. The ancient method of the Hindus of determining the apparent time by measuring the length of one's own shadow was also based on the sun's altitude. Thales measured the height of the Pyramids by comparing the length of the shadow cast by them with that of a vertical rod.

The gnomon was the earliest instrument constructed on this principle, for determining time and latitude, and consisted in its simple form of a vertical rod. Its invention is some times ascribed to Anaximander (612 B. C.), but it appears to have been in use much earlier than this among the Chaldeans who were the greatest astrologers of antiquity and among the Chinese. Aristarchus developed the gnomon into his scaph which consisted of a vertical rod fixed at the centre of a hemispherical bowl, the height of the rod being equal to its radius. Circles drawn concentrically on the bowl gave the angular altitude of the sun direct from the shadow of the rod. The scaph was probably the first angle-measuring instrument with a graduated circle. Pytheas the Massilian who discovered Britain about 330 B. C. and fixed the latitude of Marseilles to one minute of arc, probably used a gnomon or a scaph for his observations.

That the important mines of the ancient Greeks necessitated the solution of mine-surveying problems is shown by the fact that such problems are fully discussed by Hero of Alexandria (B. C. 285-222), several of whose works are extant. The greatest advance in survey practice made by Hero was his invention of the dioptra.

In 1880 some boys while bathing in the pool of Siloam at Jerusalem discovered a tablet 27 inches square at the north end of a tunnel which was made in the reign of Hezekiah, or possibly even in the time of Solomon. The inscription on the tablet now known as the Siloam inscription, is in the oldest type of Hebrew writing. Professor Sayce translated the inscription which reads as follows:

* Ezekiel, Ch. XI. 3.

"(Behold) the excavation. Now this is the story of the tunnel. While the miners were still lifting up the pick towards each other, and while there were yet three cubits (to be broken), the voice of one called to his neighbour, for there was an excess in the rock on the right. They rose up—they struck on the west of the tunnel; the miners struck each to meet the other pick to pick. And there flowed the waters from their outlet to the pool for twelve hundred cubits, and (three-quarters) of a cubit was the height of the rocks over the heads of the miners."

From this inscription, it is evident that the tunnel was begun from the two ends. The pool of Siloam is supplied with water from the so-called spring of the Virgin, the only natural spring near Jerusalem, by this tunnel driven in the rock. The tunnel is 1708 feet and it does not run in a straight line nor are the ends on the same level. It is curious that in spite of its winding, the workmen almost succeeded in meeting at the middle. They approached, indeed, so nearly to one another that the noise made by the picks of one party of miners was heard by the other, and the parting of rock was accordingly holed. It suggests that instruments for determining direction and for levelling purposes were in use long before Hero, otherwise it is difficult to understand how in working the above-referred tunnel the workmen effected a junction at the middle.

Timocharis and Aristillus (280 B. C.) set up instruments at Alexandria and fixed the position of the stars with sufficient accuracy to enable Hipparchus (about 130 B. C.) to discover the procession of the equinoxes. These instruments were probably similar to Hero's dioptra.

Other instruments in use at this time for determining angles, were the triquetrum, the astrolabe, and the quadrant. The triquetrum is illustrated in a work of the famous Tycho Brahe and was used by Copernicus in his celebrated planetary observations. The astrolabe of Hipparchus which was perfected by the Arabs and introduced into Europe by them, consisted in its simple form of a metal circle suspended from a ring, and furnished with a movable arm carrying sights, by means of which altitudes could be observed. This instrument was the constant companion of the medieval astrologers and navigators, and many small specimens can be seen in the

South Kensington Museum and elsewhere. Chaucer wrote his "Conclusions of the Astrolabe" in 1391. The early quadrant with plumb-line was the precursor of the modern sextant. It was essentially an astrolabe, and was probably in use at a very early period. In the "Margarita Philosophica" (1535) a coloured plate represents Ptolemy taking an observation with such a quadrant. These instruments were used by the surveyors as well, as the old books indicate, but in any case they were the precursors of the more accurate instruments which are employed by them to-day.

Among the Romans surveying was considered as a liberal art; and the measurement of lands was entrusted to public officers (*Agrimensores*), who enjoyed several privileges. Their methods were probably similar to those used to-day in plane surveying. Old records and title-deeds show areas and boundary lines with considerable accuracy, and the Romans are the first to have left evidence of the construction of plans to scale from actual measurements, as in the plan of Rome preserved on an ancient pavement. It is difficult, however, to suppose that the Greeks had not also made plans to scale in connection with their buildings, though there appears to be no direct evidence of this. The earliest example of a scale plan proper is the plan of the Abbey of St. Gall, drawn in 820 A. D., and preserved in the archives of the monastery. (*L'Architecture monastique—L'Albert Lenoir*, 1852). A drawing of the Priory of Canterbury by the monk Edwin in 1130 shows the building in plan and elevation.

In setting out short lines the Romans appear to have employed instruments similar to the "circumferentor." Vitruvius in his treatise on Architecture shows a water level which could also be used to measure vertical delineation.

About this period the magnet was introduced into Europe from the East. Its discovery is rather obscure, but in all probability it originated in China. At any rate, as far back as 2,600 B. C. the Chinese possessed knowledge of the lodestone or leading stone which they called the stone of love. According to Dr. Medhurst, in the reign of the Emperor Chingwang, (1114 B. C.), when ambassadors came to Peking from Cochin-China the Chinese minister presented them on their return with five close carriages in which were instruments which always pointed to the south. The

Chinese called the magnet *ting-nan-ching* or the needle which points to the south, and they put the pointer on the south end. The magnetic needle is definitely referred to in a Chinese dictionary completed in 121 A. D. in which the lodestone is defined as "a stone with which an attraction can be given to a needle."

Purchas in his "Pilgrims" (1625 A. D.), says that "the Portugals at their first entry of the Indian seas found the compasse amongst the Moors, together with Cards and Quadrants to observe both the Heavens and the Earth. And Vertomannus about the same time travelled with them over the Arabian deserts to Mecca and Medina." No mention is made of the magnetic needle in Europe at any earlier date.

The attractive power of the lodestone was known to Plato and Euripides, and it was known to Lucretius that this attraction could be communicated to iron, but the knowledge of the magnetic needle was probably brought from the East by the crusaders. The earliest known reference to it in the West is by Alex. Neckam ("De Utensilibus") in the 12th century, and Guyot de Provence, a minstrel crusader in 1190 A. D. distinctly mentions it in his poem "Le Bible."

The earliest description of a pivoted needle in a box with sights is that of Pierre de Maricourt. The placing of the compass card below the needle appears to have originated with Stevinus of Bruges about 1595 A. D. The pivoted needle is said to have been invented by an Italian, John Goria of Malfi.

The cross-staff was first described by Levi ben Gerson, a Babylonian Jew in 1342 A. D. This cross-staff consisted of a graduated bar on which slid cross-pieces, three or four in number, set at right angles to it, one half of each cross-piece being on either side of the bar. When this was held so that the upper and lower ends of the cross-piece were in the lines connecting the eye with the objects viewed, the angle subtended was determined by the ratio of the length of the cross-piece to the length of the graduated bar. A specimen of a back-staff is on view in the Kensington Museum. A description of it is given in the "Seamen's Secrets" (1594 A.D.) by John Davis, who used it in his Arctic explorations. The back-staff was a development of the cross-staff. The altitude of the sun was observed by reflection with this.

In 1523, the art of printing having been recently introduced, "The Booke of Surveying" was printed by Richard Pynson. In 1577 appeared "The most profitable and commendable Science of Surveying, drawen and collected by the Industrie of Valentine Leigh, where unto is also connected a right necessarie treatise of the measuring of all Kyndes of Lande, be it Meadow, Pasture, Errable, Wood, Hill, or Dale, and that as well by certain easie and Compendious Rules as also by an exact and beneficialle Table, purposely drawen and devised for that behalfe." But although these Tables are "most necessarie, commodious and pleasaunt, and moste gentle Reader, marveilous breief and fruitfull," their value has been lost upon an ungrateful posterity.

This early treatise of Leigh makes clear that at the time he wrote, line and rod were used for measurement of land, "the line beyng foure perches of length and every perche ende a knot, would be well seared with hoate Waxe and Rosen, to avoide stretching thereof in the Wete, and Shrinking in the drought." From the above we find that the 66 feet long line was used for measurement of the land long before the Gunter's chain was invented.

Angular instruments first began to be used in surveying about this time. In the "Pantometria" of Digges (1571) there occurs for the first time the word "Theodolitus" whose origin has been the despair of lexicographers. From the illustration and description given in Chapter XXVII of Pantometria the theodolitus appears to be a circle divided into 360 degrees, and each degree into three or six parts. It has a rotating arm or alidade with sights, and appears to have been used for measurement of horizontal angles. Col. Lanssedat attributed the originality of the theodolitus to Digges. But Digges himself in his "Tectomicon" disclaims it. Hopton in his "Theodolite or topographical glasses" (1611 A. D.) describes it as an instrument consisting of a planisphere and an "alhidada", whilst Bourne in "Treasure for Travellers" says that the instrument had but one circle which could be horizontal or vertical. The evolution of the theodolite seems to be indicated by the quadrant of Tycho Brahe (1546-1601 A.D.) a facsimile of which is preserved in the collection at the South Kensington Museum. This consists of a quadrant mounted on a large horizontal graduated circle, and which was, therefore, essentially a theodolite without

a telescope. In the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers in Paris there is an old English theodolite with alidade, and sights on the vertical circle. The instrument was probably developed in England and was brought to its present form by Jonathon Sisson, who also invented the present type of level near the end of the 17th century.

The plane-table or plain-table, as it was then spelt was developed by Praetorius in Germany in about 1590. A complete description of the plane-table is given in "Die Nachricht von den nurnbergischen Math. und Kunstlern." The theodolite is first described as a surveying instrument along with the "plain-table and circumferentor" by Aaron Rathbone (1616). His illustration on the title-page shows that the instrument had then horizontal and vertical circles, the latter carrying an alidade with sight vanes.

Scientific surveying may be said to date from 1615, when Snellius, a Dutch geometer instituted the system of triangulation from a carefully measured base in order to measure an arc of the meridian. This problem was first attempted by Eratosthenes (born 276 B. C.) and many attempts were also made by later investigators, but it was not until Snell adopted the method of triangulation that any great dependence could be placed on the results obtained.

Snellius took the horizontal angles with a graduated semi-circle of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter, but without telescope, whilst latitudes were observed with a quadrant of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter. Picard in France followed the triangulation method initiated by Snell, and in order to measure the length of a meridional arc, he measured his base-line by ranging wooden rods in line end to end. In this way he computed the length of one degree of the meridian, and it was the correction introduced by him that enabled Newton to confirm his theory of universal gravitation. Newton believed that, due to centrifugal action of the Earth's mass when in a fluid condition, it assumed the form of an oblate spheroid. The French Academy of Sciences, however, in 1718 after extending the arc of Picard, decided that the earth was probably prolate in form, and to establish this truth, sent out expeditions to Peru and Lapland in 1736, in order to measure the length of meridional arcs as near as possible to the Equator and Pole when the difference would be largest. The results, published in 1738, confirmed the view of Newton.

Invention of Steam-engines has caused great refinement in the construction of surveying instruments.

The idea of rapid distance measurement i.e., tacheometry or stadia surveying, seems to have started with Montanari in 1674. He placed twelve to fifteen hairs at equal distances apart and parallel to one another, in a sight-tube. Distances one chain apart were measured on the ground, and the number of hairs covering a fixed length on a vertical rod were observed. But the method was not properly developed and much employed until the Bavarian surveys were started in 1810.

Though it is difficult to trace any old record, it is evident from the fact that astronomy and navigation, mathematics and other kindred sciences were in a state of perfection, that the art of surveying was practised by the ancient Hindus. Ram Raz in his work "Essays on the Architecture of the Hindus" published in London in 1834 described the ancient Hindu Architecture in detail. The holy Rishi Agastya wrote a treatise on architecture. Others were also composed in ancient times, which collectively were called Silpa-Sastra, but few traces of them remain. One called Manasara, on the building of sacred edifices and others, is extant.

Mr. Reuben Burrow, an experienced marine surveyor and an accomplished mathematician, contributed several papers to the "Asiatic Researches" in which he proved that the ancient Hindus had Binomial Theorem.*

Aryabhatta, the Hindu sage who wrote "Surya-Siddhanta," must have flourished before the 6th century. He affirmed the diurnal revolution of the earth and calculated the earth's circumference to be 25,080 miles. He possessed the true theory of lunar and solar eclipses. He is said to be the earliest author that is known to have treated of Algebra. In his "Surya-Siddhanta" he deduced from observation the values of the mean motions of the sun, moon and planets, and of their apsides and nodes.

Varahamihira, another astronomer, flourished in the generation after Aryabhatta. The names of Khana and Lilavati are too well known in the mathematical world to be mentioned here again.

Brahmagupta who wrote in 628 A. D. set himself the task of correcting the earlier

* "A proof that the Hindoos had the Binomial theorem." *Asiatic Researches*, II.

system which had ceased to agree with the phenomena, and of reconciling computation and observation. His "Brahma-Siddhanta," in 21 chapters, contains calculations of the mean motions and true places of the planets, of lunar and solar eclipses, of the rising and setting of planets, of the position of the moon's cusps, and of observations of altitudes by the gnomon.

Bhaskara, a later astronomer, completed his work on Algebra, Arithmetic, and Mensuration in about 1150 A. D.

The systems of the earlier of the ancient Hindu sages were communicated to the astronomers of the court of the Abbasside Caliph Al Mamun of Baghdad, and the knowledge came back again to India with the descendants of Timur.

Ulugh-Beg, the grandson of Timur was a great astronomer and the Timuride Emperors at Delhi boasted of this famous astronomer among their collateral ancestors. But none of the family had since turned their attention to the subject, and it was from among the Rajput princes, whose valour was the main support of the Delhi throne, that the greatest astronomer since the days of Aryabhatta was to rise. This prince was Jai Singh who succeeded as Raja of Dhondar in 1699. He was famous as a general and statesman, but above all, as a man of science. In 1728 he founded his new capital Jaipur, the only town in India which is built on a regular plan, with streets bisecting at right angles. Jai Singh found that the instruments formerly in use for astronomical observations were not up to his standard of accuracy; consequently he invented enormous instruments of his own of masonry work. To confirm and check the truth of the observations he formed five observatories each with a complete set of instruments, at Delhi, Jaipur, Muttra, Benares and Ujjain.

Ujjain was the prime meridian of the Hindu geographers. Jai Singh observed the latitude of Ujjain observatory to be $23^{\circ} 10' 24''$ N. He also observed the obliquity of the ecliptic to be $23^{\circ} 28'$ in 1728. Jai Singh also had Napier's logarithm and Euclid translated into Sanskrit.

Eratosthenes mentioned that the route of an eastern prince is always measured by persons attending *the camp for that purpose*. He wrote that according to such measure the distance of Palibothra from the Western extreme of India was 10,000 stadia.

During the long reign of Akbar enquiries were set on foot by which the revenue, population, produce, religion, arts, and commerce of each individual district of the empire was ascertained as well as *its extent and relative positions*. All these interesting and useful particulars were collected in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*. This work clearly shows that Akbar had got prepared a very reasonably accurate map of the empire. Major Rennel, the father of Indian geography, in compiling his map of Hindoostan used the information obtained from *Ain-i-Akbari* (*vide* Rennel's Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, p. 3, London 1783).

Rennel also made mention of old maps of India which he made use of in compiling his map of Hindoostan (page 52 *Ibid*). An old map of the Punjab was found preserved in the archives of the Government. In Father Du Halde's account we have the history of Lama's map of Tibet. This map gives the situations of the principal places of India, Burma, and China and the courses of the Brahmaputra. This map also shows the differences of longitude and latitude of the principal places. It is interesting to note that such differences are in reasonable agreement with the present-day differences.

Evolution of The Nurse

By Dr. SUNDARI MOHAN DAS

IT is the heart that smooths the sick-bed and stills the tossing head. Sympathy, evenness of temper and gentleness in touch and voice are the essentials of a nurse. Possessed of these qualities woman

has been nursing the sick since times immemorial.

In the Rig-veda, a maiden named Apala is said to have administered *Soma* to Indra who was very ill. In the Yajur-Veda it

is mentioned that once Indra was very ill and prostrated. The god-physicians Asvinikumaras took with them Sarasvati who restored vitality to Indra by administering some potent medicine.

Coming to the historical age we find mention of hospitals and nurses in the Buddhistic period. Through the kindness of the eminent scholar Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan I have got definite information about the existence of hospitals and nursing system in that period. In the third century B. C., hospitals were founded by King Asoka. Systematic nursing dates from the foundation of hospitals. The care of the sick was recognized as a meritorious service in all Buddhistic countries and the scriptures cited the example of Buddha as a nurse.

A long inscription of the time of Jayavarman VII of Cambodia (about 1185 A.D.), preserved in the temple of Ta Prohm near Angkor, concluded with the announcement that there were hundred and two hospitals in the kingdom. All the hospitals were staffed by physicians and nurses. Hospitals in the early period were called *Gilan Salas* (from the word *Glan*, sick) and later on *Arogya-salas*. The *Arogya-sala* founded by the Cambodian king was opened to all the four castes and had a staff of ninety-eight persons composed of the following :

Physician (male) 1 ; Physician (female) 2 ; Warehouseman 2 ; Cooks 2 ; Yajnaharin 2 ; Arogya-sala Sangrakshi or Nurse (men and women) 14 ; Pounders of rice (females) 8 ; Pounders of rice (males) 2 ; Not specified 65 ; Total 98.

Nurses were termed differently in different periods *viz.* Arogya-sangrakshi (male and female); Seva-sairusha (male nurse); Seva-sairushi (female nurse). The nurses used to cover their bust with a bodice and put on a drawer or breeches just sufficient to cover up to the knee. All these were covered by a cloth like an apron tied round the neck and the waist with a tape. It is curious that the modern 20th century girl has imitated the Buddhist nurses of the 12th century and dressed herself in a skirt which has been very aptly compared to an after-dinner speech just sufficient to cover the subject.

Of the female nurses special mention is made of Baruja and Jayavati who were famous for efficient nursing. It is stated that wherever in the wards the disease was

most serious and the suffering most excruciating there was Jayavati with her smile and tenderness to bring hope and happiness to the afflicted.

Of the male nurses, Narayan was famous all over Cambodia, bringing succour to the sick whether in the ward or on the battle field. Unmindful of his own safety he caught on his breast a soldier who was falling from his horse. The latter sustained a fracture, was tended and saved. In memory of this dutiful and valiant nurse a tomb was erected.

In the *Ayurveda* nurse is considered one of the four limbs of the whole system.

Charaka says :

Bhishag Dravyanyupasthata
Rogipada chatusthayam.

"The four feet on which stands the system of efficient treatment, are, the physician, the drug, the nurse and the patient." Charaka calls the nurse Upasthata or one who remains near the patient and takes care of him. The nurse is called *paricharaka* as well. The following have been enumerated as the essential qualities of a nurse :

Upacharajnata dakshyam
anuragascha bhartari
Sanchancheti chatushkoyam
gunah parichare jane.

A *paricharaka* must have four essential qualities : (1) he or she must know how to prepare the invalid's diet, how to put the patient in the required position and how to conform to the wishes of the patient ; (2) he or she must be skilful ; (3) he or she must love his or her employer ; (4) he or she must be pure in character. It is difficult to trace the period from which these trained nurses disappeared. It is quite apparent that our housewives have taken upon themselves the duty of nursing since times immemorial. Since then every woman is a nurse.

In Europe Latin literature mentions Greek slaves, many of whom were females administering medicines and practising nursing during the last two centuries before Christ. Curiously enough three different factors furthered the cause of nursing—Church, battle field and prison. From about 529 A. D. when the religious order of St. Benedict of Nursia was established at Monte Cassino, monasteries in Italy and Western Europe served generally as hospital for the sick and wounded where monks and nuns took up

the duty of tending the afflicted. During the second six centuries of the Christian era monastic life degraded into self-indulgence and luxury and attention to the poor sufferers turned out a matter of condescension rather than that of sympathy. It was at the beginning of the thirteenth century that Francis Barnardone of Assisi and the great missionary brotherhood of Mendicant Friars which he established rendered to the sick including lepers personal attendance and kindness. Enthusiasm for nursing waned as the Franciscan Order attained power and pomp. Later in the thirteenth century nursing as an occupation was looked upon with contempt, as a Guild-hall regulation made in 1281 A.D. shows. It mentions "nurses and other servants and women of loose life" wearing furred with "gros vair"—a sort of heavy silk decked with squirrel skin used generally by ladies of the highest order. This imitation by the nurses of "good ladies" gave rise to indignation among the upper ten and the Guild-hall Regulation restricted this dress to "good ladies" only.

With the decline of the pious motive which had led many gentlewomen of England into the fold of the nursing sisterhood the noble work fell into the hands of paid and ignorant women of low birth.

On the Continent, however, nursing orders had cropped up as secular societies. Of them, the Sister of Charity of the Order of St. Vincent de Paul, founded in 1633, is said to be the largest nursing organization in the world.

The evolution of modern nursing may be said to date from the foundation of the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses Institution at Duesseldorf as a hospital and training school for Protestant nurses and of the Institution of Nursing Sisters in London in 1840 by Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, who had already made people acquainted with the horrible condition of the English prisons. Later on in 1847 was founded the Anglican Sisterhood of St. John's House.

But it was seven years hence that a war revolutionized the whole nursing system. At a time when the occupation of nursing had gone down to its lowest depth, when a "nurse" meant a coarse old woman ignorant and dirty, brutal and dissolute, represented by Dickens's Sairy Gamp and Betsey Prig handling the brandy bottle more than bottles of medicine, gulping the 'stimulant' herself instead of restoring with it the waning life

of the patient, a brilliant young girl belonging to an extremely well-to-do family of Derbyshire having country-houses, Mayfair rooms and various arrangements for holding fashionable parties, moved by the groans of soldiers wounded at the battle of Alma wafted across the seas, with the idea of entering the fold of nurses.

Brushing aside the allurements of the world with disdain and even the temptation in the form of a desirable young man, she slipped into a nursing institution of Kaiserswerth. At the age of thirty-three she bade her affectionate mother good-bye, who with tears in her eyes implored her to come now and then from the Harley Street Charitable



Florence Nightingale

Institution, of which she was appointed Superintendent. In 1854, while she was only thirty-four she was sent to re-organize the imperfect nursing arrangements at the Scutari Military Hospital. With a band of thirty-eight nurses she left the shores of

England amidst a great burst of popular enthusiasm. She arrived at Scutari, a suburb of Constantinople ten days after the battle of Balaclava. And what did she find? Four miles of sick-beds crammed together too close, sewers beneath the beds, emitting horrible stench, bed-sheets too coarse to be used, empty beer-bottles used as candle-sticks, no towels, no brooms, no dusters, no trays, no plates, no knives or forks or spoons, no stretcher, no splints, no bandages, Miss Nightingale did not abandon hope. In spite of the assurance of the head of the London Army Medical Board that "nothing was needed" she purchased on her way at Marseilles, a large quantity of provisions and came well provided with money (about £7,000). Mr. Macdonald, editor of the *Times*, came with a fund which was refused by the authorities. They could not declare themselves unable to discharge their duties by accepting private and irregular benevolence.

I cannot resist the temptation of quoting from the biography a few passages to show how the ideal nurse "the saintly self-sacrificing woman, the delicate maiden of high degree who threw aside the pleasures of life to succour the afflicted, the Lady with the Lamp, gliding through the horrors of the hospital at Scutari" managed to sweeten the last hours of the dying soldier, and in spite of official letters and obstacles succeeded in getting what she wanted.

Says the author: "She stood firm, she was a rock in the angry ocean; with her alone was safety, comfort, life....The reign of chaos and old night began to dwindle; order came upon the scene, and common sense and forethought and decision, radiating out from the little room off the great gallery in the Barrack Hospital where, day and night, the Lady Superintendent was at her task....The sick men began to enjoy the use of towels and soap, knives and forks, combs and tooth-brushes. Dr. Hall might snort when he heard of it, asking with a growl, 'what a soldier wanted with a tooth-brush'; but the good work went on.....On one occasion 27,000 shirts, sent out at her instance by the Home Government, arrived, were landed, and were only waiting to be unpacked. But the official "Purveyor" intervened. 'He could not unpack them' he said, 'without a Board'. Miss Nightingale pleaded in vain; the sick and wounded lay half-naked shivering for want of clothing;

and three weeks elapsed before the Board released the shirts."

Cookery was also much improved. "The separation of the bones from the meat was no part of official cookery; the rule was that the food must be divided into equal portions and if some of the portions were all bone, well, every man must take his chance."

As Mr. Lytton Strachey says: "To those who watched her at work among the sick, moving day and night from bed to bed, with that unflinching courage, with that indefatigable vigilance, it seemed as if the concentrated form of an undivided and unparalleled devotion could hardly suffice for that portion of the work alone. Wherever in those wards suffering was at its worst and the need for help was greatest, there, as if by magic, was Miss Nightingale."

But there was another aspect of her life. She was of the type of "Bajradapi kathorani mriduni kusumadapi."

To the wounded soldier she was a gracious angel of mercy; to the military surgeons, orderlies, nurses, purveyors and even to the War Office she was as hard and immovable as a rock. This firmness wrought wonders. Not only were the wards clean, supplies plenty and prompt, but the rate of mortality fell from 42 per cent to 22 per thousand.

I will not narrate how in order to inspect the hospitals in the Crimea she spent whole days in the saddle, was driven over rocky heights in a baggage cart, stood for hours in the heavily falling snow and would reach her hut at dead of night after walking for miles through perilous ravines; how she refused to go home when the doctors found her health broken; how she triumphed over the official enemies who tried to oust her from the field; how she frustrated the tricks of men of the position of Sir John Hall who tried to wreak vengeance by stopping her rations.

After the declaration of peace in 1856, Miss Nightingale left Scutari for England where she received enthusiastic public reception and honour from the queen herself. Even in her shattered state of health she inspected hospitals at Chatham and remarked, "Yes, this is one more symptom of the system which, in the Crimea, put to death 16,000 men." She saw the queen and succeeded in having a Royal Commission appointed to report upon the health of the Army.

After a struggle of two years and a half she had the pleasure of seeing reforms introduced into the military hospitals.

India did not escape her notice. A Sanitary Commission on the Indian Army was appointed at her instance. The newly appointed Viceroy paid a visit to her before he left England.

She lived up to ninety years to see that her records had borne fruits. In 1860 the Nightingale Fund Training School for nurses was founded in connection with the old St. Thomas Hospital. Between 1870-1880 all the leading hospitals followed suit and founded similar training schools. Under the Nurses' Registration Act passed in 1919 a General Nursing Council was appointed to make rules for the training of nurses and for the holding of examinations.

In India, as I have already told you, our housewives, particularly the widows, had been nursing our sick blindly and not intelligently. Realizing the necessity of teaching our women Obstetrics and Obstetrical nursing, my *guru* the late Dr. Edmonston Charles started a midwives' class in 1871. For some time only women of the lower classes and Indian Christians attended it. It was, I think about 1879 that he founded a pupil midwife class to attract ladies of the respectable classes.

Before 1859, ward boys and *ayas* did the nursing in hospitals. In 1859, at the instance of Lady Canning and the European residents of Calcutta, the Hospital Nurses' Institution was founded. The necessities of the Mutiny had led to the employment of female nurses at the expense of the Government in the military hospital at Allahabad, and this had been considered successful. The Calcutta committee obtained two tried nurses from Allahabad, who, with one locally obtained, formed the nucleus of the institution. By the end of November 1859, three nurses were at work, and, very shortly afterwards, a nurse was supplied to each of the four male wards of the hospital, and one to the female ward. The necessary funds had been raised by the committee.

In 1860 the nursing staff was increased in order to supply nurses to the Presidency General Hospital. The exact number of these is not recorded.

In 1861 nursing in the hospitals was considered to be so far satisfactory that the committee desired to extend the services of nurses to private houses.

In 1877 the two institutions, the trustees

of the Canning Fund and the Committee of the Hospital Nurses' Institution were amalgamated. In 1881, the Lady Superintendents were replaced by three members of the Clewer Sisterhood from England who took up the training and supervision of the nurses.

In 1902 the number of nurses supplied to the hospitals (General and Medical College) amounted to about one hundred. In 1927, the number was 224.

Till 1923 there was no public examination of the nurses. From 1923, the nurses and midwives have been examined by the State Medical Faculty. In 1925, while in the Corporation, I discovered that the Calcutta Hospital Nurses' Institute made no arrangement for the training of Indian nurses. As the Chairman of the Corporation Public Health Committee I brought this fact to the notice of the Corporation. A sum was allotted for the training of Indian nurses. Subsidized by the Corporation the Buldeo Das Maternity Hospital has opened a class for midwives and obstetrical nurses and the Chittaranjan Hospital has also opened a class for training Indian ladies in general nursing. The Carmichael Medical College Hospital has also a class for the training of nurses.

The authorities of the Calcutta Hospital Nurses' Institute expressed doubt about getting ladies of the desirable class for this purpose, but I am glad to say that respectable Hindu widows pressed more by economic than by other reasons, have joined the classes. It is hoped that with the increasing facility for admission and the change in the angle of vision with regard to the status of nurses, there will be more and more claimants for this occupation which is one of the noblest that a woman can adopt and the day is not far distant when we may have in our hospitals again a Jayavati or a Florence Nightingale.

In a province where there are 3 lakhs of infantile deaths and thirty thousand deaths from child-birth complications every year, the State Medical Faculty has turned out only 64 Indian midwives of the junior class who know little of obstetrical nursing and 67 general nurses of the junior class from 1923 to 1927, whereas the rate of mortality from all diseases exceeds 30 per thousand. I hope the medical profession will see that better arrangements are made for more efficient and better organized training of nurses so that the country as a whole may get better and ampler service.

Superstition dies hard. Two of the *Jatiya Ayurbijnan Pasishad* pupil nurses who belong to respectable families have been excommunicated on account of having joined that class. As the Bengal Government has promised to help any organized attempt to train Indian nurses of the respectable

class, and an elaborate scheme will soon be placed before them members of District and Local Boards will, I earnestly hope, try their best to remove those superstitions and to help poor ladies to pursue their studies in nurse-training centres.

Kitchen Gardening by Bhadrologs

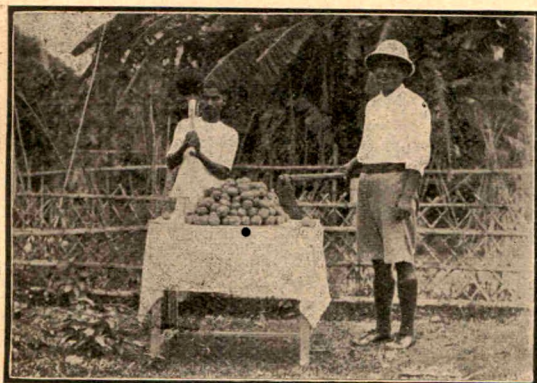
By RAI SAHIB DEBENDRA NATH MITRA L. AG.

THE object of this short note is to give readers some idea of to what extent a small plot of land attached to a dwelling house can help a family in the supply of fresh vegetables and at the same time afford a pleasant and healthy occupation.

Babu Abhay Charan Chatterjee is the Sub-divisional Officer at Faridpur. He lives in a Government building there. He has converted a small portion of his compound into a vegetable

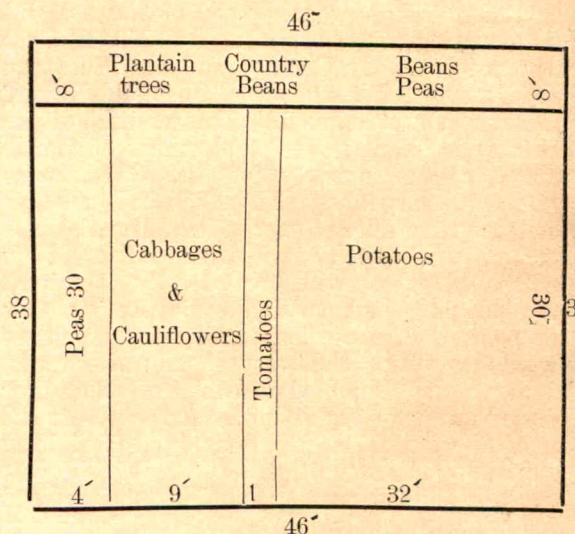
are keen on gardening. He takes a great pleasure in showing his garden to his visitors and will sometime forget his own work in explaining to them all about his crops, what was the manure given, how the land was prepared, what special qualities the particular pumpkin had, how he collected the seeds etc. All these will sufficiently show that he has an interest in gardening.

Abhay Babu grew cabbages, cauliflowers, potatoes, tomatoes, peas, beans and a few other country vegetables in his small garden in the last winter season. He kept an accurate account of cost and also of the produce he obtained. A rough plan of his garden is given below :—



Abhay Babu with the potatoes of his garden

garden which measures 46 feet by 38 feet. It has a fencing of split bamboos all round. The duties of a Sub-divisional Officer are multifarious and, as such, Abhay Babu has very little time to devote to his garden, but, as he has a great liking and interest in gardening he delights in spending the little time he can afford in his garden. He raises his own seeds and takes great pains in keeping them properly in glass-stoppered bottles. He generally works in his verandah in the morning and every visitor to him has probably seen, one day or the other, some kinds of seeds being dried in the sun in the verandah. He brings them all out and dries them himself. He keeps a sufficient stock to distribute to his friends who



The area and the outturn of each crop of his garden were :

Cabbages & Cauliflowers	} Area.	30' x 9'	Outturn
			40
			26

Potatoes	...	32' x 30	3 Mds. & 12 seers
Tomatoes	...	A row 30' in length.	1 Md.
Peas	...	Two rows each 30' in length & Two rows each 40' in length.	30 seers.
Beans		12 seers.

In addition to the above he had a few country vegetables such as—*puing sag*, country beans etc. and a few plantain trees in a corner of the garden.

The preparation of the land cost him Rs. 5 only in the beginning and all subsequent operations were done by the only servant who is engaged for his domestic work and Abhay Babu himself helped him as much as he could.

This is an exact account of his expenditure :—

Preparation of land.....	Rs. 5	
Price of Potato seeds (5 seers)...	Rs. 1-14	
Cow-dung manure.....	Rs. 2	including cart-hire
Oil cake.....		7 as.
Vegetable seeds :—		
Peas	}	He had his own seeds.
Beans		
Tomatoes		
Cabbages &	}	He got the seedlings from the Agricultural Farm.
Cauliflowers		
<hr/>		
Rs. 9-5		

His actual expenditure was Rs. 9-5-0 only. His own labour as well as the labour of his servant has not been taken into consideration.

Abhay Babu has a family consisting of his wife, two adult sons, a cook, a servant and one orderly peon and this small plot of land with an expenditure of Rs. 9-5-0 only supplied to him fresh vegetables throughout the winter season from December till March. He is still having a supply of tomatoes, cabbages and beans and he has a stock of potatoes which will last for about eight months. Is this small help to a family in these

hard days and specially at a place like Faridpur where fresh English vegetables are a rarity? Now that the English vegetables are over, he has put in country vegetables—Pumpkin, Ladies' fingers, *sags* etc.

Sir P. C. Ray visited Abhay Babu's garden when he came to Faridpur towards the end of January 1929. He was very much impressed with the results of the garden and wondered why everybody did not do a bit of gardening like this. In course of a letter to Abhay Babu he wrote: "I was astonished to know that 3 mds. and 12 seers of potatoes were obtained from about one *cottah* of land. It is really possible to obtain a sufficient supply of vegetables such as potatoes, cabbages, cauliflowers, tomatoes, radishes, and other country vegetables, *jhinge*, *uchhe*, *kachus* etc. and you have demonstrated it practically. We, Bengalis, can only talk, talk and talk. Recently I went to Rungpur and there also I found that there was some fallow land about 10 to 15 *cottahs* in area attached to each house but the gentlemen owners and their wards have been spending their time idly; they will not grow even a few flower plants. Laziness, idle gossips and aversion to manual work are ruining us. Non-Bengalis are taking away money from Bengal in various ways and the Bengalis,—specially the educated Bengalis, are starving."

Almost every house in the mufasil has a small plot of land attached to it, and a little interest and a little labour on the part of the occupier will go a great way in reducing the daily bazaar cost and in supplying fresh vegetables full of vitamins which are so essential for human health.

The introduction of English vegetables is one of the items of the programme of work of the Agricultural Department with a view to enable the people specially the "Bhadrolog" community to grow their own vegetables and thus supplement their income. It will be worth while to consult the local agricultural officers in this matter.

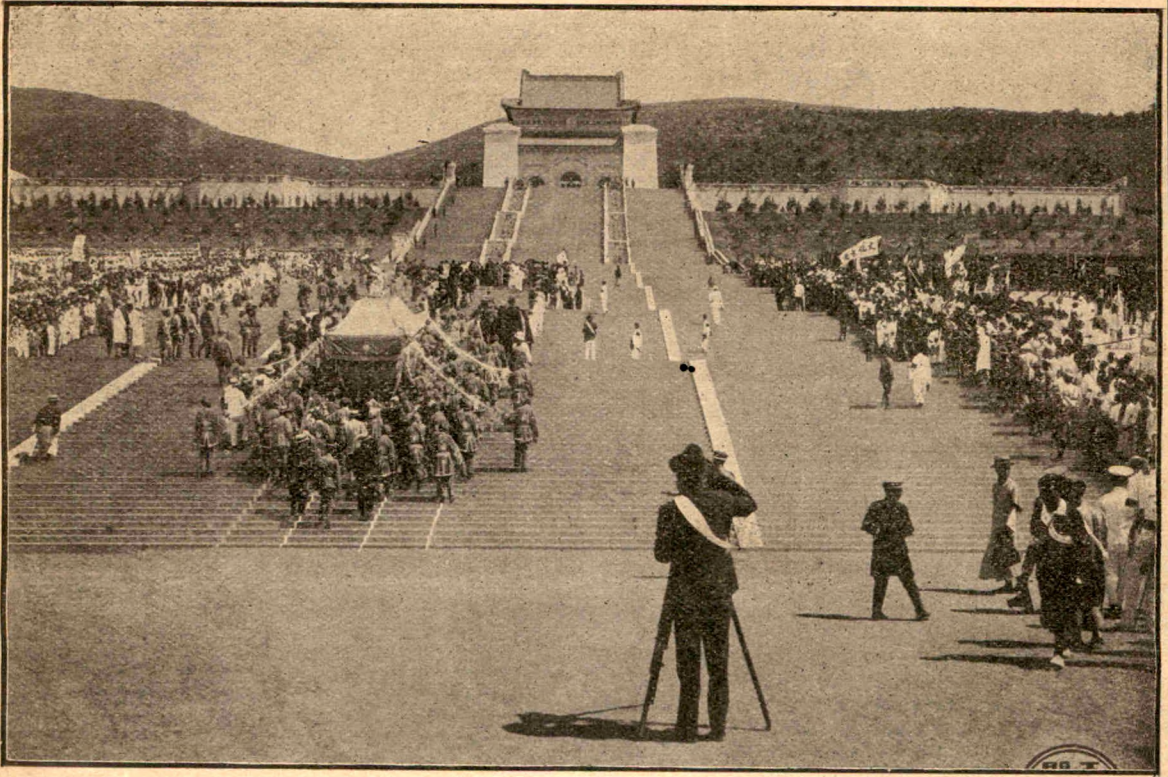
The Sun Yat-Sen Funeral

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THE mortal remains of Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese Republic, were laid in their last resting place in the Sun Yat-sen tomb on the Purple Mountain outside of Nanking, at noon on 1st June. A five-day period of national mourning had been declared from 28th May to 1st June, culminating in the funeral procession on this day. Flags of all nations in China had flown at half-mast during this period and on 1st June all Chinese and foreign firms

were closed throughout the country. Factories, however, were not closed, nor did the toiling peasants rest.

The body had been conveyed from the temple in the Western Hills outside of Peiping where it had lain since Dr. Sun's death in 1925. The special funeral train reached Pukow on the Yangtze on May 28, was carried on a Chinese battleship across the river to Nanking, and lay in state for three days in the central headquarters of



The Casket of Sun Yat-sen Being Carried up the Steps to the Tomb

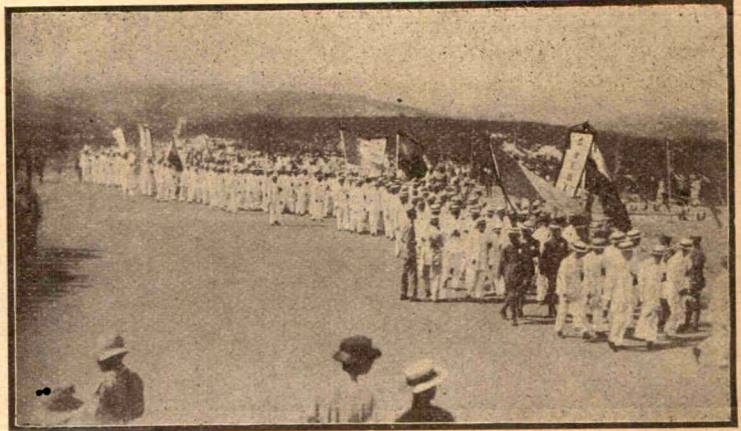
the Kuomintang. Guards of honour watched by it night and day.

So great was the number of visitors to view the remains, which had been almost perfectly preserved, that special hours were assigned to different categories of guests. Striking among the many guests was the Rev. Ottama, the special representative of the Indian National Congress, accompanied by two members of the Indian Revolutionary Party in China. These were the only representatives of oppressed peoples. Dressed in the simplest and cheapest clothing, they were true representatives of the struggling Indian people; they were a silent challenge to the might of the other visitors, such as one representative of the seventeen Great Powers, whose spokesman was the Dutch Minister, head of the Diplomatic Corps from Peiping. This representative of a power that holds in subjection an eastern people struggling for freedom, spoke in guarded, hypocritical language on behalf of the great imperialist powers who represent a system against which Dr. Sun Yat-sen fought

throughout his life. Perhaps they all felt that, being dead, it was at last safe to stand in the presence of a revolutionary who had been their enemy.

The route along which the great funeral procession passed covered six miles of the Sun Yat-sen Boulevard. Blue and white arches—the colours of the party flag adopted by Dr. Sun,—had been erected in many places. All government officials wore specially made white suits, in the style worn by Dr. Sun in life and which are now the official Chinese costume. The procession consisted of cavalry and foot soldiers, naval units of various kinds, police officers and men, women's organisations, student bodies, Boy and Girl Scouts, Chinese overseas delegations, trade union officials from the city of Nanking, representatives from the municipalities and party organizations throughout the country. Above the procession circled aeroplanes. The parade stretched for a distance of three miles. High state and party officials marched in a special section, preceded by the hearse and the friends and relatives of the late leader. Armoured cars preceded the

procession and all along the route stood armed soldiers with drawn mauser rifles in their hands. Thousands of poor people lined the route, watching in silence. Starting at four o'clock in the early morning, just as the east began to turn gray, the procession reached the foot of the long flight of steps leading up to the tomb at noon. Pall-bearers in special uniforms then began the long ascent. Among the many who accompanied the coffin up the stairs were a few Japanese who had been Dr. Sun's trusted friends in life and had given him help and refuge in Japan when he was driven from his own country by the feudal reactionaries and by their allies, the foreign imperialists. Throughout the procession, and throughout the ascension of the steps, bands played a funeral dirge especially composed for the occasion. At last the casket, followed by members of the family, diplomatic and



Officials in the Funeral Procession

leaders in Asia's struggle for emancipation were the three simply clad Indians, two Sikhs and one Burmese, representing the Indian National Congress.

With sorrow it must be said that the funeral was not just the national honour shown to the father of the Chinese Republic. It



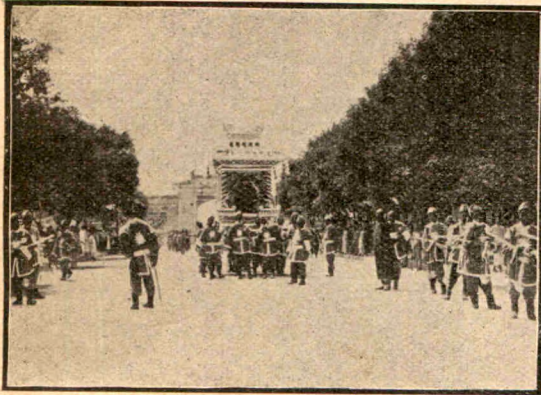
Chinese Cavalry in the Procession



Chinese Girl Guides in the Procession

naval representatives, and the honorary pall-bearers, was lowered into the pit in the tomb in which it will now always rest. A short speech was read to the tens of thousands of people gathered along the sides and at the foot of the mountain. Battleships on the Yangtze fired 101 salutes. Inside the crypt where the body lay the last funeral rites were performed. These consisted of three bows before the body and a period of silence. There was no breath of religion. Outstanding amongst those who stepped forward to pay their last respects to one of the greatest

was unfortunately a desperate attempt of the faction that controls the Nanking Government to consolidate its power. The special funeral train that had conveyed the body to Nanking had been a propaganda train for the conservative faction ruling the country to-day, many of whom had been expelled from the Kuomintang by Dr. Sun while he was alive. The one silent but eloquent protest against all of this was no other than Madame Sun Yat-sen herself, widow of the late leader, who had returned from exile in Germany to attend the body of her late husband to its last



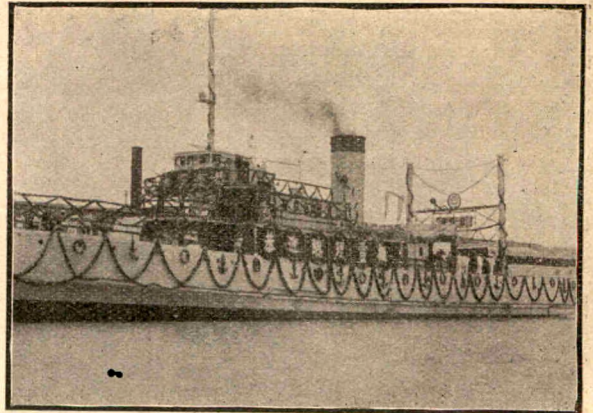
The Casket Being Carried in a Sedan Chair

resting place. Dressed in the cheapest black cotton gown, with cheap black cotton stockings, she was a tragic protest against the elegance of her relatives, many of whom hold high positions in the Nanking Government whose highest political adviser to-day is an English imperialist. From the time Madame Sun Yat-sen arrived in Peiping to attend the funeral, she had refused and repelled all attempts of her relatives or other officials to induce her to lend her name and influence to the Government's policy. She refused to live in



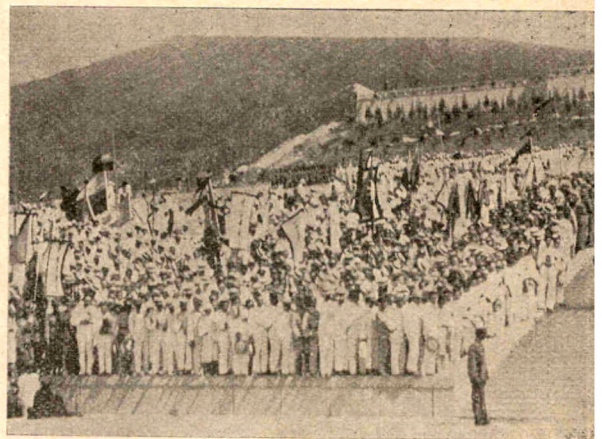
Madame Sun Yat-sen standing Between Her Two Younger Brothers

the elegant home prepared for her at Peiping, going instead to a simple place in the Western Hills near her husband's tomb. There, and later in Nanking, she was the very embodiment of the tragedy of China. The one interview she gave was to state



The Decorated Ship Bringing the Casket Across the Yangtze from Pukow to Nanking

that she was uncompromisingly opposed to the present policy of the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government, branding



The Civil Officials Standing on the Right Side of the Mausoleum

it as counter-revolutionary and a betrayal of the principles of her dead husband. She said there was but one road for China to travel—the road marked out by Dr. Sun Yat-sen ; and this was to return to the worker-peasant policy adopted by him and later by the Wuhan Government, and to co-operate with Soviet Russia which was a true friend of China and of the oppressed peoples of the earth. The Government forbade the Chinese press to publish her interview, in the meantime instructing it to publish that she was a member of the

Central Executive Committee of the Koumintang, which is the governing party ! In this way every attempt was made to use the influence of her name with the people who love and honour her opinions.

But throughout the funeral ceremonies she stood, a thin, slender figure, bowed with grief, refusing to lend herself in any way to the policy of the ruling faction. Following the ceremony she left at once for Shanghai where she is now living in the home that she and Dr. Sun at times occupied. She refuses to participate in any of the privileges and power open to her, saying that her only wish is that the principles and policy of Sun Yat-sen should be carried out—for union with the oppressed peoples of the earth instead of with imperialist powers, and for a worker-peasant policy in the government.



The Indian Representatives in the Procession. Rev. Ottama, the representative of the Indian National Congress between Two Sikh Members of the Indian Revolutionary Party in China

Patna Museum

A RESUSCITATION OF INDO-MOGUL ARCHITECTURE

THE building in which the provincial museum of Bihar and Orissa under the designation of the "Patna Museum" has been housed, and which has been formally declared open by H. E. Sir Hugh Lansdowne Stephenson, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, on the 7th of March, 1929, is the pride of the province. Its architecture is adapted to the tones of feeling of both the layman and the connoisseur. Its style popularly known as "Rajput" has combined grace with strength, and lent itself to a lithic decoration elegantly restrained from being florid. Its self-contained mass in the landscape catches and holds.

Set in extensive grounds,—about 20 acres— with open spaces to the north and south, the double-storied brick structure sets off the well-known Agra red sand-stone *motif* carried to perfection at Fatehpur Sikri. Its first view from the main road to the east, with its sombre domes and delicate kiosks silhouetted against the azure sky conveys a suggestion of serenity and poise

of a purposeful yet peaceful, spacious interior, treasuring the clues to the secrets of India's storied past. The red sand-stone symbolizes energy, and on reaching the front steps, the decorative

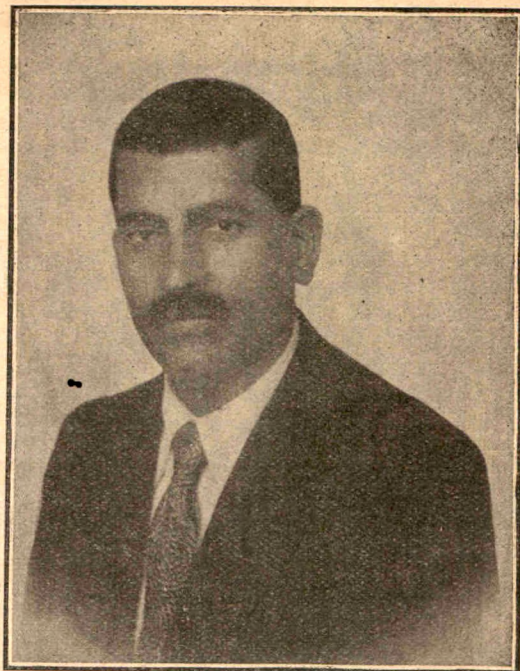


Patna Museum

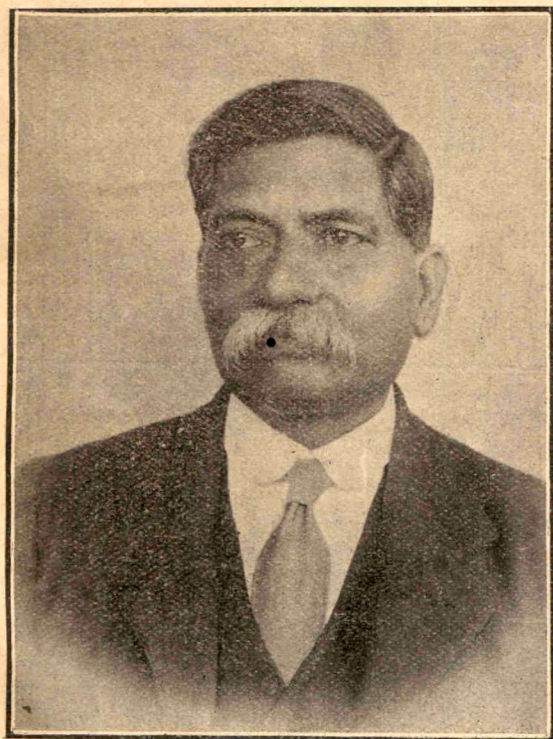
quality is stripped of its arabesque-like nature, and the exclusive composure of the outside gives way to window after window

of fretted recesses—laying bare its body and soul. Its appropriate proportions have a pleasing effect on ascending the platform leading to the entrance-door. Passing through the vestibule, to the court-yard facing an open west thence descending the terrace into the gardens and looking back at the balustrades and balconies and fretted walls of red sand-stone, the dank lifeless substance ripening under an eastern sun to exquisite tints from that of old lace or old ivory to an almost golden glow—one inhales an atmosphere of Indo-Mogul aspirations supposed to have been lost beyond redemption.

Yet the resurrection is there. The credit belongs mainly to two Indian architects, Rai Bahadur Bishun Sarup, the late Chief Engineer to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, who designed the building and Mr. Sohan Lal, the Assistant Engineer who was the soul of the whole undertaking, and was responsible for its happy execution. Mr.



Mr. Sohan Lal



Rai Bahadur Bishun Sarup

Sohan Lal is the spiritual descendant of the master-masons of Agra : he has reinforced

his unerring instinct and indigenous training amongst the masons of Rajputana, with the best technique of to-day. The design of the back court-yard on the lines of the Mogul gardens was completed by Mr. Brij Narain, Executive Engineer in charge of supervision. It is remarkable that an Englishman, Mr. Dunbar, the Superintending Engineer who was responsible for the general direction, could enter the spirit of Indo-Mogul art and effect improvements of details true to the tradition.

The greatest thanks are due to H. E. Sir Hugh Stephenson and his government. The new museum building is a potential landmark in the history of the province. Sir Hugh could carry out the cherished wish of Sir Edward Gait, and the approved scheme of Sir Henry Wheeler, amidst the numerous demands on the public purse of the province. The cost of the building is about Rs. 3,00,000. A symbol of Renaissance in Bihar and Orissa is this new museum building expressing the Indian's recovered heritage and gathering confidence under the aegis of the British flag. It is the first typically Indian building in new Patna. It marks a stage. It proves that even the much criticized P. W. D. can produce buildings

that could satisfy the taste of the East and the sense of efficiency of the West.

This renaissance has its fitting active association with Mr. P. C. Manuk, *Barrister-at-Law*, the art connoisseur and possessor of the best collection of Mogul paintings in India. Mr. Manuk as the Honorary President of the Museum Committee, in inviting His Excellency the Governor to open the museum, rightly pointed out that Patna Museum was not a 'cold tomb' but a living institution for the education of both layman and scholar.

A few of the objects noted below (apart from the varied and valuable coin cabinet) would show how the collection fully merits its new home.

UNIQUE SPECIMENS IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

Pre-mauryan (4th century B. C. ?)—Terra-cotta from Buxar: The recent discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans in Crete, and of Sir John Marshall at Mahenjo-Daro in Sindh have definitely established a long-forgotten phase of pre-Aryan civilization in the third millennium B. C. Extensive relics have been brought to light, stretching from the Aegean seas to the Indus valley, across Asia Minor and Baluchistan. On the one hand, Winckler's famous finds prove, according to Dr. Emil Forrer, that "the predecessors of the heroes of Homer were in contact with the Hittite kings in the thirteenth century B. C.", on the other, Sir John Marshall has contended that the pre-Aryan Mahenjo-Daro "culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B. C. by the invading Aryans from the north." The chief characteristic of this Aegean-Indus civilization is the matriarchal as opposed to the patriarchal, system introduced by their successors when young Greece of the Iron Age invaded the Aegean lands, and the Aryans poured in into the fertile plains of Hindustan watered by the Sapta Sindhus. The cult of the Mother Goddess found expression in clay, stone and metal, from subtle symbolism to crude representation.

The extent of this Indus valley civilization, its extrusive or intrusive nature is still a matter of speculation. The Patna Museum collections of Patna and Buxar antiquities help to solve this riddle. They were discovered at Patna by the late Mr. V. H. Jackson, Principal of the Patna College, and excavated at Buxar by Professor A. Banerji-Sastri under the auspices of the

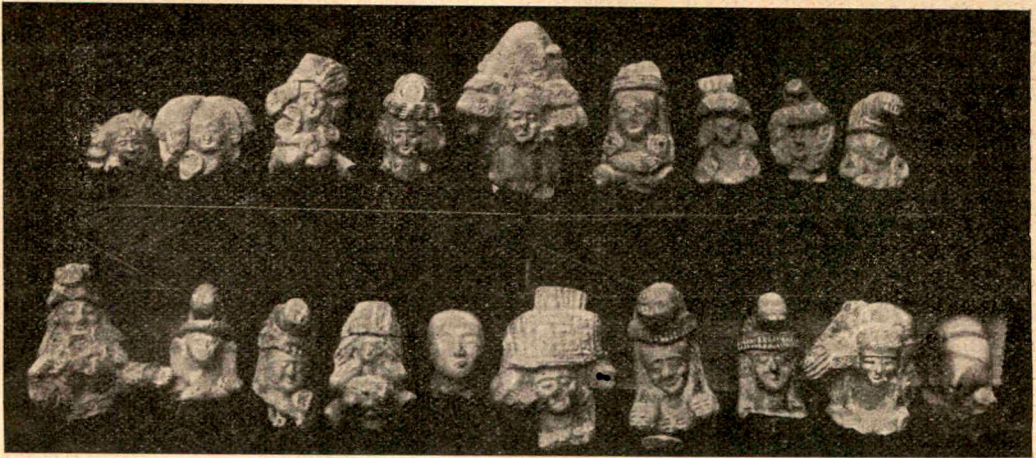
Bihar and Orissa Research Society at the expense of the Government of Bihar and Orissa in 1926-27. They clearly show that Bihar (old Magadha) was at least a provincial off-shoot of the same culture, developed perhaps for countless generations on the banks of the Ganges. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India have



Mr. P. C. Manuk

seen their importance and have undertaken to excavate the site on a scale proportionate to its importance.

The site at Buxar is 52 ft. below the present surface level, and flush with the river-bed. 13 ft. above is the Mauryan stratum of the third century B. C., from which have been unearthed Mauryan brick structure, terra-cotta, punch-marked coins and two seals in baked clay bearing inscriptions in pure Magadhi and in the Asokan Brahmi script of the third century B. C. Beads, pottery, pieces of dressed stone, etc. were



Terra-cotta Female Heads from Buxar



Terra-cotta From Myrina in Aeolis

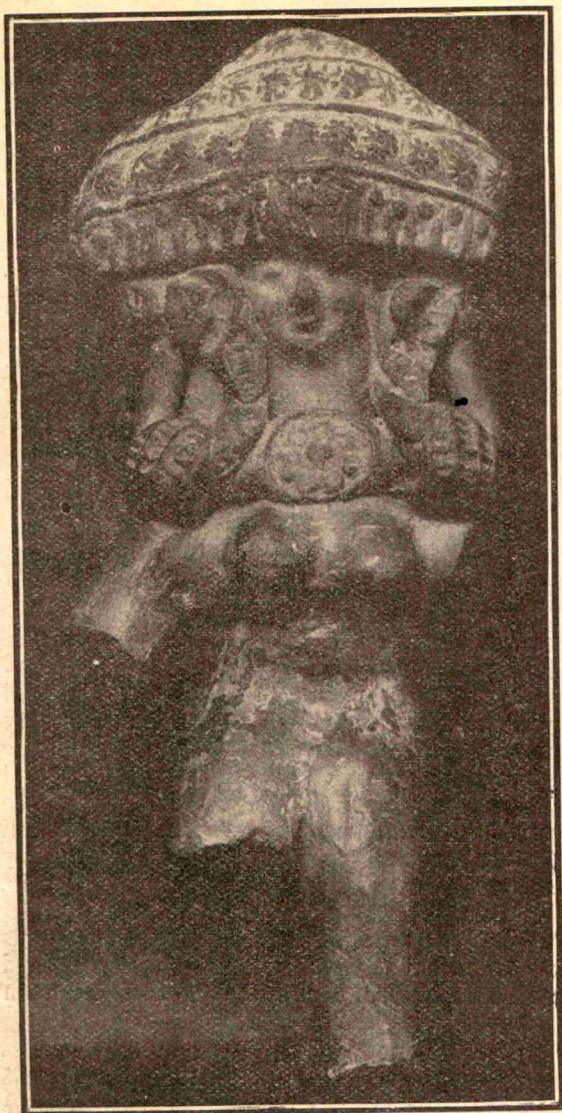
quite common. Between the Mauryan level and the river-bed is a thick layer of apparently undisturbed virgin soil with absolutely no mixture of pottery to indicate human habitation. The same phenomenon of a thick layer of green clay below the Mauryan level at Patna 28 ft. below the present level, led Dr. Spooner to give up the idea of excavating further down. Buxar

has removed this misapprehension. Recently Dr. Wooley's excavations at Ur on the site of what he calls "the site of the Deluge" has confirmed the misleading nature of this intervening stratification super-imposed on a forgotten inhabited site. It is interesting to add that fossil bones of some marine animals were found at a depth of 148 ft. in a tube-well dug by Mr. Hasan Imam, the well-known Barrister of Patna. The existence of life in this form unmistakably points to this level having been once exposed to light and air.

Undoubtedly the most striking discoveries at Buxar are a series of terra-cotta female figures and the Mother Goddess cult implements. They are now housed in the Pataliputra and Buxar galleries of the Patna Museum, and

are, by their varied comprehensiveness, unrivalled by any other collection in India. Some of the types are unknown anywhere else outside Crete.

Both Buxar and Crete specialized in female heads. The photographs from Aeolis reproduced here were procured by Mr. G. E. Fawcus, C. I. E., Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, when he was at Athens

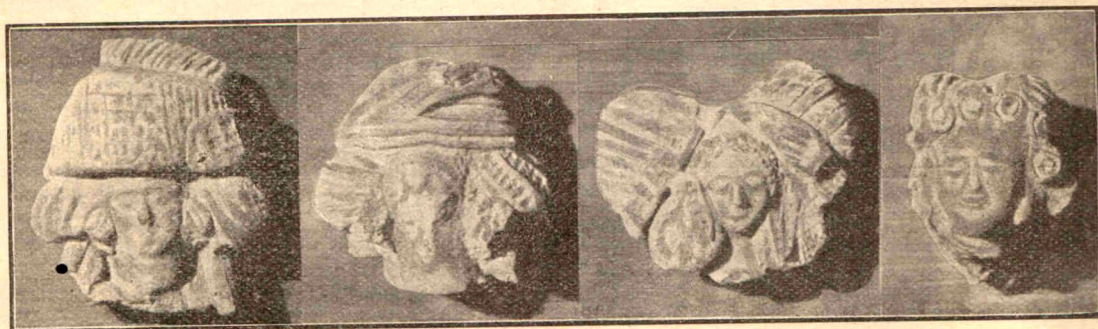


Terra-cotta Female Head from Buxar

in December last, through the kind courtesy of the Director of the National Museum at Athens. They are from Myrina in Aeolis and are supposed to belong to the fourth, third, and second century B. C.

The coiffure *motif* knows no limit. The *maestria* of the modelling bespeaks intensive training and age-old traditions. Time is an important factor in the manufacture of terra-cotta, which is apt to be spoilt when the drying process is hurried. The chief advantage of terra-cotta is its almost everlasting durability, atmospheric and other external influences having but little effect upon its surface. Cretan and Buxar specimens are singularly free from the principal defects of terra-cotta, *viz.*, unequal shrinkage, bad fitting, inequality of colour, the texture of the block being "blown" in the kiln and fire-cracks. Rome once had a school—*Collegium figulorum* for teaching the terra-cotta industry but the invasion of the Barbarians checked the progress. Earlier still, the Greeks and the Etruscans employed terra-cotta for the friezes and *frontons* of temples. Archaeologists are not agreed as to whether the art of working terra-cotta preceded sculpture in stone, but the antiquity as well as the exquisite perfection in taste and execution of the Cretan and Buxar finds can at least claim an age equally ancient.

Naturalism, impressionism, and "plein-airisme," generally regarded as developments of the nineteenth century, were advocated by the Indian Silpa-Sastras on painting and sculpture at least two thousand years before their appearance in western *salons*. Ajanta illustrates them in paintings twenty-three hundred years old; Bharhut and Sanchi work them out in stone in a *blasé* decadent style in the third and second centuries B.C.



Terra-cotta Female heads from Buxar

The Buxar and Pataliputra terra-cotta figures represent their prototypic growth in the preceding millennium, in "baked clay."

The Buxar and Pataliputra terra-cotta figures are curiously suggestive of the highway of India's past attesting the cult of



Nati of Patna—Front view

the Mother Goddess in the north-east of India, an uncanny parallel to the same worship at Mahenjo-Daro in Sindh in the north-east of India. What is bred in the

bone will come out in the flesh, and the intriguing smile on every face is enough even now to throw a layman into the arms of an antiquarian, and make both forget their love of gods and pursuit of men.

Each face reflects a melancholy of souvenir. A vision evoking a drama of days that are no more. Whether in the Aegean waters or by the Indus and the Ganges, she rises to view the iniquities of destiny making her a slave of man made to serve her. *Tu procul a Patria. Nec sit mihi credere tantum.*

Mauryan (4th.—3rd cent. B. C.)—*Nati* (Belle) of Patna: The Mauryan horizon broods with the religiosity of Asoka's Dhamma. Caves, columns and rocks preach interminable religious dissertations. The man in the street and the woman in the harem were bored to the bone by the dismal disquisitions of the religious cronies, the Dhamma-mahamatas. Everyday existence became cramped and saturated with a sour puritanism, that said *verboden* to all *Samajas*. Suppressed humanity was heading for an explosion. By a strange *tour de force*, the Mauryas diverted it to serve their own end, in giving free vent to the cult of beauty in stone. Patanjali in the second century B. C., indignantly accuses them of making images for gain. But these images probably saved a crisis.

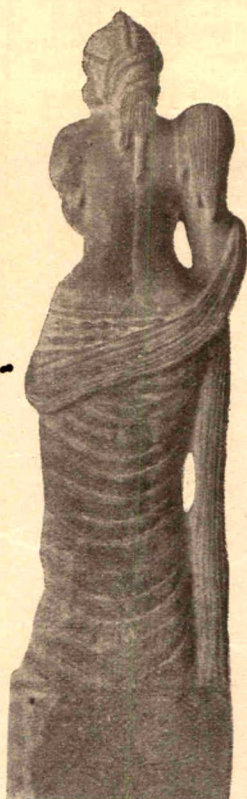
But not a single Mauryan image was recovered till 1918, when the *Nati* emerged at Patna by the Ganges; a second specimen has yet to be found.

She is a life-size figure of Chunar stone of a delicate warm brownish hue. The tinted texture was chosen to represent the pale flesh-colour of Indian womanhood. She bears a *chauri* in her right hand, and on her lips, lingers a quiet smile, eternally baffling, of one who has seen too wide a circle of things good and evil. The tip of her nose and the right arm are broken. Her uncovered breasts produce a delicious anachronism to the spirit and sense that it suffices to let fall a robe to find oneself in the presence of a model that Phidias would have worshipped on his knees, and that ancient Patna is so near antique Athens in the beauty of her daughters. Slightly drooping with the weight of beauty she realizes Victor Hugo's *cri de coeur*:

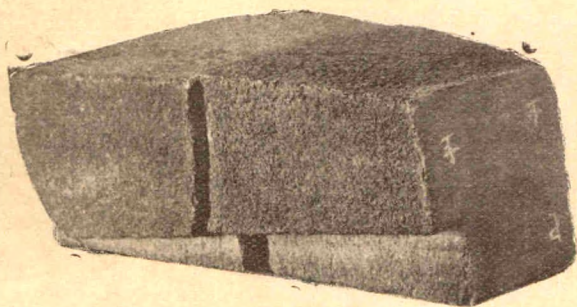
"Chair de la Femme, Argile idéale, o merveille!"



Side

*Nati* of Patna,—Back

Side



Pre-Mauryan Arch-stone with letter-marks.—Side



Pre-Mauryan Arch-stone—Back view

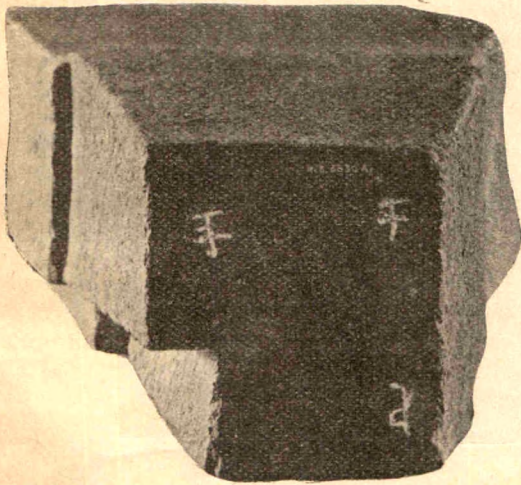
Described in 1919, by the late Dr. Spooner as "the chiefest treasure of the Patna Museum", she is undoubtedly the only authentic Mauryan image extant. As Codrington points out in his *Ancient India*, there is a unique test to precisely determine the date of an uninscribed object supposed to belong to the Mauryan epoch; it is the glass-like polish which the Mauryan stone-cutter and craftsman imparted to his

handiwork and which practically died with him. All their dated works bear this polish in caves and on pillars. Nothing else really helps. The *Nati* is a superb specimen of this solitary but convincing test.

What does she represent? To-day *Nati* means a mere dancing-girl. Formerly she signified much more. Ancient texts on

architecture and sculpture, *i.e.*, Parasara Silpa-Sastras, describe *Nataraj* as the "world-dancer" through whom pulsate the rythm and measure of the universe. In pigments stone and metal, the *Nata* is a household figure in India. *Nati* is his female counter-part. Rodin's dictum that "slowness is beauty" is found in the *Nati's* deliberately subdued poise and the controlling influence of her form.

But an archaeologist is not so easily satisfied. He set about to "identify" the



Pre-Mauryan Arch-stone—Front

statue. Since the discovery of the figure at Didarganj on the bank of the Ganges in 1918 by Professor J. N. Samaddar and Dr. Spooner, the battle of the erudite has waged far and furious. They discoursed on the absence in those days of

the upper garment and the peculiarity of the nether. These and the ornaments they compared with pre-Mauryan statues and Ajanta paintings. It is an old story. The nude representation of "Suzanne" by Rubens, Van Dyck, Murillo and Santerre, was hotly contested by Guizot and Proudhon. These pundits of the *faits divers* will never realize that all the erudition of the world will hardly replace the naïve charm of a legend. They are at it still.

In the meantime, this Indian Venus de Milo stands in her goddess-like grace, evoking admiration rather than desire: *Incessu patuit Dea.*

A voussoir from Pataliputra: Perhaps the *pièce de resistance* in the whole museum is the priceless voussoir stone, portion of a radiating arch, discovered by Mr. Jayaswal at Kumrahar. Its material, craftsmanship and polish are Mauryan, though one of the three inscribed letters points to an earlier epoch of the Nandas. It is the earliest convincing specimen of a true arch of radiating voussoirs as opposed to an arch of overlapping or corbelled sculpture. In one sledge-hammer blow, this massive stone has hit on the head the futile lucubrations of Fergusson that true arch was introduced into India by the Muhammadan disciples of the Romans. "True" arch was known and occasionally used by the Hindus in pre-Muhammadan times in brick-buildings, but this is the first and earliest instance of its use in stone a long way back in the pre-Christian period.

It has not only disturbed but revolutionized all settled ideas of old world architecture, and by itself is worth an archaeological pilgrimage to Patna.

The Garden Creeper

BY SAMYUKTA DEVI

(27)

THE village postman went his round in the morning. Dhiren had gone out for a walk across the sands of Rupamati, and was returning through the mango groves of the village, when he met Nitai, the postman. The man caught sight

of him from a distance, and cried out, "Here Sir, I have got a letter for you."

Dhiren took the letter, and tore the envelope open. It was from Shiveswar. He had reached Delhi in safety and had given a short account of his travels. He had thanked Dhiren very sincerely for the help

he had received from the boy on many occasions.

Dhiren felt he ought to let Mokshada hear about the letter. He advanced towards Shyamkishor's house, letter in hand.

A large pool of rain-water lay in his way. Some very small fishes played about in it and a score or so of village children had gathered around, hoping to catch them. Some were standing by the side of the pool, some had waded in armed with baskets, and pieces of linen. Dhiren noticed one of the grand-children of Shyamkishor amongst that crowd. The boy had put on a small striped sari, probably stolen from his sister's wardrobe, and was busy chasing the fish. Dhiren advanced near and asked, "I say Radhu, what's grandma doing?"

"I don't know," replied Radhu shortly.

"Can you tell me where she is?" asked Dhiren again.

Radhu pointed towards some indefinite direction and said, "Oh, she is over there."

Dhiren saw that there was nothing to be gained by waiting, so he passed on. He knew the family of Shyamkishor quite well. But for the last few years, he had been living mostly in town and had few opportunities of meeting his village friends. So he was feeling rather awkward. He passed in through the front door and walked towards the inner courtyard.

"Is grandma at home?" he asked loudly.

Mokshada was seated in front of the kitchen, tending a baby. She was giving it its breakfast of milk. Hearing Dhiren she got up with the child and came over to meet him.

"Oh, here you are Dhiren," she said cordially, "I am very fortunate to-day, since I see you, in the morning. I hope, all is well."

Dhiren felt a bit ashamed of his neglect and said, "You are very severe on me grandma."

"No no, my dear boy," said the old lady, who was really very glad to see him. "I was merely jesting with you."

"I resolved everyday to come and see you," said Dhiren, "but the roads have become simply impossible in this rain. I had gathered together a batch of boys and was busy opening drains in every direction for the water to pass off. Even this is very difficult to do owing to the opposition of the village elders. Somehow I managed to talk them over."

"It is very good of you" said the old lady "And I cannot blame you at all for neglecting me, since you were engaged in such philanthropic work."

"I received a letter from Delhi to-day," said Dhiren, "So I came over to show it to you." But almost at the same instant, a small girl crushed up to the old lady, crying "Here grandma, here are two letters for you. See, how fat they are!"

Mokshada knew little about reading and writing. When Mukti was in her first year, a craze for teaching the illiterate developed suddenly amongst the young devotees of education and culture. They began to teach any and everyone they could lay their fair hands on. The maid-servant, the cook, the laundress, as well as illiterate mothers, aunts and grandmothers fell a prey to their ardent zeal. Mukti came home for the vacation and began to teach Mokshada. Shiveswar had tried the same thing long ago, but failed completely. But Mukti met with partial success. Mokshada would sit down with her books and slate, like an obedient school-girl, but unfortunately her impatience stood in the way of real progress. After ten or twelve minutes, she would get up saying "I cannot waste any more time, my dear, I have lots to do," and would proceed to the kitchen or the store-room, in spite of Mukti's protests. Still she went on with dogged perseverance for three months which resulted in Mokshada's finishing the second primer. But as Mukti's vacation ended, Mokshada's studies too ended. She never touched the books again and probably forgot the little she had learnt. She made others read her letters and write answers for her according to old orthodox custom.

So taking the two letters from the little girl, she held them out to Dhiren, saying "Will you please read them aloud to me? I think these are from Mukti and her father."

Dhiren assented gladly. He knew from the handwriting which one had come from Mukti. He opened that first, and began to read it out aloud trying to make his voice sound as indifferent as possible. Mukti had written at length about Shiveswar's departure, about how dull she was finding the boarding life and about many other things. She had even mentioned Dhiren once. Dhiren's heart leapt with joy. So Mukti still remembered him, sometimes? She had mentioned him most kindly. "Since

Dhiren Babu was in the same train," she had written, "You must have travelled quite comfortably. He beats all records for helping people. He is the greatest public benefactor I know. I hope he is well."

But Shiveswar's letter damped his spirit considerably. The handwriting was rather bad, and he read it haltingly. He had lauded up his host, Dr. Naresh Dutt, to the skies. He was so hospitable, so open-minded, so cultured. But the next sentences struck him a really severe blow. "Last night, the young man came to me and said that he regarded Mukti as the best and noblest girl of his acquaintance. He does not think himself good enough for her. But if Mukti would kindly accept him and if we would give our consent, he would think himself very fortunate. I like the young man. But Mukti knows him very slightly and I don't think it time for a marriage proposal. So I have not given him my answer yet. Mukti is coming to me during the Pujah vacation. Then they will get an opportunity of knowing each other better and if she finds him acceptable, she will accept him. I will never dictate to Mukti in this matter. A marriage is primarily the concern of the man and the woman."

Dhiren's ears burned as he read on. He was seeing red. The old lady, too, was choking with anger. But one thing consoled them a bit. Shiveswar was not for hurrying on things and he had left Mukti a free hand in the matter of choosing a husband. But whom would she choose? There lay the difficulty. Mokshada had no faith in Mukti's judgment. She was but a child and capable of being duped by any designing male. Dhiren had greater faith in her, because he knew that the young lady had a strong will and she was in no way taken in by the brilliant doctor. He had seen them once or twice together. But he wished he knew who the favoured man was.

Mokshada was in a fix. It would never do to let Mukti go to Simla. It would simply mean walking into the dragon's den. She did not know to which caste Naresh Dutt belonged, but that much was certain he was no Brahmin. Mokshada could not allow Mukti to marry into an inferior caste. That would be too great an insult to their family and prestige. Long after Dhiren had left, the old lady sat, thinking on. If she could somehow manage to marry off the

girl, before the vacation, it would save the situation. If Shiveswar knew that Mukti had married of her own free will, he would refrain from kicking up a row. So Mukti must be coaxed, not forced into marriage.

Mokshada thought and thought and lost her appetite and her sleep. She could not do any work, she could hardly talk to anyone. She began to forget her daily devotions even.

"Oh God," she would think, "preserve us from this great shame. I would never hold up my head again, if this awful thing really came to pass.

Three days later she received another letter from her son. He had written it from Simla. He described his journey, paid Naresh Dutt a few more compliments and requested Mokshada to think over this proposal. Shyamkishor read out this letter to her. After finishing the epistle, he asked, "What proposal has he written about?"

Mokshada told him and gave him Shiveswar's first letter to read. The old man nearly went into a fit.

"Good Heavens!" he cried aloud, "what an atrocious proposal! Why did not you tell me before? Bring the girl here. I shall arrange about her marriage, at once."

"But the girl may not agree," said Mokshada rather weakly.

"What does that matter?" shouted Shyamkishor. "Nobody cares about a girl's opinion. It is enough if the boy is willing. We shall have to tell him that the girl is willing, otherwise the modern rascal may not agree to the marriage. As for the girl, give her plenty of jewellery and a big trousseau, and she will consent soon enough."

Mokshada remained as depressed as she had been. Shyamkishor left the room excitedly.

Though Shyamkishor was but two years her senior, yet Mokshada stood in great awe of him from her young days. When she became a widow, she had come to live here with her child as there was nobody else to look after her. She had been well cared for, as she had plenty of money of her own. But she never had her own way here, as Shyamkishor was well known as an autocrat. The women of the house feared and treated him like a god. So, though Mokshada was in no way dependent on him, she never dared to oppose Shyamkishor or to protest against anything he said.

Shyamkishor stood first amongst the village elders, so it was inconceivable that he would allow his prestige to be trampled upon by allowing Mukti to marry a non-Brahmin. He had always had his own way in everything. So he was not going to let a couple of women and a half-mad atheist to frustrate his plans.

Mokshada was sitting alone and silent in her own room. Shyamkishor had placed her in a dilemma. Her head was in a turmoil. She did not dare to displease Shiveswar, but neither could she oppose Shyamkishor. He had come in again after a time. "I am going to Digambar Mukherji to lay this proposal before him. But why are you so cast down? Did not you say that your son approved of the boy? You like him too and so do I. There's only your grand-daughter to consider. Let me settle everything here, first, then I shall go and fetch her. You may be sure that I shall not force her to marry. But I hope she will have the good sense not to oppose me. I have not come to this age without knowing how to persuade people to obey me."

"But cannot we wait a bit?" asked Mokshada timidly. "What's the use of such hurry?"

Shyamkishor's younger brother Jugal was standing behind his elder. "Don't be upset sister," he said consolingly, "you have become quite ill through nervousness. Why don't you write to Mukti that you are ill and ask her to come over? First get her here, then we can proceed at leisure."

"We have lost enough time already," said Shyamkishor sternly. "In the case of a full-grown girl, we cannot afford to sit still."

"But we must inform my son," said Mokshada in weak protest.

"Certainly," said Shyamkishor. "Let the date for the ceremony be fixed and all arrangements made, then we shall write to him, asking him to come and give away the bride."

"My head is feeling very bad," said Mokshada, "I shall talk to you again tomorrow. Now let me go and lie down for a bit."

"All right," said Shyamkishor and went out.

(28)

Mokshada found that taking to her bed was her only refuge. If they found her up and going, everybody, from old Shyamkishor to his small pert grand-niece would rush to discuss Mukti's marriage and drive

her crazy thereby. While in Calcutta, the old lady used to think that she was the only person who ever thought about Mukti's marriage, but here she found everybody over-ready to think about it.

But when old Shyamkishor actually went to Dhiren's guardian and made a formal proposal of marriage Mokshada took to her bed in right earnest. She felt afraid even to think. What would Shiveswar think of this? Mukti was his daughter after all, and relatives, however well-meaning, had no right to marry her off without consulting him. Next moment, she would feel furious with her son. If he, like an idiot, should leave the girl unmarried all her life, have not the relatives got a right to step in? They were not marrying her to any undesirable husband. Dhiren was fit mate even for a princess.

Her night was full of tormenting dreams. She dreamt that Shiveswar was marrying Mukti to Naresh Dutt, and Shyamkishor was trying to drag away the bride, saying that the bridegroom belonged to an inferior caste.

She did not get up in the morning. A few young ladies ventured in to discuss their pet subject, but met with a severe rebuff for daring to disturb a sick person. They made their escape quickly.

In the afternoon, when all had finished their midday meal and many had settled down to a quite game of cards, Dhiren suddenly rushed in. He was looking very much excited and seemed to have gone without morning bath or breakfast. He looked around for some child to usher him in, but failing to find anyone, he made straight for Mokshada's room.

Everybody here knew that Dhiren was going to marry into the family. So everyone smiled and ran to peep at the fortunate young man. But there was no answering smile on Dhiren's lips, as he stood before Mokshada's room. He looked care-worn and depressed.

"Are you inside, grandma?" he asked. Receiving a reply in the affirmative, he entered. Shyamkishor's proposal had created a furore in their family. Shiveswar was a rich man, and the fame of Mukti's beauty and learning had already spread in the village. So it was no wonder, that everyone felt very much excited. But poor Dhiren was struck dumb with surprise, so unexpected had been the proposal. He was for coming over at once to learn the facts of the matter from Mokshada. But it was already night time, so he had to curb his impatience a bit.

He had come now, expecting Mokshada to have leisure for him.

The old lady sat up, on Dhiren's entrance. "Come in my dear boy", said she, "I was just going to send for you. I am feeling rather ill to-day, so I had to stay in bed. Sit down."

Dhiren sat down on a steel trunk, and asked "Now grandma, what's all this? What does it mean?"

"Don't ask me", wailed Mokshada. "I am between the devil and the deep sea as it were. My son is obstinate as a mule, and my brother is no better. He is determined to solemnize Mukti's marriage within this month. He is losing prestige, he says. You know him. Nobody dares to oppose his will."

Dhiren did not understand. Mukti was Shiveswar's daughter, who was in Simla at present. She, herself, was in a boarding school. So how could Shyamikshor, however determined he might be, give her away in marriage, according to his own sweet will? Seeing his lack of comprehension, Mokshada began again, "Brother was going out to search for a bridegroom at once. In order to stop him I mentioned your name. So he went and told your uncle at once, did he?"

"Yes, he did," said Dhiren shortly. "But how can this marriage take place at all? Have not you thought about its impossibility at all?"

Mokshada grew still more nervous. "Why should it be impossible?" she asked. "I thought you liked Mukti well enough to marry her. But if you don't—"

"There's no question of my liking or disliking her," interrupted Dhiren. "But what about your son and your grand-daughter? You must have their consent first of all, and I don't think you have any chance at all of getting it."

"Why not?" asked Mokshada. "My son likes you very much, though he may not have expressed it in so many words. But that's his nature, he is very reserved. As for Mukti, she is but a child. My brother undertakes to get her consent. She is only a girl and her opinion is of small value now."

Dhiren grew red with anger. "Your brother may think whatever he likes, but to me Mukti's opinion is of the greatest value. Do you take her for a small child that you expect to coax her into marriage?"

Mokshada lost her temper. "Then what do you want us to do? Shall we sit still with folded hands waiting for Shiveswar and

Mukti to give their consent voluntarily? But let me tell you that others won't wait, even if we are fools enough to do so. While we wait, that designing scoundrel, Naresh Dutt, will carry her off. All their letters are full of him. He is losing no time. As soon as the Puja vacation begins, they will take Mukti away to Simla and the thing will be done."

Dhiren saw red. That boulder to marry Mukti? He must save Mukti from him, by fair means or foul. Was Shiveswar mad, that he could harbour such a monstrous idea, even for a moment? But she must be saved even from her own father. Dhiren forgot for the time, whether he had a right to save Mukti, or whether she desired to be saved.

Mokshada was gazing at him steadily. His agitation did not escape her. The clever old lady had hit upon the right method.

"What do you say?" she asked again. "Shall we wait, or proceed? But if something undesirable happens, don't blame me."

Dhiren got up. "Grandma," he said, "don't ask me anything, but do whatever you think best."

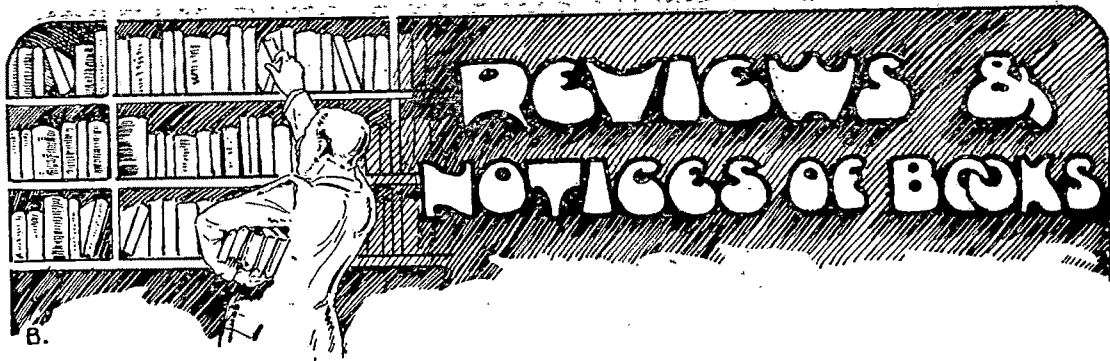
Mokshada felt rather pleased. Though she herself was vacillating, she did not like that failing in others. "Very well, my dear boy," she said. "You may be sure that we shall try to do whatever is best for Mukti. She is most dear to us. But see that you don't fail us. I shall be put to extreme shame, in that case."

Dhiren's voice shook with emotion as he answered. "I am not likely to fail you in this matter," he said, "not if I am alive." He ran out of the room.

Great excitement prevailed in the house. A match had been arranged for Mukti and the wedding was to take place in the village. Everybody talked about the impending event. That the bride and her father knew nothing of this arrangement took away nothing from the excitement. They overlooked it as minor detail. Shyamkishor sat down to make an estimate of the expense. His younger brother began on a tentative list of invitation.

The ladies gave their imagination free rein and wondered about the trousseau and jewellery. They wondered about the bride too. She must be a beauty.

Only poor Mokshada did not know what to do. She felt she ought to be happy, but she could not. Whenever she thought of the anger of her son, her heart nearly failed with fright.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor; M. R.]

ENGLISH

VILLAGE UPLIFT IN INDIA: By F. L. Brayne, I. C. S. Pp 143 and 41 with four appendices. Price Rs 2.

Mr. Brayne's book is the latest contribution to the subject of village uplift in India, which has been discussed for more than a quarter of a century in the Nationalist Press. The book is novel in the sense that it does not merely lay down abstract propositions for the uplift of the village but embodies the result of six years of strenuous work in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab (a very poor and backward area adjoining the province of Delhi, to quote Mr. Brayne's own words). The various chapters of the book were all written at different times and no part of the book was specially written for publication in book form. There are ten chapters in the book. Some idea of it can be formed from the chapter headings: Ch. I—Outline of Gurgaon Propaganda programme; Ch. II—The Gurgaon school of Rural Economy; Ch. III—The development of the District; Ch. IV—Female and Infant welfare and uplift; Ch. V—The School of domestic economy; Ch. VI—The present position in regard to female uplift work; Ch. VII—Organization; Ch. VIII—A Dream; Ch. IX—A paper on rural Education; Ch. X—Plague. The four appendices deal with (1) Palwal show programme; (2) Suggested ploughing rules; (3) Some tangible results; (4) Samples of uplift propaganda.

A mere perusal of the headnotes, however, will convey no idea as to the vastness of the task undertaken, nor of the remarkable results achieved by Mr. Brayne. As he himself says in the introduction, "If people did not believe in cleanliness how could 40,000 pits or more all six feet deep be dug; if these people were not anxious to uplift their women-folk no force on earth could bring more than 1,500 girls to the boys' schools in less than two years from the day the idea was first mooted."

Mr. Brayne's analysis of the village problem is

as simple as the remedies are efficacious. In Ch. I he summarizes the problem thus:—every villager prays for (1) good crops, (2) healthy children. Why does he not get them?

1. His methods of farming are bad.
2. His village is filthy. He lives in dirt, squalor, disease and suffering.
3. He is prey to epidemic diseases.
4. He wastes all his wealth.
5. He keeps his women-folk in degradation and slavery.
6. He pays no attention to his home or his village and spends no time or thought over bettering himself and his surroundings.
7. He resists all change, he is illiterate and ignorant of what progress village-folk in other civilized countries and in other parts of his own country are making and what he can himself make if he sets his mind to it.

These are Mr. Brayne's own words regarding the method adopted by him for achieving his end: "It is not to be supposed that this Gurgaon scheme either in its conception or its execution is a one man effort. Nothing of the sort, I have been helped throughout by the most devoted labours of the local officers of every department, by my own staff from the highest to the lowest, and by the people themselves not only in thinking out remedies for the various evils that exist but in popularizing and carrying out the remedies we have agreed upon. The district no less than I myself owe them a heavy debt of gratitude for their unsparing efforts."

The personal element in the Gurgaon scheme is in fact its weakest point and may prove its own undoing. Mr. Brayne will not be at Gurgaon for all time and as soon as he goes the directing energy and the motive power of the whole scheme will disappear.

But whatever the ultimate fate of the scheme may be, it will always remain a signpost for those who want to travel on the same road as Mr. Brayne.

B. C.

THE M. P. H. BURMA YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY for 1929. Published by the Modern Publishing House, Ltd., Rangoon. Pp. 1109. Crown Quarto. Maps and illustrations extra. Cloth, gilt-lettered, Rs. 12.

As the Home Member to the Government of Burma says, this big book goes a great way towards removing a longfelt need. It will be useful to Burmans, as well as to Indians and Europeans alike, having or wishing to have anything to do with Burma, as merchants, traders, travellers, journalists, publicists, students, etc. It is divided into four parts: Burma Year Book for 1929, Rangoon Directory for 1929, Mofussil Directory for 1929, and Office compendium of General Information. The first part alone contains the following among other things:

Chronological Index of Important Events, 1928, Rangoon, Port of Rangoon, Rangoon Corporation, Rangoon Development Trust, University of Rangoon, Health of Rangoon, Burma Pasteur Institute, Burma in 1928, the Burmese People, Commercial and Industrial Burma, Archaeology in Burma, Agriculture, Rice Trade in Burma, Forests in Burma, Burma Railways, Sports in Burma, Education in Burma, Possibilities of Chemical Industries in Burma, Burmese Women. Another view of Burmese Women, Irrigation and Embankments in Burma, the Press in Burma.

The other parts also contain equally useful matter. X

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION—*Proceedings of the Tenth Meetings (held at Rangoon, 1927). Price Rs. 6-2. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.*

The Indian Historical Records Commission holds its sittings annually in different centres. "Its object", in the words of the President, "is to co-ordinate the work being done by local Governments both in British India and Burma and in the Indian States and where necessary, to tender advice upon the subject of the preservation of their records from the results of exposure to damp and heat (heat is the most assiduous foe of old records because it makes paper brittle) and from white-ants, rats and other pests, to prevent the destruction of old records by unauthorized persons and to secure the cataloguing, indexing and printing of records so as to make their contents accessible to the research worker and student. Our chief object in a word is to stimulate and awaken the interest of the public in their national archives, but I think that the session also acts as an admirable medium for bringing together historical workers from many parts of India and affording them an unique opportunity for the exchange of ideas."

The papers on historical subjects which were read, either in full or in a summary form, before the Commission, are given in this volume. Among them the following may be noted:

The Memoires of Gentil, by Sir Evan Cotton; A Treaty between Aurangzib and the Portuguese, by the Rev. H. Heras; Materials for the Study of the Early Relations of the East India Company with Burma, by Prof. D. G. E. Hall; Diplomatic Relations of France with Burma, by A. Singaravelou Pillai; Prince Akbar and the Portuguese, by Panduranga Pissurlencar.

We fail to see any reason why papers of a *rechauffe* type, written in a journalistic vein such as "Goorgin Khan" by Mesroby J. Seth, which, to make much of the hero, even draws all its material from well-known printed books including a *novel* of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (!!!), should find a place in the proceedings of a learned body like this. Evidently the editorial board never functions or has forgotten its own ruling that only papers, which deal with Records and which are not of a general nature, will be allowed to be read before the Commission! This paper on Goorgin Khan is, besides, of inordinate length, while the time limit is, we understand, fifteen minutes per paper.

The paramount importance of original documents in the study of history is now being recognized everywhere, and the Commission would deserve well of the scholarly world if it directed its energies unflinchingly to that end.

A very important question has been raised in this volume. The E. I. Co.'s records (*i. e.*, those before the Mutiny) have hitherto been preserved in Calcutta. They are of a purely historical nature, while records which are of a more recent date and are required for administrative reference have been removed to the newly built record office at Delhi. Profs. Jadunath Sarkar and R. B. Ramsbotham recommended as follows:

"There is a third consideration in favour of avoiding any risk to the Imperial Records now housed in Calcutta. This office contains an immense mass of *data* for the correct economic history of India under the Company. This subject has been much misrepresented by popular writers, and has not been studied by any one from the records, except by Prof. J. C. Sinha, Ph. D., who has just touched the fringe of it (1765-85). The Official Keepers of Records have hitherto dealt with the political and military papers only. It is desirable that the *corpus* of these economic papers should not be broken up but kept in Calcutta till they have been studied by scholars.

"Under these circumstances we are strongly of opinion that the Company records should not be removed to Delhi before they are classified, flattened and the badly damaged ones repaired, at their present place of preservation. The question of the disposal of the 'C' class papers will be taken up in consultation with the Indian Historical Records Commission after the work of classification is completed and none should be destroyed before we have finally inspected them."

It should also be remembered that all the early records relating to Bengal are housed in the Imperial Record Office and not in the Bengal Provincial Record Office. It is, therefore, unfair to Bengal and a needless creation of difficulties for investigators into Bengal's history, to transfer these records to Delhi, simply because they belonged to the Imperial Government of the olden days. No narrow provincial jealousy should be allowed to come in and do injustice to Bengal and to scholarship in general.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS: By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, with an Introduction by Dr. J. J. Modi.

Third Edition 1928 revised and enlarged : Pp. XVIII + 210 : D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay ; Price Rs. 3.

This eminently useful hand-book by a well-known Parsee scholar gives a plain and sympathetic outline of Zoroastrian religion and practice. There is a synopsis of the contents of the current Zoroastrian sacred books in both Avesta and Pahlair-Pazand, and there are notes on the history of the faith, and on some of its salient doctrines and rituals as described in the books and as actually practised. It is a book to keep, being accurate and authoritative, at least from the standpoint of Parsee tradition, and giving most of the important items of information about the religion and its usages. The issue of a third edition shows that the book has obtained recognition from Parsees and others, which it so well deserves.

S. K. C.

THE INDIAN STATES IN RELATION TO THE BRITISH CROWN AND BRITISH INDIA : *By K. B. Moghe.*

This book contains a very unskilful presentation of the case that the Ruling Princes of India want to make out—that they have direct relations with the British Crown. The position taken up by the Princes may be legally correct or it may be politically unsound—but their case might have been entrusted to better hands.

C.

THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI : *By R. Gopalan, M. A. Published by the University of Madras (1928). Pp. XXXIII and 245. Price Rs. 5 only : foreign, 7s. 6d. net.*

The University of Madras should be congratulated on its having encouraged the preparation and publication of special monographs on South Indian history. The present one on the Pallavas by Mr. Gopalan is full of promise and let us hope, is an earnest of more volumes on the same lines. Pallava history takes its rise out of the baffling haze of the third century A. D. during which mighty empires like those of the Kushanas in the north and of the Andhras in the south, slowly and mysteriously disappeared. Then followed the no less glorious regime of the Guptas and the Pallavas, champions of the North and the South respectively, which continued to shape the political and cultural life of India down to the dawn of our mediaeval orders. The importance of Pallava history has been duly emphasized by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar in his learned introduction, which supplies many missing links in the chain of political chronology, especially important being his account of the Kalabhra interregnum. Mr. Gopalan pursues the more modest yet none the less useful task of reconstruction of the general picture out of a chaotic mass of conflicting theories and he might take legitimate pride in the fact that he had succeeded in giving us a coherent and satisfactory narrative. Students of Indian history will be thankful to him for giving up-to-date information in a handy volume and they will be stimulated to prosecute further researches into the problems left in a tantalising state of solution.

While negating the possibility of the north-Indian antecedents of the people suggested by the Pallava=

Pahlava equation, the author has not succeeded in explaining or explaining away satisfactorily the definitely north-Indian characteristics clinging to the Pallava *epigraphy, administration and culture* as he admits (p. 147) and as we find sketched in the last chapter (Chapter X) of the book which we recommend to every reader of Indian institutional history. An intensive comparison between the north and the south in such a chapter, might have yielded fruitful results. Another serious omission on the part of the author was to take no notice whatsoever of the series of findings and hypotheses relating to the migration of the so-called Vengi-Pallava grantha script to Indo-China and Indonesia, as pointed out by Mon. Bergaigne and Pinot, Dr. Kern and Prof. Vogel. The maritime and colonial activities of the Pallavas as suggested by the above authorities on greater Indian history and the possible filtration of the *nagi* legends from the Pallava to the Cambodian courts as we read in the monograph of Mon. Georges Coedès seemed to have escaped the notice of the author. We hope that in his future edition he will try to throw some light on these important questions and add a fresh chapter on Pallava art, without which the history of the Pallavas appears sadly incomplete.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN SILPASHASTRA *with the text of Mayashastra : By Prof. Phanindranath Bose, M. A.*

SHILPA-SASTRAM. *Edited with notes and English translation by Prof. Phanindranath Bose, M. A.*

The two volumes published by Moti Lal Banarsī Dass of Lahore, form numbers 12 and 17 of the Punjab Sanskrit Series and embody the latest researches of Prof. Bose into the history of Silpa-Shastra. In his *Principles* the author gives very useful summaries of the notions relating to Hindu sculpture, iconography, architecture, etc., as we find in the old canonical texts which have come down to us in a sadly mutilated condition. What an amount of difficulty he had to overcome while attempting to save these fragments from complete ruin and oblivion may be realized by those who are working in the same field. Prof. Bose, an indefatigable worker, has not only compared the available Sanskrit texts but has ventured further to discover clues, if possible, from vernacular recensions or Tibetan version of some of these texts, and thus he deserves the utmost praise. We are apt to forget that Indian art was not throughout a baggage of fossilized specimens to be examined by art critics. On the contrary, Indian art presents a living tradition down to this day and therefore we may, if we are watchful enough, discover evidences of actual application and formulation of technique among the artisans and craftsmen of our age, who might be carrying on the ancient tradition under a modern or modified garb. Prof. Bose's researches in this latter direction led to the discovery of a veritable master-mason's manual from a group of Shilpin in Orissa. This Shilpa-Sastram, a jumble of corrupt Sanskrit and Oriya has been carefully edited by the author and presented to the public for the first time. Such vernacular recensions of old Sanskrit Shilpa-Sastras might be discovered, if searched for, in every part of India where image-making and temple-building are living arts still, *e. g.*,

in Rajputana and South India. Let us hope that the example of Prof. Bose will inspire workers in the same field, from different zones of Indian art creation. The books of Prof. Bose should be in the hand of all students of Hindu art history.

TREATMENT OF LOVE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.
By Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M. A., D. Litt (London).
Printed and published by Sajanikanta Das, 91,
Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. (1929), pp. 87.
Price Re. 1 only.

Dr. S. K. De is generally known as our leading authority on Sanskrit Poetics but very few outside Bengal suspect that he is also a poet of remarkable sensibility and *consense*. The present essay, luckily meant for the "general reader" brings him out with his genial and sober smile of appreciation dropping aside the academic robe of "critical scholarship." *Tant Mieux!* Love, specially Sanskrit Love requires delicate treatment, and every reader of this essay will agree that the subject has found its worthy master in our poet-rhetorician. Though pretending to improvise hurriedly, he betrays a spirit of wholesome fastidiousness born of years of patient and loving study. Hence his appreciation seldom transgresses the limits of judgment and his criticism seldom gets detached from the context of the creative *milieu*. We wanted badly such a good guide amidst the suffocating exuberance of Sanskrit erotic poetry. One feels on every page that Dr. De is not only revaluating but revivifying his old loves in the domain of Sanskrit literature. And if the treatment of the Pre-classical part seems rather sketchy and abrupt, that of the second and third parts dealing with Sanskrit poetry, romance and drama amply compensates. The antinomy of *Sringara* and *Vairagya*, of *kama* and *moksha*—which forms the central drama of Hindu soul with its violent oscillations between paroxysms of physical gratification and equally violent, though scared, renunciation—finds it relentless yet pathetic analysis at the hands of Dr. De, who seldom allows any bias, ethical or non-ethical, to cloud his literary judgment. He is liable to be chafed, we admit, by some naughty critic for pretending to be a thoroughbred occidental in his outlook on oriental love, which might have missed the chance of being as gallant and impetuous as the romantic love of the West, but which nevertheless has given to world literature by a curious process of sublimation, archetypes of passion like *ushas* (cosmic) *Savitri* (marital) and *Yasoda* (maternal)—to mention amongst others who compel us to probe deeper than the skin-deep in order to arrive at a more satisfactory and comprehensive diagnosis of Love. We congratulate the author on this provoking essay on a provoking subject and recommend his book to all lovers of Sanskrit lore.

NAGNAJIT

SANSKRIT

THE BHAGAVADGITA, WITH EASY SANSKRIT ANNOTATIONS AND LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION: By Sitanath Tattvabhushan and Srischandra Vedantabhushan Bhagavatratna, B.A. Edited by Sitanath Tattvabhushan with an historical and philosophical

introduction giving an expository and critical account of the contents of each chapter. Crown 8vo. 78 + 336 Pages. Cloth bound, Rs. 2-8.

The *Bhagavadgita* is one of the most celebrated sacred books of the world, and its editions are perhaps as numerous as the sands of the sea-shore, yet there was room for the present edition, which as the editor says in the preface, "was suggested by Maharaja Venkatakumar Mahipati Surya Rao of Pithapuram, whose enlightened interest in sacred literature and munificent donations in support of all pious and philanthropic endeavours are well known. All English-knowing lovers of the *Gita* will welcome its latest appearance in a nice and handsome form, and will find it most useful for ready reference, for which purpose the annotators have thoughtfully provided a श्लोकानुक्रमिका or index to the first lines. It was a desideratum keenly felt by those who have constantly to use the book in the class-room and elsewhere. The Sanskrit annotations have been rightly cut down to the minimum; they are just sufficient to enable the reader with an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit to construe the *sloka* and understand its meaning, their one wholesome feature being that they steer clear of sectarian interpretations. The English translation is literal but lucid and to the point. We tested the version of some of the typical and knotty *slokas*, and have nothing but admiration for the excellence of the achievement of the annotators in their task. The introduction will be found helpful to those who take to a serious study of the *Bhagavadgita*, and are anxious to enter into its real spirit. It is marked by the limpid style and power of exposition for which Pandit Tattvabhushan deservedly holds an eminent place among the philosophical writers of this country. The price of the book, in view of the attractive get-up, is moderate. We commend it wholeheartedly to the reading public.

RAJANIKANTA GUHA

BENGALI

UDYAN-LATA: By Santa Devi and Sita Devi. Second Edition. Pp. 355. Cr. 8vo. Cloth, gilt-lettered. Printed neatly in big type. Re. 1. annas 8. Modern Review Office.

This book is a novel having for its heroine a school-girl. On its first publication it was reviewed and praised in the London *Times* by the late Dr. J. D. Anderson, Reader in Bengali to the Cambridge University.

YATRI: By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 315, Demy 8vo. Rs. 2. Cloth. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Neatly printed in big type.

This book contains the poet's *Diary of a Pilgrim to the West* and his *Letters from a Pilgrim to Java*. The *Diary* is not like an ordinary diary, recording the day's events. It is rather a record of happenings in the poet's inner life, his thoughts and sentiments on various social and other problems of the Western world and India. The *Letters* contain descriptions of outward events and functions also. But they, too, are replete with his reflections on men and things. It is an excellent book, which

all readers of Bengali will find charming, instructive and edifying.

JIBAN-SMṚITI : By *Rabindranath Tagore*. New edition. Demy 8vo. Pp. 285. Cloth. *Visvabharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Rs. 2, Neatly printed in big type.*

These reminiscences of the poet's boyhood, youth and early manhood are too well known to readers of Bengali, as well as to readers of English in their English version, to require fresh characterization.

X

URDU

MAZAMIN CHAKBAST or the *Collection of Essays and other writings of the late Pandit Brij Narayan Chakbast*. Published by Indian Press Limited, Allahabad. Pages 344, Price Rs. 1-8.

It is a collection of the articles contributed by the late Pandit Brij Narayan Chakbast to different Urdu papers and magazines.

Chakbast is undoubtedly one of the greatest Urdu poets of the 20th century. His poems, specially the political ones—are eagerly read and appreciated by the educated people of Northern India. But as a prose writer also Chakbast has very few equals. Whatever he has written is of a high standard, and his writings will always occupy an honoured place in the classical works of Urdu literature. The present work consists of twenty articles, most of which are biographical essays on some of the men prominent in Urdu literature such as Nasim, Hijra, Dagh, Burk, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, Munshi Sajjad Hassain, and others. The style is unique, the thoughts are clear and logical and the language is excellent. Some of the articles, specially one on Gulzar Nasim raised a keen controversy in Urdu papers. This controversy was prolonged for a long time, but at the end Chakbast emerged victorious.

The Indian Press is to be congratulated on the production of such a nice work. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent and it is moderately priced. All those who have any interest in Urdu literature should get a copy of this book.

BRIJ MOHAN VARMA

MARATHI

MARATHYANCHYA LIADHAYANCHYA ITIHASA : By Prof. S. M. Paranjape. Publisher : Chitralashala Press, Poona. Pages 327 with 20 maps and several illustrations : Price Rs. 2.

That there is ample scope for study, research and careful thought in Maratha history, is evident from the divergent views expressed by writers, British and Indian, on the subjugation of Maharashtra by the British Power. English authors with very rare exceptions, ascribe the fall of the Maratha Power to the superior ability, strategy, valour, and statesmanship of the British. On the other hand, Maratha writers and a few of the more impartial English authors, while acknowledging the superiority of the British in such virtues as discipline, preparedness, and

tactfulness, attribute the result not to any want of martial spirit or of military skill on the part of the Marathas, but to their susceptibility to corruption and treachery as also to their readiness to subordinate large national interests, which together make for moral decadence of a great nation. That this latter view is more likely to be correct is the impression of the person who on perusal of this volume ponders over the subject in a calm and dispassionate mood of mind. The author has spent a good deal of patient labour and thought over the subject. His methodical treatment of it leaves one in no doubt about the correctness of the conclusions arrived at by him. To the serious student of Maratha history this book, furnished with numerous maps and illustrations is indispensable inasmuch as it will disabuse the reader's mind of the several misunderstandings created by the reading of Maratha histories written by interested foreign writers. The language is clear and the style is fascinating. The book is a valuable addition to the growing historical literature in Marathi.

GERMAN BHASHA PRAVESH OR INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF GERMAN : By Prof. S. B. Hudlikar. Publisher—S. V. Chaudhury of the Poona Law College. Pages 337. Price Rs. 3.

The law of demand and supply holds good not only in business but also in the case of literature. The ever-growing number of persons going to Germany for study or for business imperatively called for the production of a book which would introduce Marathi-speaking people to the study of German and thus afford them facilities for free communication with the German people and Prof. Hudlikar, who himself has some experience of the difficulties Indian students have to face in learning German, readily came forward to help the beginner, with the knowledge and experience he gained in his three years' residence in Germany. The result is the production of this book, which claims to give the student sufficient acquaintance with the grammar and syntax of the German language in three months, provided the student zealous and industriously applied himself to the study. Judging from the systematic arrangement of lessons and clear illustrations given in each lesson, we find that the claim is not overstated. There are a number of such help-books in English, e.g., 'German without Tears,' 'How to learn German in six months,' 'German without a Teacher' etc., but excepting one little Bengali book recently published, no attempt appears to have been made to teach German to Indians through the medium of an Indian vernacular. Mr. Hudlikar's attempt is, therefore, worthy of commendation and encouragement.

One little suggestion may be made here. The book is evidently meant for home study and will be largely used as such. Hence the necessity of providing a 'key to exercises' given in the book so as to enable the student to find out for himself how far his solutions of the exercises are correct. The German-Marathi vocabulary given at the end of the book should be supplemented with a Marathi-German vocabulary also, which will greatly help Marathi students to get over the difficulty of finding suitable German words to express their thoughts.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATI

1. KAVITA AND SAHITYA, Vol. III: *By the late Sir Ramanbhai M. Nilkantha, Kt., B.A., LL.B.*
2. AROGYA SASTRA: *By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai.*
3. THE FOLK-LORE OF GUJARAT, Second series: *By F. B.*
4. SHRI HARI LILA SHODASH KATHA: *By Ambalal Bulakheram Jani, B.A.*
5. HARISHCHANDRAKHYAN: *By Divan Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva, B.A.*
6. HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE: *By Mahashankar Indrajai Dave.*
7. CONSERVATISM: *By Champaklal Lalbhai Mehta, B.A., LL.B.*
8. PAURANIC KATHA KOSHA: *By Dahyabhai Pitambar Das Derasari, Barrister-at-Law.*

These eight books on different subjects are published by the Gujarati Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, out of the interest of the various funds entrusted to its care. Nos. 1 and 3 are reprints of useful books, nos. 4 and 5 are reprints of poems written by old Gujarati poets, with appropriate notes and corrected text. The editing is the result of the efforts of writers who have made the study of old Gujarati poets their own. No. 2 is an independent work from the pen of one who knows by practical experience what the cleansing of a dirty and filthy town as well as of a diseased body means. No. 6 is a very well-written history of the Bengali Literature. How well the author has done his work can be seen from the account he has given of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, how in a small compass he has

brought out all the salient features of that brilliant but unhappy star of modern Bengali literature. No. 7 is a translation of Lord Hugh Cecil's book of the same name. No. 8 furnishes a long-felt want of our literature and is written in the usual lucid style of the author. They are all moderately priced.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- A. S. Eddington, F. R. S.—SCIENCE AND THE UNSEEN WORLD. The Swarthmore Press Ltd.
 ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR 1928.
 SUMMARY OF EVENTS OF THE GONDAL STATE, 1926-27.
 NORWAY'S BEST STORIES, DENMARK'S BEST STORIES, SWEDEN'S BEST STORIES. Edited by Hanna Astrup Larsen, London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
 Esther Roper—POEMS BY EVA GORE-BOOTH. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London.
 Raghubir Narayan—WAY-SIDE BLOSSOMS.
 PSALMS OF DADU—Theosophical Society, Benares City.
 Swami Avyaktananda—VIVEKANANDA. Ramkrishna Ashrama, Bankipur.
 Mohanimohan Bhattacharjee, M. A., B. L.—STUDIES IN SPENSER. University of Calcutta.
 S. V. Karandikar, M. A.—HINDU EXOGAMY. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.
 Sir Hari Singh Gaur—THE SPIRIT OF BUDDHISM. Lalchand & Sons, Calcutta.
 Sushil Kumar De—THE VAKROKTI-JIVITA, by Rajanaka Kuntaka.

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard-pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

"British Expansion in Tibet"

I read with some surprise the review of my book "British Expansion in Tibet" by Mr. J. Sarkar, published in the May issue of your paper. I regret to notice that some Indians, with great ego, find pleasure in running down Indian authors; and lately the *Modern Review* has become a medium for such unjust and undignified work on the part of Indians, who should devote their time to more profitable occupation.

I know that there are printing mistakes in the book reviewed by Mr. J. Sarkar. But it is something that happens in many books published in India and other countries. It seems that the reviewer could not digest and master the facts as

presented in "British Expansion in Tibet" because he had nothing to say about them. Any reader of my little book will see that the work is based more upon original documents, treaties, *Blue-books* than so-called "partisan American" authorities. Prof. Carlton J. Hayes of Columbia University is one of the foremost historians in the world. Prof. Hayes' views on the Tibetan question is not very complimentary to the British, because he has no axe to grind in favour of British Imperialism; and for that reason Mr. Sarkar classes him as "partisan" and shows his own narrowness.

I fully realize that Indians are not in a position to drive the British out of India by military action. But the reviewer evidently lacks the vision to appreciate the importance of India's extending

support to China in her efforts to regain sovereignty in Tibet. Without taking up arms against the British, the people of India can help China in a far-reaching way. This fact has been demonstrated by the demand of the All-India National Congress and leaders of the Indian Legislative Assembly that Indian soldiers should be withdrawn from China. The reviewer talks of self-determination of the Tibetan people; does he think that the Tibetans will gain this end through *British penetration into Tibet, which is nothing but a stepping-stone to further British penetration into Chinese territory?*

It seems that Mr. Sarkar could not find any merit in the work. A few "printing mistakes" made a lasting impression on him. Yet this little book has received commendation from American, Chinese (Dr. Sze, former Chinese Minister to the United States), Japanese and German authorities. Without pride, I may say that my study on "British Expansion in Tibet" is the only work which unmasks British duplicity, based upon incontrovertible facts and documents; and for its merits, it was used (even before it was printed in book form) as one of the required collateral readings on Oriental politics in one of the foremost Western universities.

TARAKNATH DAS

EDITOR'S NOTE:—*The Modern Review* could have been assumed to know its business as well as Dr. Taraknath Das knows his.

"Rajpal's Assassin"

I have read with some attention and care your comments on the assassination of Rajpal which appear on pages 756-757 of the *Modern Review* for June, 1929. The restrained language in which you have couched your remarks ill conceals the bitterness which the murder of Rajpal has created in your mind. But perhaps you are not aware of what the Musalmans have to say in regard to the events culminating in the murder and immediately following it. Your source of information are the Lahore papers and you can easily understand the infection of partisan spirit with which Lahore was surcharged on the day when this deed was done. With tainted news before you, you could perhaps do no better than to comment in the manner you have done.

If you will permit me I will show you the other side of the shield. You express regret that public subscriptions were raised to finance the defence of the assassin and that where Muslims of

the same pecuniary position as Ilam Din or poorer than he are accused of ordinary murders, public subscriptions are not generally raised for their defence. Right. It will be a news to you that immediately after the murder of Rajpal the Hindus of Lahore started a movement to raise a fund for the support of his widow and orphans. So far the idea was unexceptionable, but later it was announced that this fund would be used to provide for the dependents and heirs of any other Hindus who may be murdered in the cause in which Rajpal lost his life. To extend in this manner the scope of the fund innocently started to support the dependents of Rajpal is to encourage others to follow his ways.

Is this right? It is this which provoked the Musalmans to start a fund to finance the defence of Ilam Din. When Hindus of the position of Rajpal are murdered in the catastrophies which may be incidental to anyone's life, public subscriptions are not raised to provide wherewithal for the upkeep of their widows or their children. When the people are passing through abnormal times, you cannot expect them to behave as normal, rational men, be they Hindus or Musalmans.

You say that the murder of a critic of either sort only produces the impression that there was some irrefutable truth in his criticism. Do you believe that the murder of Rajpal has established the truth of the contents of the pamphlet published by him?

[The question of our personal belief or disbelief does not arise, as we never even thought of having a look at the pamphlet. We have more serious work to do than to read such pamphlets or to argue with angry men. EDITOR, *M. R.*]

Not till the Arya Samaj revises and modifies its policy of attacking other religions in a virulent manner, will there be peace in that part of the country where the missionaries of this Samaj carry on their business.

[The writer's prophecy may be taken by some people as a sort of extenuation of "religious" murders—EDITOR, *M. R.*]

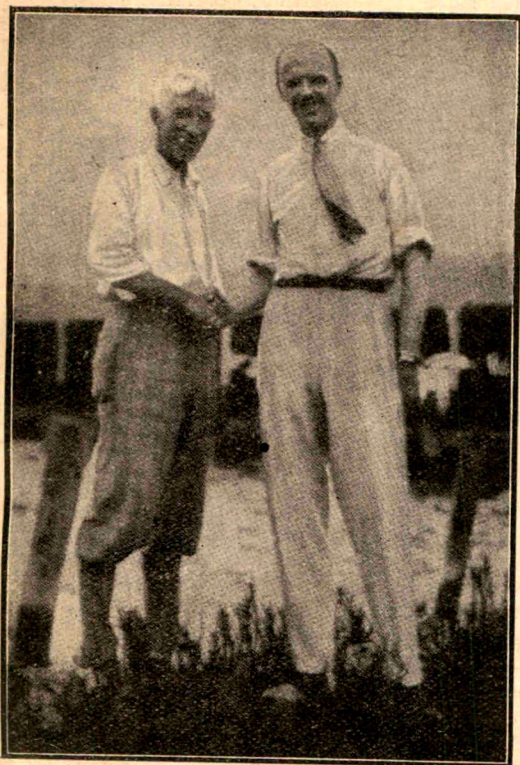
• AHMAD SHAFI

EDITOR'S NOTE—We have published only the relatively temperate portions of this writer's long and excited letter, by way of giving our readers some idea of what he wants to say. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of his statements, nor can we undertake to publish any more effusions of his or his critics. We are not surprised that his letter does not contain the faintest condemnation of "religious" murders.



The Speediest Craft Afloat

Ninety-four miles an hour! Fast enough in the air—hair-raising on land—but so speedy in the water that only one craft in the world has accomplished it. It is the world's record just made by Gar Wood, dean of American power boat racers, in his specially-designed *Miss America VII*.



Gar Wood and Major Segrave shaking hands

Imagine the power of two thousand horses driving a craft no bigger than a ship's dory, and many times as fragile! No wonder the river of gasoline that pours into its carburetors is twice as great as that which feeds the motors of Gar Wood's seventy-foot gasoline yacht, at full speed. Looking at the pair of Packard aviation engines, iron brutes

side by side, I noticed that two spark-plugs for each of the twenty-four cylinders make ignition certain. Each of the V-shaped motors is rated at eight hundred horsepower; actually, though, they develop a thousand horsepower apiece.

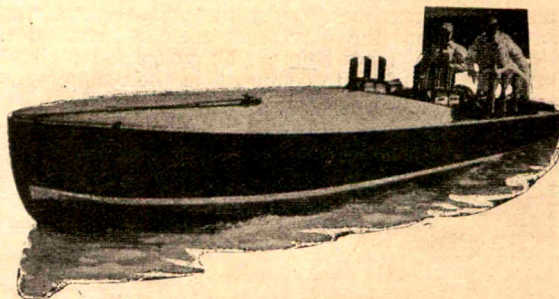
I had expected that under the impulse of these mammoths, the *Miss America VII* would rise out of the water, nose first, at full speed. She hadn't, and now I saw that her entire weight is supported on the lower front plane. The boat skims along on her nose, the back half out of water.

"Our problem," a voice at my elbow said, "is to move the boat forward with the least possible disturbance of the water."

I turned to a rather slight man of middle age with a thatch of unruly, thick gray hair—and garbed in a white coverall suit. He was Gar Wood.

There was one question I wanted to ask him. "The *Miss America VII* gave a wonderful performance," I said. "But I am curious to know why you let your brother drive your boat to a new world's record."

"That's an easy one," Gar Wood replied. "George has been driving a year-old boat, the *Miss America V*, around in the other races during the last four days, and taking my boat's wash. I thought he ought to have a little of the glory. George is the salt of the earth, that boy!"

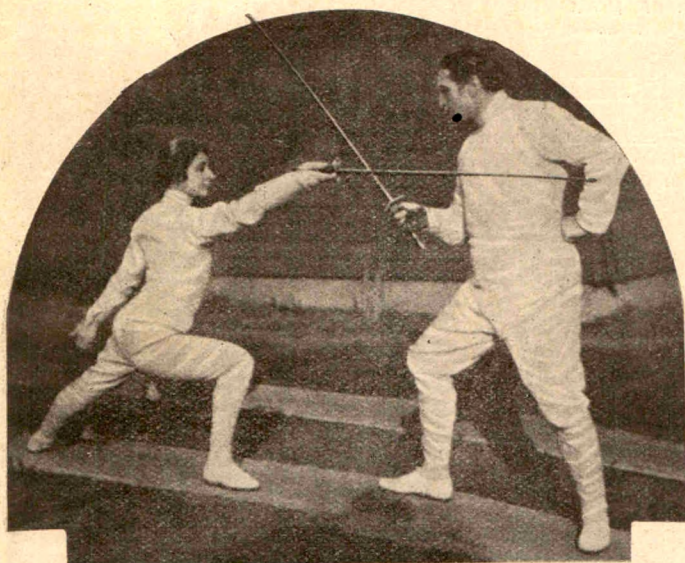


Miss America VII

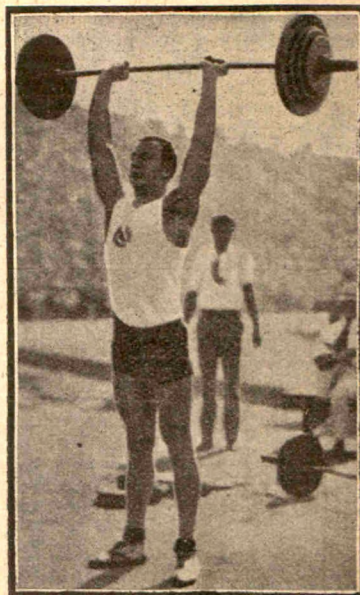
That remark of Wood's epitomizes the sportsmanship of a man who has spent \$75,000 on the world's fastest water craft in order to drive her perhaps a dozen hours during her life of two or three years—and then to consign her to the scrap heap in favour of a faster boat. The *Miss America VII* that has just raced to a new speed mark in Florida is just what her name indicates—the seventh

of a line of *Miss Americas*, the first of which Wood built in 1919 and used to win the Harmsworth international trophy in a thirty-mile race off the Isle of Wight. Since then he has successfully defended it against all challengers.

Power boat racing calls for a heart of steel and arms of whipcord. Gar Wood and his brother have both, though neither of them tips the scales at a hundred and fifty pounds.



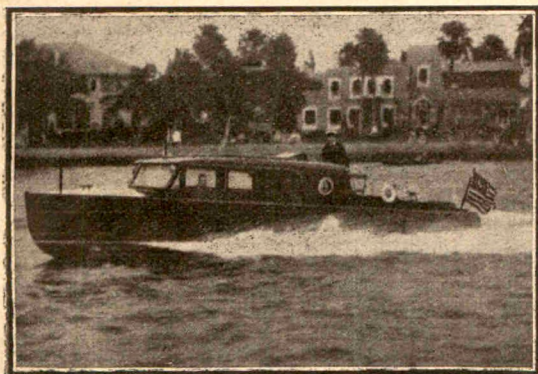
Touche!! At 21, Mlle. Jeanne Vical, of Los Angeles, is world's best woman fencer. Here she is training for 1932 Olympics with her father, who taught her.



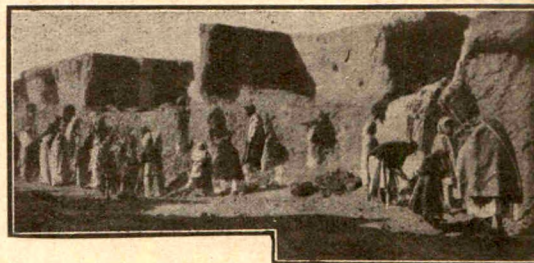
Doesn't pay to fool with Tom Tyler, Los Angeles strong man. He holds the American amateur weight-lifting title for the feat of heaving 760 pounds

Archaeological Discoveries in Mesopotamia

Returning from a seven-year archaeological expedition in Mesopotamia for the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the British Museum, Prof. C. Leonard Woolley reports the discovery



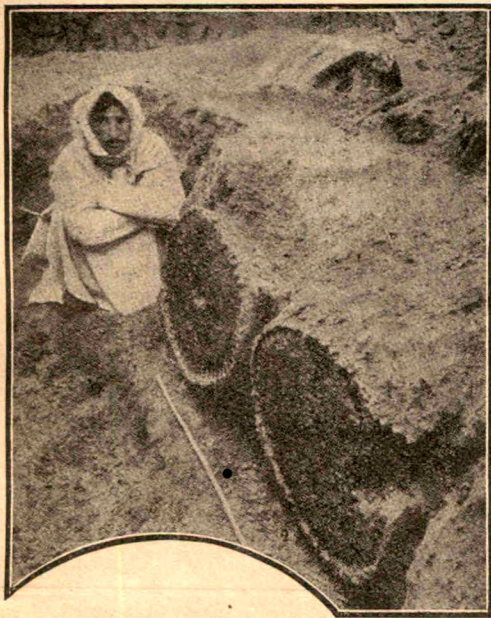
The thirty-two-foot Robinson "Seagull," one of the fastest of sedan cruisers. It makes thirty-two miles an hour. The cabin contains comfortable berths, upholstered seats, built-in lockers, and a smart little galley.



Workmen uncovering the ruins of the ancient city of an eight-foot layer of clay which he says was deposited during the inundation of the Euphrates known in Scriptural accounts as the Deluge.

The discovery constitutes the first historical substantiation of the Biblical story of Noah's flood. What Professor Woolley and his associates found were the effects of an overflowing of the Euphrates over the low-lying land of Mesopotamia. To the dwellers in that ancient country, the flooded region may well have seemed to comprise the whole earth. The eight-foot clay deposit was found overlying older strata not only at one point but in three different places as much as 200 yards apart, indicating a flood of great proportions.

The story of the Deluge contained in the Book of Genesis tells how "all the fountains of the great deep (were) broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened" and it rained for forty days and nights. The waters rose to a height of fifteen cubits, about twenty-one feet, covered the earth, and drowned all creatures except the occupants of the Ark. The Flood receded after one hundred and fifty days, when Noah, his family, beasts, and birds found themselves safe on the mountains of Ararat.



Wheels of the oldest vehicle ever found, a chariot dating back to about 3,500 B. C.

Another account of the Flood is the Sumerian story, contained in written versions that go back to 2,100 B.C. It is virtually the same as that in the Bible, but relates that the disaster arose from a violent quarrel among the gods.

Professor Woolley conducted his excavation work in the ancient Sumerian ruins at Ur of the Chaldees, the birthplace of Abraham. By unearthing pottery, utensils, and human remains indicating a race of high culture and commercial development, the archeologists established a Sumerian civilization dating back to 4,000 B. C.

Reaching the bottom of the layer of earth containing evidences of human life, the excavators

came upon a stratum of silt or sand about eight feet deep. Beneath this were unmistakable traces



A copper rein ring found on the front of the chariot

of another and older civilization. In this layer were pieces of pottery and other articles of daily use, as well as expertly moulded bricks, which, Professor Woolley holds, were used by the people of Noah's time in building homes.

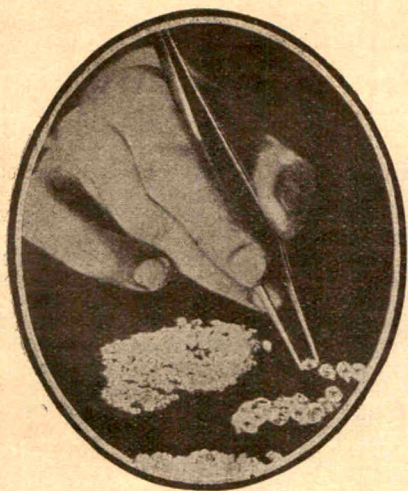
About the same time, the joint expedition of the Field Museum of Chicago and Oxford University, under the direction of Prof. S. Langdon, of Oxford, reported important finds in the ruins of Kish, in Mesopotamia, believed to have been the first city founded after the Flood. Among the discoveries were the remains of the oldest vehicle ever found, the wheels of a chariot dating back to about 3,500 B.C.

How Jewellers "Set the Stage" for Diamonds

Like actors diamonds have to "rehearse" their places before they become part of a finished piece of jewellery. On a smooth surface of wax, the jeweller, who plays the part of "director," sketches the design of the proposed bracelet or tiara. In the wax he places the diamonds in different positions according to their size and other characteristics. These positions are altered until he thinks each gem shows up to best advantage. The stones are then transferred in the same relationship to the precious metal of their permanent setting.

The photographs above, made in the studio of a Regent Street jeweller, illustrate the process.

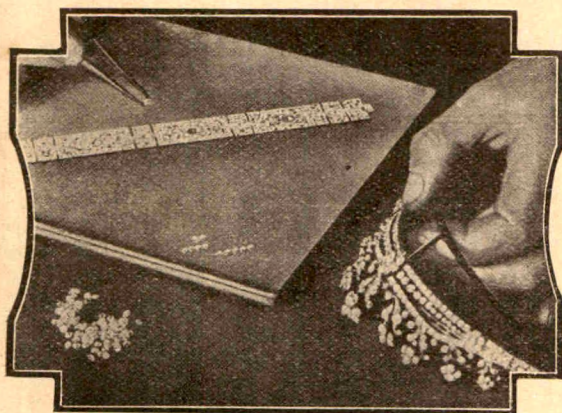
In preparing diamonds for jewellery, the stones are first ground by an iron wheel surfaced with diamond dust and emery. Then they are sorted and graded into different groups according to their



Sorting the diamonds preparatory to setting them in the wax design

weight and colour. After this they are given "try-outs" on the wax stage.

Because tiaras are not as popular as they once were, jewellers are sometimes called upon to transfer the diamonds in them to other pieces of jewellery. In this work, the same procedure is followed. The gems removed from the tiara are laid out on the



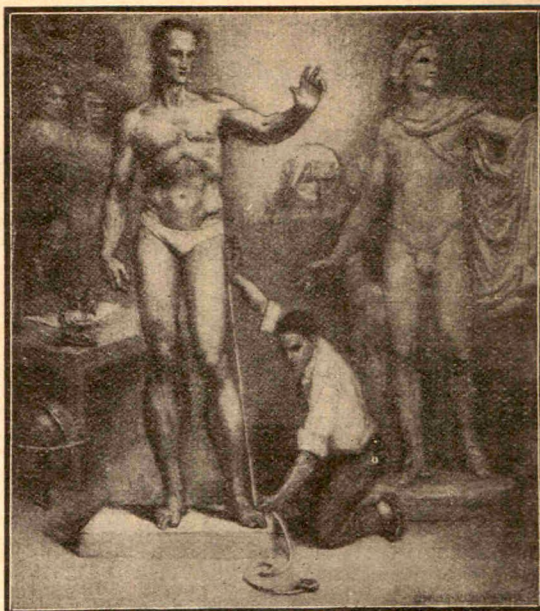
Transferring stones from tiara to wax design of bracelet

wax surface so that the owner can judge the arrangement and indicate whether he desires any changes.

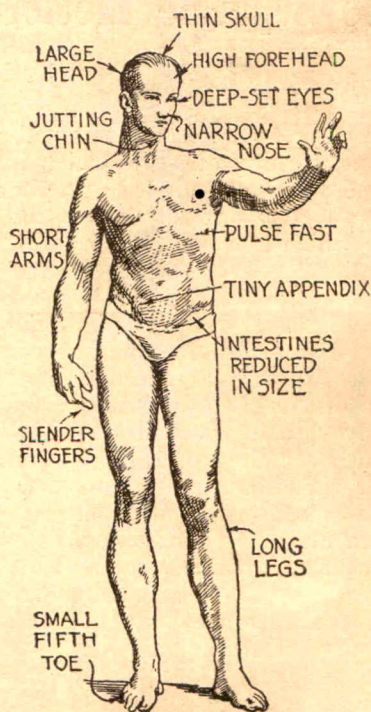
(*Popular Science*)

Someday We'll Look Like This

A man of commanding stature, short-armed but long-legged, will be the future inhabitant of the earth. His appendix and his fifth toe will have dwindled nearly to nothing; his forehead



The man of the future, as predicted by Dr. Hrdlicka, and, for comparison, stands him beside the statue of Apollo Belvedere, long considered the acme of physical perfection.



How future evolution may alter the structure and appearance of man's body

will be high and intelligent. He will be an Apollo for beauty.

These predictions are made by Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, curator of the division of physical anthropology at the National Museum, in Washington, D. C. Mankind, he told the American Philosophical Society recently, is racing ahead as fast as ever in the process of evolution that began with man's birth some 300,000 years ago. And he challenged statements of some biologists that evolution has stopped as far as man is concerned. A few thousand years, he says, should alter the appearance of human beings considerably.

Deep-set eyes, a prominent, narrow nose, and jutting chin will characterize the typical man of tomorrow, according to Dr. Hrdlicka. His skull will become thin—largely because his jaw muscles put less strenuously to work to eat refined foods, will exert less force. His face will reflect increasing handsomeness and character from this cause, as well as from intelligent breeding and increased brain size. His hair probably will be thin, for baldness will increase. The fate of his beard hangs in doubt. His body, slender in youth, will show the greatest outward change in length of limbs. Shortened arms and lengthened legs will terminate in narrow hands and feet. Fingers and toes will be slender; the fifth or "baby" toe in particular, will shrink. The future man will be taller, though not a giant.

Internally, important changes will occur. Highly digestible food, made possible by civilization will reduce the size of the future man's intestines. His appendix will wane in size. His pulse rate will speed up as a result of more lively body activity.

Mentally he will be a superman, endowed with keen and sensitive intelligence. This will be only partly reflected in a bigger brain, for he will be smarter than that alone would indicate.

For all this, Dr. Hrdlicka believes, man must pay a price. He will live longer, but he will be ridden by disease. Bad digestion may trouble him, sleeplessness may make his nights hideous. Diabetes and skin troubles will probably increase, as well as insanity. Heart trouble and cancer will threaten him until they are mastered by medicine. Another danger appears in the low birth-rate among people most advanced in intelligence, which may mean that society's lowest strata will have to provide the geniuses of the future.

Perhaps by that time, however, we shall have learned to create geniuses and giants as they are required. Dr. Oscar Riddle, of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C. has recently made the prediction that through gland extracts and laboratory methods of control, science may be able eventually to produce mental or physical supermen at will.

(Popular Science)

Do Separate Electorates Safeguard Muslim Interests

By MUHAMMAD AZHAR

THE correct answer to this all-absorbing and burning question which is agitating the politically-minded people of India would to a great extent solve the knotty problem which is a bar to uniform progress and national development of the country. It is the problem of problems. A right solution of the problem would make matters smooth for both Hindus and Mussalmans, and pave the way for speedy reconciliation between these two warring communities. Generally speaking, the Indian Muslims are enamoured of the separate electorate, and consider it as the only universal panacea for all sorts of social and political maladies. They are under the charming delusion that separate electorates safeguard their interests properly, and they further declare that that method is an indispensably necessary evil for a minority community like the Muslims, who would not be able to safeguard their interests in this land of a non-Muslim majority without it. So they argue that if separate electorates be abolished their interests would suffer

seriously at the hands of the Hindus in the legislatures, and in the course of a few years they, as a political entity, would lose their importance and would be dominated over by the Hindus. They think only of Hindu domination, but hardly do they think of alien domination, the ruinous effects of which are admitted even by an ultra-loyalist like Sir A. K. Ghuznavi in his pamphlet issued on the eve of the last Calcutta riots. However that may be, we are not concerned with it at present. In short, the separate electorate is the sheet-anchor of the Muslim demands. Now, in the light of past experiences since the inauguration of the Reforms in India it behoves us to examine the whole matter in a thoroughly above-board and straightforward manner; otherwise we shall not be able to arrive at a right solution. Even Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Professor of Modern History in the University of Allahabad and a great champion of separate electorates, says—"No settlement of the present impasse is possible without a frank

and earnest discussion." I fully agree with him when he points out in the memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission that though in theory the phrase "rights of minorities" was repeated parrot-like by a group of politicians, they deliberately avoided analysing it.

Let us first commence with interests ; what are interests ? Interests are those things which socially, religiously, economically or politically concern a man most in daily life for his well-being as legal concerns, titles, or rights, which again help him in his growth and development. Thus we have the social, religious, economic, and political interests ; such as the social interests of the Brahmins, the religious interests of the English Muslims (like Lord Headley, Dr. Khaled Sheldrake), the economic interests of Bengal, the greatest jute-growing country in the world, and the political interests of Egypt (which is to assert its full sovereign rights as a free nation). And when men of different religious persuasions begin to inhabit the same country, inhale the same air, and drink the same water, their interests, be they social, religious, economic, or political, are gradually blended together with one another, either wholly or partly. In this process of blending, different groups of people are sometimes submerged as the Sakas, the Hunas, etc.—or sometimes remain detached from one another as the European Jews and the Indian Muslims.

When Muslims migrating from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan began to pour into the vast plains of India, their social, religious, economic and political interests were at first entirely different from the then inhabitants of India. But finally, the moment those Muslims made up their mind to have a permanent footing on the Indian soil, they could not but submit to the natural course open to them. That is to say, as a sequel to their permanent settlement in India (with the establishment of Muslim empire) they began to identify themselves with the Hindus in many matters, and gradually most of their interests became blended together—although each of them professed a religion different from one another. And this closer association made them inter-dependent upon one another and slowly hastened the growth of mutual trust and confidence, ultimately uniting them economically and politically. To quote Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, the well-known writer and traveller who recently made an extensive tour of the Islamic countries :

"Wherever they drifted, the Muslims imported their new-born conception of being the undisputed exponents of the equality of the rights of man, irrespective of colour, culture, creed or clime. In distant countries they planted their homes, inter-married with alien peoples, and in time came to look upon them as their own."

Thus the interests of the Indian Muslims, as times rolled on, became thoroughly identical with the interests of the Hindus, which fact unconsciously and slowly isolated the Muslims of India from the outside Muslims, as a result of which the Indian Muslims adopted many manners and customs of the Hindus, remnants of which are still to be found in Muslim society. The rupture was complete when in spite of professing the same religion the outside Muslims did not hesitate to invade India occasionally at the cost of untold sufferings to their Indian co-religionists. And as Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah puts it :

"Despite the evolution in their midst of conception of a universal nationalism, the Muslims did not fail to safeguard the frontiers of the extensive provinces which they had made their own."

That is to say, economic and political interests being identical, the Muslims made common cause with the Hindus for the protection of these interests. According to Mr. Havell there is

"One obvious lesson writ large on all the monuments of Mohamedan rule, that the cordial relationship which existed between Hindus and Mohamedans at the height of Mussalman supremacy in India was largely due to the fact that the Mohamedan rulers found in the practices of the art and in the unprejudiced pursuit of learning for its own sake the best means of reconciling racial and religious differences." (*Indian Architecture* by E. B. Havell).

It is an axiomatic truth that there can be no genuine and abiding unity amongst the different peoples living in the same country unless and until they can clearly perceive that their economic and political interests do not suffer in the least or clash with one another as a result of such unity. What do we find here ? By searching analysis we find that the economic and political interests of Hindus and Muslims are identical and do not suffer in the least and do not clash with one another. Situated as we are, can the economic and political interests of Muslims be separated and earmarked from the same economic and political interests of Hindus ? Certainly not. Pray, why not ? Because these interests affect them both to the same extent and to the same degree,—and because economic and

political laws operate equally upon Hindus and Muslims. As a matter of fact, both inter-communal and international, as well as inter-provincial unity and understanding have undoubtedly an economic and political basis, and religion has nothing to do with it. That people have ever been at war with each other more on economic and political grounds than on religious or cultural grounds will be abundantly proved from the pages of history.

What appears sometimes as differences between Hindus and Muslims is no such thing as economic and political differences, but religious differences on some minor points which, I admit, exist to some extent. But without entering into the details of these differences, which are much to be regretted, it may be safely affirmed that religious differences are no criterion for national unity and solidarity. Be it noted here that in all modern civilized nations of Europe and America there exist religious differences between a race and a race, between a community and a community and between a sect and a sect. It is next to impossible for us to be free from religious differences. But that does not hinder the formation of a compact national unity in the least. It is rather the economic, hygienic and political interests that reconcile religious differences. Truly, Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Lecturer in Political Science in the University of Iowa (U. S. A.) remarks :

"India is an economic unity. Behind her the tariff walls and the economic laws operate to give essential unity to her life. Social institutions and languages may be different but where there is economic unity you have the best basis for working successfully representative institutions. To add to the wealth and happiness of the people in the United States of America, how many different races are to be found? There are 200 newspapers and magazines in foreign languages. There is no homogeneous nation in the world. Perhaps a sociologist or anthropologist may discover one in the heart of Africa. So long you have economic unity you have the basis for working political institutions." (See *Forward* of 11th July, 1928.)

Look at Palestine, Syria and Albania. Religious differences and animosities between Christians and Muslims are proverbial up till now, and the sad history of the Crusades bears testimony to it. In spite of all this the Palestinian and Syrian Muslims do not hesitate to make common cause with the Christian inhabitants of these countries—and are even fighting shoulder to shoulder for

their respective motherland, because the economic, hygienic, and political interests of both the communities are the same.

Here another thing is to be noticed. And it is this. It is frequently dinned into our ears that, as there are religious differences and no religious affinity between Hindus and Muslims, so there can be no national unity or solidarity between them. That this contention is utterly false will be unmistakably demonstrated from the recent examples of Arab and Albanian Muslims' revolt against the Turkish rule. Were there any religious differences between them? Certainly not. Did they not possess religious affinity? Yes. Then what prompted them to rise against their co-religionists? It is the same economic and political (considerations) interests that began to clash with Turkish interests which ultimately culminated in the overthrow of the Turkish suzerainty. (Of course, the Arab Muslims committed the greatest blunder in taking the Imperialist powers of Europe into their confidence, for which they now bitterly repent). Similar is the case with the Egyptian Muslims, who, for the sake of their economic and political interests, rose in rebellion against the domination of a nation possessing the same religious faith. I do not like to prolong my article any further by making references to the hackneyed example of English Jews, which is too familiar to us.

From what has gone above it is conclusively proved that although there are religious differences between Hindus and Muslims, the economic and political interests of both are identical—*rather they are inseparable*. And it is absolutely impossible to separate the economic and political interests of Hindus and Muslims, which are identical throughout the greater part of their life and activities. When such is the case, how will it then be possible for the Indian Muslims to safeguard their interests, which are identical with Hindus by means of separate electorates? In our daily life we depend upon each other for many things; and even if we desire we cannot dispense with this mutual dependence. So how can we dispense with the same help in the legislative and self-governing institutions, where we do require more help than elsewhere to fight the common opponent? Separate electorates mean that we should dispense with the mutual co-operation indispensable in our everyday life, which is

absolutely absurd on the face of it. It does not follow religious differences, because we have that we should require separate electorates for safeguarding our interests. Can separate electorates safeguard our interests? Certainly not. It is joint (or mixed) electorates that adequately safeguard

our interests. *Young Muslims should declare Jihad against separate electorate.* Do the Coptic, Syrian, and the Palestinian and Indian Christians ever demand separate electorate in spite of the fact that they are in a minority? No. Then why should we demand separate electorates?

Indian Womanhood

MISS JAIKALA DEVI, M. A., of Dehra Dun, has been awarded a foreign scholarship of £240 per annum tenable for two years by the U. P. Government for the study of Western methods of Education.

of considerable importance and showed great ability.



Miss Jaikala Devi

MISS USHA BISWAS, M. A., B. T., sometime Assistant Inspectress of Schools at Patna and Midnapur, is now serving as head-mistress in a Calcutta girls' high school. Miss Biswas passed the M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University in English in 1924. She had a very distinguished record throughout her University career. As Asst. Inspectress of Schools, Miss Biswas did educational work



Miss Usha Biswas

MISS. N. K. NARAYANI AMMA is one of the two lady assistant health officers recently appointed by the Rangoon Municipality. She

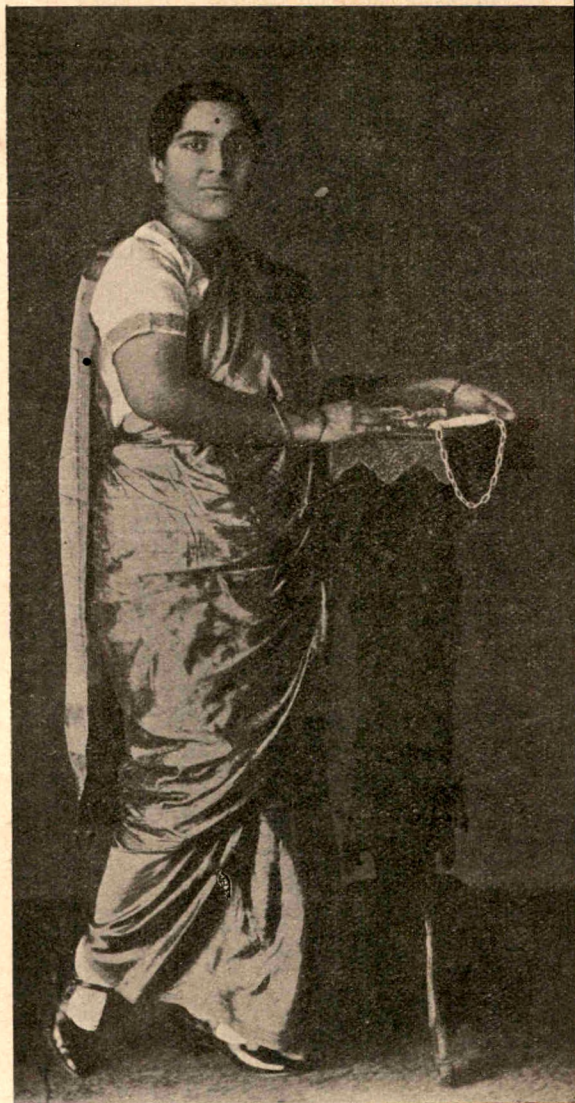
comes of a respectable family of Telicheri in Madras.



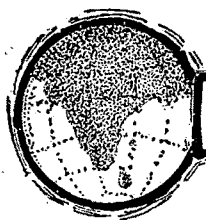
Miss N. K. Narayani Amma

The portrait reproduced on p. 48 of the July number of the *Modern Review* under the caption Dr. Indumati Senjit is really that of Mrs. Avantika Bai Gokhale who is a well-known public worker of Bombay and is a member of the Bombay Municipality. She was one of the first batch of women councillors of the Bombay Municipality and has recently been re-elected for the third time.

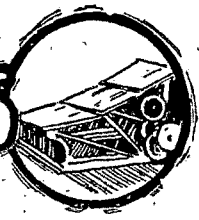
The portrait of Dr. Indumati Senjit is reproduced this month.



DR. MISS INDUMATI BALARAM SENJIT, M.B. B.S. who has been appointed as House Surgeon in the Lady Aitchison Hospital, Lahore.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



India and England

"My own experience," writes Mr. Henry S. L. Polak in *The Indian Review* for June, "is that a very considerable proportion of the British public genuinely wishes to hear about India and to help her to achieve her goal." Interested bodies have carried on anti-Indian propaganda in England, but Indian nationalism, if at all represented, has been represented by indiscreet and unwise speakers and writers. Such men as Gokhale, real statesmen, would try to come in touch with the real sources of power in England.

It may be asked, what was gained by Mr. Gokhale's methods since India is not yet free? But progress cannot be measured so. Cataclysms may produce rapid changes and far-reaching ones, but these may not necessarily be, for the better and wise builders of a State know that each step in its advance towards the goal must be secure before the next one is taken. Instead of decrying Gokhale's methods, would it not be better to glance back for a moment, see where India stood in Gokhale's day and what her position is now, and so measure the distance that she has travelled on her progress towards self-realization during the past twenty years?

Mr. Polak proceeds without any hope that these views will be approved, but in the hope that they will find an echo in the heart of thinking political Indians.

It is further complained that India has no friends in England. That is only a part of the truth, and, where she has lost friends, it is largely because India has neglected them and not sought to cultivate them. As the old friends die off, new ones have to be made. As it is in the individual life, so it is in the life of the Nation. Nothing stands still. Nobody expects any self-respecting Indian leader to come here with a begging-bowl. Such an act would be as intolerable here as in India. But there is a whole world of difference between a begging expedition and an intelligent well-equipped and responsibly conducted one. The new British public needs the right material that India can give it to base its judgments upon. The work of India in this country ought to be done by Indians, and by Indians who are specially chosen for their character, their knowledge, their capacity to co-operate, their understanding of British characteristics, and their willingness to work whole-heartedly during their entire stay here for the cause they are representing.

During the next three or four years, the best efforts of the most distinguished Indians are needed

here for a period of at least four months in each year. It should be remembered that during that period, a great deal of reactionary propaganda, which at present goes unanswered in the places where it is doing most harm, has to be answered adequately, if its evil is to be counteracted. It is during the next two or three years that British public opinion is to be educated. If its education is wrongly directed or if it suffers from merely disjointed and sporadic attempts to improve its capacity to understand, there will be bound to come some mischance to both countries, and it will not be fair to attribute the whole blame to Britain. India will have to bear her share of the sin of omission.

Political opinion in India would also like to enlist support of the British public to its cause. But the practical medium of persuading them is press and platform; and Mrs. Besant's repeated laments show that these are not 'free,' but controlled by anti-Indian interests. As to the leaders of British opinion, they are already committed to a policy of cold calculation and little can be gained from them.

Muslim Thugs

Mr. A. S. Tritton gives in *Journal of Indian History* (April) an interesting account of Muslim Thugs. The following two descriptions of the extremist Shi'a stranglers are extracted by the writer from Al Jahiz's "Book of the Animal."

The stranglers help one another and never dwell or travel except in company. Often they make themselves masters of a whole road or track. They dwell only on thoroughfares. Behind their houses are deserts, gardens, muck heaps or such like. In every house are drums, tambourines, and dogs tied, while they have always at their doors one of themselves who is a teacher of writing. When the men of a house strangle anyone the women beat the tambourines and some beat the dogs so that the teacher hears and with the boys shouts, 'Bark.' Or the teacher tells the boys to recite aloud the alphabet, the Koran, or their sums. The occupants of every house answer them with tambourines and cymbals, like women in a village, and excite the dogs. If the man strangled is a donkey driver no one bothers about him, as happened in Rakka. They seized all the travellers on one road because one of them fancied a garment with a few dirhams carried by a porter.

The presence of these people has already been

noted at Kufa, Rakka, and Rai. One named Radawaih was well known in Basra. At Medina lived a woman 'Adiya the Less' who was one of them and was in addition said to be a cannibal.

Mr. Tritton concludes :

It is curious to find women taking such an important part in these religious movements, though many parallels can be found outside Islam. It looks as if orthodoxy had tried to forget their share for they are not mentioned except by al Jahiz. Hamida was a leader of the extremists and had been a follower of Laila, another extremist of the tribe of Naiz. Maila was the companion or nurse of Abu Mansur.

Orthodox writers say that these people were not Muslims. One does wonder whether theological hatred has slandered the early sects of the Shi'a ; still the evidence seems too good to be rejected entirely.

Character and Court-life of Shah Jahan

Valuable sidelights are thrown on the character and court-life of the Emperor Shah Jahan by Mr. K. R. Qanungo in the same journal. The writer begins with a comparison between the two, Akbar the Great and Shah Jahan the Grand :

In character the contrast between Akbar and Shah Jahan is more striking than resemblance—the latter was essentially a reactionary with a missionary zeal to exalt Islam by repressing other religions. After his accession to the throne Shah Jahan abolished many un-Islamic innovations of Akbar (e.g. prostration before the throne), restored Hijri Era in the State Calendar, and revived the influence of the orthodox party who hailed him as the real *Mahdi* (Guide), after the dark regime of the anti-Christ, i.e., his grand-father Akbar. During his reign the empire lost to a great extent its national character and became pre-eminently an Islamic state, governed according to the institutes of Muhammad (*Shariyat-i-Muhammadi*). But the character of Shah Jahan partook of a double nature—an actual combination of Muslim orthodoxy and a profane tradition of age of Akbar. He was Dara and Aurangzib in one; the latter representing the 'other side of the medal.'

Shah Jahan believed in the merit of even forcible conversion as the Tradition says, 'God marvels at men that are dragged to Paradise with chains.' He spared the rebels on their conversion to Islam, and those who refused his clemency were treated with genuine Turkish brutality. Rank, office and rewards were bestowed on Hindu renegades; even *Jihad* was approved when it was not likely to cause a general commotion among the Hindus. In Kashmir he changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. He prohibited the construction of new temples on the Crown lands of the Empire, and within a few years of his accession 76 Hindu temples in the processes of building were destroyed within the jurisdiction of Benares alone. Some of the Feringi prisoners of Hughly were pardoned on their conversion to Islam while others were allowed to perish in the prison; all their images were broken except two which were thrown into the Jamuna. Shah Jahan

destroyed a happy picture of Hindu-Muslim unity which even the most optimistic patriot of to-day can hardly imagine. In the month of Rabi-us-sani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimbar Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the *Mussalmans* of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus [*bu-Kufar dokhtar me-dehend*] and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Mussalmans were to be buried and Muslim girls were to be burnt according to Hindu custom, after death. The Emperor who is the Shelter of the Faith—ordered that the Hindus who had married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jogu, a Zamindar of these parts—from whom these despicable customs had originated—through the grace of God, and out of fear, and at the desire of His Majesty (*bim o ummed-i-Hazrat Sahib-qiran Sani*), with all his kinsmen accepted Islam, and was honoured with the title of Raja Daulatmand.

The above is illuminating, it explains what seems to be a gap between the tolerance of Akbar and the bigotry of Aurangzib. Shah Jahan, however, does not as yet mark a complete breach. He was a believer in astrology and

Shah Jahan continued the custom of weighing himself twice every year against gold and silver on his Lunar and Solar birthdays—a Hindu religious practice—*Tula-purush* adopted by Akbar. ... On his Solar Birthday the Emperor was weighed twelve times against the following articles successively: gold, silver, silk, perfumes, copper, *ruh-i-tutiya* (quicksilver?), drugs, *ghee*, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain and salt; and on Lunar Birth-day eight times against the following: gold, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, and vegetables. The third great festivity of the year was the Nauroz which, in spite of its un-Islamic character, had become sanctified by usage. The Court-life of Shah Jahan was indeed an unbroken round of pomp and festivity which served to alleviate the gloom of reaction. Outwardly his regime was a continuation of the Age of Akbar, though beneath the surface, the strong under-current of reaction was sapping the foundation of the Empire.

A child of the Orient, Shah Jahan could not but have in him an element of mysticism which was inherited by Dara. His hereditary devotion to Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti can be inferred from the fact that in the Court-history a biographical sketch of that saint is introduced as an auspicious preface to the narrative of his reign. He often received and returned the visits of eminent Sufi teachers of his age.

Rightly observes Mr. Qanungo :

The reign of Shah Jahan was a period of transition from the enlightened Nationalism of Akbar to the gloomy orthodox reaction of the days of Aurangzib. However, his Court remained a happy meeting ground of Hindu and Muslim cultures, and literary merit and genius were liberally rewarded without any discrimination of creed. At his Court Jagannath Pandit, the famous

author of *Ras Gangadhar*, wrote a poem in praise of Asaf Khan (Asaf-ahari), and a *Kavya Jagadabharanam*, the hero of which is Prince Dara Shukoh. This Jagannath is referred to in the *Padishah-nama*, as Jagannath Kalawant (Musician.)

Shah Jahan was himself a thorough master of the Hindi vernacular and appreciated Hindi poetry like his illustrious grandfather.

Except in art Mughal glory was slowly being eclipsed by that chill orthodoxy which ultimately engulfed art too.

When the servant of His Majesty represented that it ought to be a custom to appoint a sufficient number of pious Muslims in the Revenue Department, and that so far as possible the Hindus should not be allowed to have a preponderance in offices, so that Sayyids, Shaikhs and men of virtue and piety might not be turned back by them—Rai Manidas was transferred out of this consideration from the *Tan* section of the Treasury and Mullah Abdul Latif Lashkar Khani who was wise in affairs and pure in faith was appointed in his place. Similarly no Hindu general rose to the rank of 7,000 zat during his long reign of thirty years. In the field of letters Abdul Hamid and Kambo were poor successors of Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din; while as poets Haji Muhammad Qudsi and Saida Gilani were but sorry figures by the side of Faizi and Urfi Shirazi. According to expert art-critics, painters of Shah Jahan's court such as Manohar, Nadir Samargandi and others were even superior in skill to their masters of the Age of Akbar. The Album of Dara Shukoh occupies the same position and has the same interest in the history of the Indo-Persian Painting as the incomparable Taj in the history of Indo-Muslim Architecture. The taper of the Mughal glory indeed burnt brightest before final extinction.

The Malady and a Diagnosis

"Foreign criticism, even the most unsympathetic and ungenerous, has some value for us," so writes the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata* in the July number, and examines the malady with which the Hindu society is stricken. Social unsoundness, political subjection, economic degradation,—each of these are taken up and the writer arrives at this conclusion :

To whatever side of our life we turn, we find at bottom a particular outlook on life, which is really responsible for our defects and degradation. This is the essential cause. The visible are the symptoms and expressions of the invisible spiritual outlook. Our strength, the tendency to spiritualize, is itself the cause of our degradation also, because we have not properly and fully understood and applied it.

One may jump at the conclusion, that the editor is betraying his cause. But, no, he also is confident that altogether the Hindu has chosen the better path—the path of mental discipline and allegiance to a spiritual

idea. Only his is a higher spirituality, dynamic and conquering.

Our spiritual quest makes us neglect the objective aspect of life to a considerable degree. If we succeed in rising to spiritual heights, our material loss is more than compensated for. We realize the higher glory,—the loss of earthly glory does not affect us. But when the higher glory is not attained and the lower achievements are also neglected, where do we stand? Extreme degradation, both internal and external, is then our lot. The history of India testifies to this. We become extremely weak and contemptible. Squalor and stagnation become manifest in every sphere of our life. We lose all power of resistance. Spiritualization is a great thing. It is like climbing a steep mountain. If we can reach the heights, heavenly glories crown our head. But if we fall, we are maimed and broken. Those who do not aspire so high, have not to suffer so much as ourselves. Their fall does not hurt them.

It will now be apparent why we consider our philosophy of life itself as primarily responsible for our present degradation. *We are too subjective.* There is a subjectivity which is another name for higher objectivity. Then the subject realizes itself not as the individual body and mind, but as the Self which pervades the entire universe and is the being of all beings. When that consciousness is attained, man feels the joys and sorrows of others as his own, and his heart-beats are attuned to the life-throbs of the entire universe. His life becomes an act of unending love and service to the world. There does not exist even the least tinge of selfishness in him. This grand subjectivity is the goal. But till this is attained, there is a subjectivity which is puny and selfish. It is shut up within its own concerns and interests. It is despicable. We regret to say that this kind of subjectivity is much in evidence among the Hindus, when the spiritual impulse to rise to the level of the higher subjectivity is lacking in the nation. The predominance of this lower subjectivity makes individuals to become too self-centred and neglect collective responsibilities, leaving them to be manipulated by the forces of customs and conventions and drifted by circumstances. The objectivity of the common people of other nations is much more healthy than this. For there is no stagnation there, no selfishness and dullness of life. *The lower subjectivity is the main cause of our present degradation.* It is this which prevents us from uniting in the nation's cause and quickly renovate ourselves.

Thus, observes the writer, that caste is tolerated, for it is the inner life that matters; that foreigners found us, who had little concern for objective life, easy victims; that our women had no proper objective development. And so, the diagnosis reveals that the supreme cause of Hindu apathy is the lower subjective outlook which ignores to acquire objective outlook. And the remedy—what is the remedy? A harmony of subjective and objective outlook, concludes the writer.

We have to regain this harmony. This harmony cannot be regained consciously or piecemeal. It has to be a spontaneous growth from within. For it is a mode of consciousness and not a discrete thought. A new vision must grow within the very soul of the nation. The primary impulse must indeed be a miracle. The ancient spiritual wisdom of India must make yet another revelation to us. It must be vouchsafed to us, it must be born within our soul. And unless it is born there, outside reform will avail little. There must be a spiritual regeneration embodying the desired harmony and not merely a contribution of thought. Who will bring about that regeneration? Who shall be the Exemplar? Space forbids us to answer these questions here. But whoever will study the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda, shall easily find the answers. For when the Swami says "Renounce!" does he not also mean "Conquer!"? He has indeed made the subjective vision the supreme motive of the highest objective conquests and the most worshipful service.

Early Life of Buddha

In a speech at the Maha-Bodhi Society Hall (published in *Calcutta Review* for July), Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar described the early life of Buddha and paused to consider its import. The six years of travel and meditation from twenty-nine when he left home, to thirty-five when he became enlightened was a period of quest after truth.

And after Enlightenment, he appears before the world as a full-fledged preacher, tackling effectively every doctrine or principle of his time. He secured this first-hand knowledge during his career as a researcher. It will thus be seen that this career was occupied with a close and systematic study of the religious and philosophic activity of his age with a view to find out the 'diseaseless, ageless and deathless' after which he had hankered. And how do we find him during this period? Exactly like a genuine researcher. It is a common-spread but wrong belief that truth flashes upon the mind of a researcher, merely by thinking about it. It is forgotten that he has to frame many hypotheses and conduct many experiments which very often end in nothing, or at best produce only negative results. It is by wasting time and energy by, for some time, pursuing the wrong tracks that truth flashes upon the mind of the researcher, almost by the method of residue. Of course, when the truth has once revealed itself in this manner, the researcher is eulogised as a man of genius. Such was the case with Newton, Lord Kelvin and all scientific workers. The excellence and utility of the truths they have discovered overpower us so much that we forget what an amount of toiling and suffering it has cost them in the pursuit of their enquiry. Carlyle is therefore perfectly right in saying, that genius is 'the transcendent capacity of taking trouble.' There was no genius in the field of science or religion who has not taken infinite pains in getting at the truth. Buddha, a genius that he was, had to show this 'transcendent capacity of taking trouble,' and he did show it wonderfully. Enlightenment

did not come to him spontaneously. It came after a fairly long period of six years' toiling and moiling. He began by following the wrong roads and frittering away both his time and labour. He had fallen into 'Himalayan blunders.'

The great appeal of Buddha's life is, according to the Professor, this that it is human in essential:

Because this life of Buddha has humanising effect upon us, it appeals to us with such force. If he had been represented to us as a perfect man, always thinking and doing things correctly, we should not have thought much of him. We should have admired him from a distance, as we ought to in the case of superhuman beings. But we feel that he is one of us. Being a genius or *lokottara* he no doubt exacts our admiration, but we feel that the life he has led, that is, the thoughts he had thought, the feelings he has felt and the acts he has willed are all human, though decidedly of the better and higher type.

The Roots of Democracy

Speaking at the Ninth Annual Meeting of Indian Students' Union and Hostel, London, Prof. John Macmurray was afraid that, lest Indians should in their earnest desire to make India free mistake of thinking that "this great end can be attained by elaborating a machinery of national life which is not the spontaneous product of India's spiritual life." The Professor talked about the roots of democracy, and that has been reproduced in *The Young Men of India* for July. The Professor's answers, to the question, what was the driving force that produced democracy in Europe, is briefly:

The answer to that is, first, that the main root of democracy is a religious one. Democracy in Europe was born of a struggle for religious freedom. Political democracy is the main result of that long struggle in Europe for freedom to worship God in any way that a man thought he should. The driving force that created the democratic organization of the modern European States, with all the consequences that have flowed from this, was a demand for absolute personal freedom in the religious field. I should like you to think over that carefully. It seems to me that the deepest and most important thing that a political theorist can say about democracy, is simply this: that a political democracy as we have it in Europe exists in the first place to guarantee the religious freedom of the individual. The people of this country won their liberty in a long passionate struggle, usually a struggle of minorities against a majority, a struggle against any attempt of their various governments, whether they were autocratic or monarchic, governments, to impose restrictions or disabilities upon individuals on the ground of their religious views or practices.

They forged the machinery of democracy to safeguard the freedom of conscience that had been won in this way. It is not the fact of religious

toleration that is important ; it is the value that the inner life of a democracy sets upon it. That insistence on freedom of conscience for the individual is the tap-root of democracy.

India was not, and still is not, less tolerant than Europe ; so as far as the religious attitude and the spiritual life of the people are concerned democratic institutions could, and still can, strike root and prove to be a spontaneous growth in this country. To illustrate how deeply it is rooted in modern democracies the speaker cited two examples, first, the exclusion clause in the Conscription Act in war time exempting the Conscientious Objector ; second, slowness of the British Government in India in the suppression of the Hindu-Moslem riots.

If you look at events in India and take, say, the question of the riots in Bombay recently between Mohammedans and Hindus from the point of view of modern democratic history, it is practically the first and essential duty of the British Government or any democratic government to use all its power to prevent that sort of thing. You may not like, perhaps I may not like, the way in which our Government tries to do it, but the very fact of the way in which the British Government in India tries to look at the religious question, the enormous insistence that it places upon religious toleration, is just another proof of how deeply rooted in democracy is that principle, the principle from which historically democracy flowed and by which to this day democracy stands or falls.

It may serve as a novel apologia for the British Government. Apparently they are cultivating generous spiritual qualities at the cost of immediate administrative efficiency. The Professor, however, proceeds in his analysis :

We must bear in mind that the demand for religious freedom of conscience is always a demand made by minorities or on behalf of minorities. You have the conditions in which democracy is possible only when the majority so prizes freedom of conscience for other men that it refuses to use its own power to enforce its wishes against the conscientious objections of a minority. That is the real origin of the truth that the test of a democracy lies in its treatment of minorities.

And then the idea of freedom in religion involves a fundamental political principle, that there is a limit to the authority of the State, that there are spheres of human life into which the State has no right to penetrate, that there are activities of men with which the State shall not interfere.

Thus democracy puts forth as its first fruit, the main stem of the political tree, as it were, the limitation of the authority of Government, or in other words, the limitation of sovereignty. Beginning with the religious view, the development of democracy down the centuries has gradually withdrawn from the competency of Government, or

from the authority of Government, the whole of our cultural life.

Beneath and controlling this great political principle there lies a very fundamental spiritual principle. The reason for limiting the power of the State is the positive insistence on the freedom of individual personality. Democracy exists upon and grows from a spiritual demand ; that every individual shall be free to live his own life in his own way on his own responsibility ; to worship God how he pleases, or not at all, if he pleases to start with ; then, to be moral or immoral, to choose his own profession, his own interests and hobbies, his own clothes, whom he shall marry or whether he shall marry at all. It is the first duty of a democratic State to see that he is left free, not to interfere with him itself and to see that no one else does.

There is one qualification to this : that a man shall not in the exercise of his freedom interfere with the freedom of other people to behave in the same way. And these two principles are really one : they grow together in the unity of the final ethical principle of a truly democratic society—the absolute value of the individual person, that the value of a human person rests simply and solely on the fact that he is a human person.

In India in the pre-British days the problem of limiting the power of the State did not arise ; for the individual was very little interfered with by the State. The speaker is, however, correct when he addresses the Indian students as follows :

There is something about these European democracies which you cannot help coveting for India. You do not want to imitate England merely, or at least I hope not. You have a cultural heritage of your own which you must develop worthily. But for that you feel, and rightly, that you must have political freedom.

The cultural heritage of India is not, we add, judged even by the dictum of the speaker antagonistic to the development of democratic institutions.

Rural Uplift and New Industrialism

There is no escape, nor any need of escape, from industrialism. It is also opening a new phase—New Industrial Civilization as the *National Christian Council Review* for July characterizes it in urging that our rural population must be prepared and equipped for it. The *Review* is of opinion that State has a great responsibility in preparing the rural people to face it and brings to their attention the following striking experiment carried by the Government of Mexico :

Dr. Paul Monroe, of the Columbia University, an acknowledged authority on education, speaking recently before the faculty of the Shantung Christian University in China, referred to this experiment as the 'most striking at the present time in the whole world.' He described it in

the following words: 'It is being carried out by two young men who were trained in our own institution, and who got this vision. One of them is now Minister of Education. He was earlier educated in the Presbyterian Mission school in Mexico. He is of Jewish ancestry. They have organized what they call cultural missions, and the people who engage in them are called cultural missionaries. They are trained in a Government normal school, which is created for this specific purpose. These young leaders are trained in groups of five or six. One of this group is a specialist in public health; one is a specialist in games, physical exercises, and amusements—the recreational side of life; one is a specialist in agriculture; one is a specialist in domestic science—the training of women in household affairs; one is trained in the ordinary industrial processes connected with farm life; and one is a specialist in education. This group of six or seven people go out and live for two months in a rural community, or in some large village with a number of smaller villages around them, and they educate the whole community. They gather together all of the adults, or as many of them as they can. This is their job: to get the backing of the whole of the adult population in that community teaching them with regard to sanitation, personal hygiene, public health, industry and giving them some ideas of public recreation.

'One of the first things to come out of this is a creative art, a new art expression of the life of these people. It is one of the most striking things on the earth. It is vital, it is creative. A certain amount, of course, was in the minds of the people to begin with, but that is one of the earliest results of this new vitalising of the people. After they have lived in one community for about two months, they have organized this community with all its leaders—school teachers, mayor, the progressive trained people—into a committee, and when they go away they leave the entire programme in the hands of this committee. Usually it is the business of the school teacher to carry it out, but they try to enlist the priest and all the public officials and the school teachers in carrying out this programme, not simply for the children but for all the community. Then they go into another community for two months. They keep circulating the whole year around, with practically no vacation, or if they do have a vacation, it is to go back to the normal school and get further training. After two years they plan to have another group visit these same villages. There you have a population practically ninety per cent rural. Perhaps this can be done on such a scale only by a government, but it is that type of thing that I have in mind as the vision of your type of education.'

The ministers of our Provincial Governments may with advantage study the progress of this remarkable experiment in Mexico, and consider the possibility of adapting it to the conditions of rural India.

Women and Co-operation

The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly brings before all workers the following encouraging news:

The success that has attended the efforts of the Co-operative Department in the Punjab, in interesting women in the co-operative movement, ought to induce like efforts in other provinces as well. As the Punjab report for 1927-28 observes, "not only are women necessary to the success of our societies for better living, arbitration and consolidation of holdings, but they cannot be ignored by a movement which aims at improving the general well-being of the whole community." There are now 112 societies for women in the Punjab, a result of a little more than three years' attempt. The total membership is 1691 and the working capital amounts to Rs. 46,285. It is interesting to note that almost all the societies are for the encouragement of thrift.

The reason for this co-operative progress among women in the Punjab was the appointment of a special inspectress in co-operation in 1925, now assisted by five sub-inspectresses. The initiative there was thus taken by the Department itself and we see no reason why Departments in other provinces should not follow suit. It is difficult to hope for success in such matters unless a specially qualified lady organizer is appointed by Government to start co-operative societies among ladies. Of course, in Bombay, the Girgaum Co-operative Institute has made a useful beginning by establishing two Ladies' Committees one for Maharashtra women and the other for Gujarathi women to carry on co-operative propaganda among them with a view eventually to start co-operative organizations among them. But efficient work has not yet been possible for want of a whole-time worker.

The starting of societies among women though undoubtedly of great importance is by no means an easy affair. As the Punjab report puts it, "On paper, the societies are simple enough, but in practice they bristle with difficulties." Owing to the general lack of literacy among women in India there is always the difficulty to find Secretaries and Treasurers who can read and write. We should not however experience so great a difficulty in the Bombay Presidency in this respect as in the Punjab. Other difficulties mentioned in the Punjab report are the promiscuous attendance at general meetings, the unpunctuality of those who attend, and every variety of prejudice and suspicion to contend with. Means have to be devised to overcome these difficulties by providing healthy recreations etc. and gradually initiate our women-folk into business ways and methods.

Excise Policy of the Bengal Government

The Report of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association for 1928-1929 which has been published in *Abkari* for July refers to the reactionary policy of the Bengal Government as follows:

In Bengal the attitude of the authorities to the pressing problem of intemperance leaves very much to be desired. The Governments of Madras, Bombay, and the Central Provinces, whatever their shortcomings may be, have discarded the old policy of "a maximum revenue from a minimum

consumption"—which has always been objectionable to Indian reformers—and have approved eventual Prohibition as a practical ideal. But the Bengal Government is still content with regulation, and regards Prohibition as impossible. The effect upon the provincial finances would be disastrous, it is said, if the contributions from Excise were suddenly stopped. It is stated in the Report of the Calcutta Temperance Federation that the attitude of the Government towards Temperance workers has become unsympathetic, and even hostile. Regret is expressed that after a quarter of a century of Temperance effort in Calcutta, "the Council finds itself no longer in sympathetic co-operation with the Bengal Government, its Excise Minister, or its Excise policy."

In announcing some months ago that the Government's aim was not Prohibition but only restriction, the Minister of Excise added that popular control was being extended through the Licensing Boards. We regret to observe that this "popular control" takes the form of giving the liquor trade organizations of Calcutta representation upon these bodies. When the Licensing Boards were reconstituted in 1927 the objections of the Temperance Federation to such representation were sustained, but when pressure was brought to bear upon the Government by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce on behalf of the trade organizations the Minister gave way. This surrender to the liquor traffic was in contravention of the understanding previously arrived at between the Government and the Temperance Federation and that being so the five representatives of the Federation felt it their duty to withdraw, including Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, the President of the Calcutta Board. In tendering the resignations they pointed out that no licensing authority could bring an unprejudiced judgement to bear upon problems of Excise administration if the liquor trade was given part control over the decisions that had to be reached. Persons appointed to such bodies merely as representatives of those who are financially interested in the sale of drink cannot be expected to consider the question of drinking facilities solely from the standpoint of the public welfare.

Encouraging Drink

The following news which appears in the *Prohibition* proves that campaign against drink may involve a Government employee in serious difficulty :

Perumal Naidu, Village Munsiff of Singarapet Dt. Salem, Madras, was tried departmentally by the Divisional Revenue Officer on the following charges :

(1) That he proclaimed by beat of drum that none in the village should drink toddy ; (2) that he took pledges from Adi-Dravidas not to drink ; (3) that he organized caste discipline against drink and levied fines from those who broke the rule ; and (4) that he beat one Nollayan for having got drunk.

Perumal Naidu did not admit the charges but pleaded that he always assisted Government.

The man's plea was however not believed and

he was suspended for one year by the Divisional Officer. Said this officer in the concluding para of his order, which is the only para of which copy was given, the rest being 'confidential' :

"In conclusion, I hold that it has been proved beyond any doubt that there was a campaign against drink in the village and that it was tom-tommed in the village that nobody should drink toddy : that the village munsiff failed in his duty in not having reported it to the authorities. There are strong reasons to suggest that he connived at this campaign, if he did not actively participate in it. His antecedents show that he is apt to do very high-handed actions. Still in consideration of his 25 years' service I give him a chance to improve. I suspend him for one year from the date on which he was relieved with severe warning that if he gives room to any complaint hereafter he will be dismissed from service." (D. No. 3469 of 26-5th April 1927).

Not content with the infliction of this departmental punishment the local toddy-shop renter filed a suit for damages for Rs. 300 on the ground that by reason of the defendant's dissuasion, he lost all custom for full three months, January to March 1926, and that the defendant is bound to make good the loss. The suit is pending.

Industrial Banking

Sir J. C. Coyajee devotes a considerable portion of his second and concluding instalment of the contributions on 'The Indian Banking Problem' in *The New Era* for July to consideration of the Reserve Bank system. Coming to the question of industrial banking, Sir J. C. Coyajee observes :

In the field of industrial banking, experience has taught us in India the futility of small banks of an industrial type. Obviously what we require here are large banks with considerable resources based upon long term deposits or upon the issue of debentures. I am not speaking here of co-operative banks of a modest size started for supporting cottage industries. When, however, we come to institutions meant to support large industries in India we must emphasize the constantly growing scale of such industries in this age and the essential necessity of distributing risks. Then again only large banks can employ the staff of technical and commercial experts that would be required to gauge the prospects and potentialities of business establishments as well as for valuation. The possession of long term deposits or resources in the shape of debentures is a *sine qua non* for industrial banks and such deposits are not at present forthcoming in India. Then again it requires a number of strong industrial banks to share the risks and losses of financing any considerable industrial project. All this implies a great preliminary development of resources and specialization of work in the sphere of banking.

Countries like individuals have to buy their experience. In India the experiment in industrial banking was made either by relatively small banks with inadequate resources and equipment or by hybrid banks who went in both for ordinary and

for industrial banking. In some cases, indeed, the industrial banks were mere appendages of individual enterprises. If we can in time start anew on the most approved lines we shall have brought our experience at a cheap rate compared with Germany and other countries who have made their mark in industrial banking. Thus about the beginning of the present century there were a number of failures of banks in Germany. That was before German industry learned "the fundamental principles governing the taking of credit and the banks had evolved the fundamental principles of giving credit"—as Dr. Riesser—one of the ablest writers on German banking has pointed out. Other critics emphasized the mistake committed by German credit banks in giving their credit predominantly to industry and trade as also the danger of converting short-time loans to the banks into long-time advances to industry. Indeed, some German banks "had offered their credit unsolicited to industrial undertakings or thrust it upon them"—as Riesser remarks.

Some years before the great war, an eminent authority on German banking—Felix Hecht—brought forward a proposal which might be of interest to the advocates of industrial banking in India. Hecht proposed the establishment of "a central institution for long-time credit which should issue disbursements indorsed to the bearer, and render assistance as nearly as possible to all branches of German industry. The starting of such an institution was proposed on the ground of the difference between the technique of commercial and industrial credit and of the difficulty which ordinary banks would have in supervising and participating in industrial enterprises. In the matter of distribution of risks, too, such an institution would be at a great advantage. Even in Germany where the banks helped industries so thoroughly the benefits to be derived by such an institution were freely admitted. It is very significant to find that in recent years a very similar proposal has been made in India. Thus the Bombay Industries Advisory Committee has urged that "the establishment of central industrial bank or similar organization with a large capital and numerous branches designed to afford financial support to industries for longer periods and on less restricted security that is within the power of practice of the existing banks is urgently needed as in the case of Japan; a certain amount of Government aid and Government control are also necessary for its safe working."

In concluding the writer emphasizes that in the development of the banking system India will have to rely considerably on the co-operative principle and co-operative banking.

Malaria and use of Quinine

The *Indian Medical Gazette* publishes an account of the Conference of the Birnagar Palli Mandali in the presence of Sir Malcolm Watson and Major H. Lockwood Stevens of Ross Institute for three reasons chiefly as it says: (a) because they show the valuable anti-malarial work which is being carried on in Bengal by voluntary agencies; (b) they raise the question of "species control" in malaria; and (c) that of the value of quinine prophylaxis. The following extract from the Secretary's Report would remove a popular wrong notion:

Should mass quininization be resorted to for an indefinite period? The Palli Mandali took up the administration of quinine and cinchona on a large scale in September 1926. As the drugs are supplied in tablet form, the dosage administered is as follows:—

Curative—4 pills of Quinine (4 grs. each) per day.
Cinchona (3½ grs. each)
2 in the morning and 2 in the afternoon for the first 3 days, and 2 pills from the 4th day for a period of 3 months, or longer if necessary.

Preventive—2 pills of Quinine (4 grs. each) per day.
Cinchona (3½ grs. each)
morning and afternoon for 2 days. Repeat the same at intervals of 4 days, so long as the village is not made malaria-free.

There was some opposition from a section of the public last year to the continued administration of quinine and cinchona by the Palli Mandali, particularly during the winter and summer months when malaria was not much in evidence. Even some educated gentlemen, including a few officials, view with apprehension the prolonged use of quinine by the general population. They fear that such administration is bound to cause ill-effects in future. So far as the Palli Mandali is aware no ill-effects has been noticed in single case as yet, and we took our stand on the assurance given by Sir Malcolm Watson in his book on the *Prevention of Malaria*, which runs as follows:

"*Ill-effects of Quinine.* It has been with a due sense of responsibility, and no little anxiety, that I have found myself the instrument in causing large numbers of people to take quinine for prolonged periods in doses which appear excessive to many, and doses which year to year tend to increase in amount. I have watched the effect of its administration with care, and if it is producing any ill-effects, they are of such a nature as not easily to be detected—at any rate I have not detected them—and they are of infinitely less consequence than malaria."



America and Europe

That America, the heir of Europe, is transforming after its own bent, the legacy of civilization it has received from the mother-continent, and creating quite a new type of culture, has been noted by more than one observer. Mr. Aldous Huxley summarizes some of these differences in the *Century Magazine*. In externals, says Mr. Huxley, life on both sides of the Atlantic looks very much alike. And yet, Europe and America remain profoundly foreign to one another. The European's outlook, his standards, his point of view are, in many important respects, quite unlike the American's. So much so that an Englishman will often find it easier to understand the mentality of an Austrian or a Frenchman than that of an American. These are some of the more striking features of the difference :

Business being the main activity of the educated classes in both continents, one would expect the attitude toward it to be the same in Europe as in America. And yet, for purely historical reasons, it is not. In America it is true to say business is accepted whole-heartedly as an end in itself, to which the highest activities of the best men can be worthily devoted. I have read pronouncements by American clergymen who affirmed, in so many words, that "Business is Religion." And it has become a commonplace of the modern American sermon, newspaper article and advertisement that the business man is doing service of the highest kind. "Service" is the modern American business man's favourite word.

When we demand the precise signification of the eminently Christian word "service," as used by successful business men, we find that it means roughly this : Selling the public what it wants (or what it can be persuaded by means of advertising to imagine it wants) in an efficient way and with the maximum profit compatible with legal standards of honesty. Would Christ or St. Francis have defined it in the same way ? One wonders. In any case, that is the definition of "service" current in business circles. The word hallows the thing. The aura of service shines round the American business man like a halo.

In Europe the business man finds it more difficult to persuade his fellows that his is a noble existence of perpetual service and he himself the highest of human types. For Europe is still haunted, in spite of all the changes of the last seven hundred years by the ghost of the medieval tradition.

The modern State and modern economics has no doubt raised money-making above moral reprobation and even rewarded it with honours and political power, but, as Mr. Huxley continues :

Whereas it would be true to say that, in America the attitude of the economists and of the state is substantially the attitude of the public at large, in Europe, on the contrary, public opinion is not quite so whole-heartedly convinced of the moral excellence of business and business men.

Industrialism and business, though triumphant in fact, do not in Europe receive the homage to which their predominance seems to entitle them. They rule the external world, but not men's minds. Poverty, particularly if it is poverty for the sake of some idea, is still rather respectable in Europe and the enriched business man is not looked up to as the highest type of citizen. Indeed, the aristocratic tradition unites itself with the religious tradition of the Middle Ages and causes him actually to be disparaged and looked down upon even while he is envied and obeyed.

To come now to the next point. It is the tradition of Aristocracy, which is still powerful in Europe.

In our too completely standardized world a leavening of strong-minded eccentrics is a most desirable thing ; the tradition of hereditary aristocracy produces them almost automatically. The eccentric aristocrat does good by his example. Careless of public opinion himself, he gives to eccentricity a certain respectability which it cannot possess in countries, where public opinion rules every class of society, even the richest, and where all departures from the average are looked on with grave suspicion. Moreover, aristocracies have always been the patrons of the arts and letters, even to a certain extent of the sciences. To play with new ideas has been one of the traditional sports, along with hunting and love-making, of the more intelligent of European aristocrats. They have protected otherwise defenceless innovators coming from the lower strata of society and have shielded them with their prestige and power from the rage of the ignorant and therefore conservative mob, to which all novelty, every attempt to change established prejudices, is abhorrent. Personal liberty—the liberty of every man to act and think, within reasonable limits, as he likes is undoubtedly greater in Europe than in America, where "liberty" means the liberty of the majority to impose its will on the minority and to make compulsory by law and, still more, by the force of public opinion, a general uniformity of habits, customs and beliefs. Legal and non-legal interference in the private lives of individuals has gone to extraordinary lengths in America ! In

many parts of the United States unfamiliar, and therefore unpopular, ideas are persecuted with violence. People who hold unpopular beliefs and whose habits of life are different from those of the majority enjoy in Europe a degree of freedom which would never be accorded them in most of the States of America. This freedom is largely due I believe, to the influence of the surviving hereditary aristocracies, to whom the idea of personal liberty is sacred and who therefore do their best to protect, not only their own, but even other people's freedom to think and behave as they like.

An Appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi

To the same review Mr. John Haynes Holmes contributes an appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi which is worth quoting at length :

The return of Gandhi to public life in India, his renewal of the policy of burning foreign cloth, his arrest and conviction, and above all, his promise made at the All-India National Congress in Calcutta last December to lead his people in a new non-violent campaign if the British Government does not accept the national demand for Swaraj before the end of this present year—all this marks a turn in Indian affairs of the first importance. A new crisis is at hand, dominated by the most potent personality in the world. For Mahatma Gandhi is more powerful to-day than he was even in the terrific days of 1919-1922, and the new character of his influence has a significance unparalleled in our time. In the light of what has happened since Gandhi's semi-retirement five years ago, and especially of what is now impending in India, the world needs to get acquainted with this amazing man all over again.

"Non-resistant." This is an awkward and inaccurate word, since it expresses only that negative quality of refusing to meet evil with evil, violence with violence, injury with retaliation in kind, which the average man finds it so difficult to differentiate from inertia and cowardice. "Non-resistance," as a descriptive term, neglects altogether that superbly positive, even aggressive quality which Gandhi has defined so nobly in his famous phrase, "soul-force." The non-resistant should be known as one who would lift man altogether above the plane of brute physical existence, where he had his origin, to that loftier plane of reason and the spirit, where he has his proper destiny. He would have humanity begin now to live that life of intelligence, constructive good-will, creative love and self-sacrificing service, which distinguishes the human from the animal. Such life is the one thing which can bring God's kingdom upon earth, to displace these innumerable kingdoms of the rod and sword which have cursed man in every age, and now threaten to destroy him altogether.

Gandhi is not merely one among many non-resistants. On the contrary, he is unique among them all for a use of his essential genius on a scale and with a power never achieved or even attempted before. But never till Gandhi came along was it deliberately adopted and used by a whole people as a programme of statesmanship to the great end of political and social liberation.

In 1919-1922, Gandhi became the leader of a great people, numbering hundreds of millions of men

and women, in an uprising for national independence. He took his place at this hour with Bruce, Washington, Garibaldi, Sun Yat-sen, as one of the supreme patriots of human liberty. But he stands apart from and above these men, also, as one who refused to draw the sword as the necessary weapon of liberation. Alone among national leaders striving for the freedom of their people, he sought a spiritual weapon; and in this search worked out a peaceful programme of revolt which stands as a supreme achievement of world statesmanship. In this program of "non-co-operation," as it was called, Gandhi showed himself one of the wisest as well as bravest of men.

In his great days of political leadership, Gandhi was beyond all compare the most potent single influence ever known. One may search the pages of history in vain to find any man in any age—religious teacher, military conqueror, political statesman—who has held at one time so vast a power over so many millions of human beings. Throughout all India, Gandhi was supreme. The great bowed before his sanctity; the learned revered his wisdom; the myriad common people hailed his sacrifice and love. In a far-flung population, speaking different languages, acknowledging different traditions, worshipping different gods, and the vast majority of them illiterate, Gandhi's name was everywhere known, and his word everywhere obeyed. This personal ascendancy of one man over more than three hundred millions of his fellow-men is a fact unparalleled in recorded annals of the race. And this same influence Gandhi wields to-day! It is a different influence, not so immediate in its appeal, not so dramatic in its expression, not so definite and tangible in its character. But it is deeper and more fundamental. Ranging as far over the surface of society, it penetrates to central sources of thought and life. No longer sweeping like a flood that engulfs, it flows like a hidden river which feeds and thus renews the landscape. Gandhi to-day holds not so much the political allegiance as the spiritual awe of his countrymen.

It is this fact which makes so formidable the prospect of Gandhi's return to active political leadership. The inherent spiritual power of the man, coupled with his control of the people in matters of fundamental human relationships, makes him a factor of overwhelming importance in the life of India. If they were wise, the English administrators would welcome the Mahatma's leadership, and use it as a constructive influence for peace. For it is Gandhi, and Gandhi alone, "now as always" to quote C. F. Andrews, "the central driving force in Indian political life, who has it within his power to save the existing situation. Failing his intervention by the glad accord of all good men, India will not subside again in meek submission, but flame at last into revolt which will engulf the world. The Mahatma has for India, the Empire and mankind, 'the way of life.' Will men not recognize it before it is too late!

Gerhart Hauptmann on Tolstoy

The Living Age reproduces from the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna an interview, in

course of which Gerhart Hauptmann, the grand old man of German literature gave his opinion of Tolstoy :

I used to regard Tolstoi as a modern Savonarola, a timid Luther, a destroyer of customs, an insurgent. Now, after he left his home to die in a peasant's hut, I see him in the guise of a wanderer, a pilgrim who moves down an endless path in order finally to find himself, to penetrate into his own world. However impressive his goodness and his solicitude for humanity may have been, his yearning for himself—that self which threatened to become lost in never-ending family friction and in the contradictions of his environment—was greater and perhaps more lovely. All religions are based on altruism ; but, in spite of this, all religions advocate solitude, reversion to one's self, absorption in one's own nature. Buddhism and the religion of Islam, Christianity and Judaism are all agreed on one point : an individual must possess his own world, must find himself, must constantly discover afresh the way to himself, whether he be guided to that end by spending forty days in the desert every year as Mohammed recommended, or by gazing fixedly at his navel for hours every day. In the case of Tolstoi this struggle toward himself took an unusual course, in which he showed an amazing persistence and tenacity. Tolstoi always existed in the midst of an idea. That is, he treated the impossible as if it were possible.

The Good and Evil of New Industrialism

Mr. Stuart Chase, the well-known American economic writer contributes to *The Current History* a balance-sheet of the good and bad features of new industrialism. The effects which are manifestly good, according to Mr. Chase, are :

So far as I can ascertain—and I have been working intensively on the problem for many months—the Power Age has brought the following benefits to mankind :

1. The life span of modern peoples has grown longer.

We are healthier in all probability than ever before in the history of the race.

2. Higher living standards, in terms of distributed commodities if not of happiness, have been achieved for a larger fraction of the population than has ever before obtained.

3. The shrinkage of space brought about by mechanical devices—rail-roads, steamships, motor cars, telegraphs, cables, telephones, radios, airplanes—is demonstrating more forcibly every day the essential social and economic unity of the world.

4. Hours of labour are declining.

5. Superstition is declining.

6. Certain machines, particularly the automobile have tended to promote self-confidence and a sense of power in persons and classes who might otherwise go timidly to their graves.

7. The mechanical operation of industry is beginning to introduce a system of tests to determine how long a given individual can work without fatigue poisons damaging his output.

8. The machine has broken down class distinctions founded on land ownership and patents of nobility.

9. Even as pure science brought forth applied science, the necessities of industry have stimulated a great variety of researches into the fundamentals of physics and chemistry, thus expanding the limits of human knowledge.

10. Cruelty as a social phenomenon has undoubtedly decreased, while the radius of social sympathy has increased.

To turn now to the other side of the shield. The manifest evils are :

1. The menace of mechanized warfare grows easily more ominous.

2. The tenuousness of connection and balance in the interlocked industrial structure also grows. Any crisis—such as a strike of key technicians, a struggle between rival groups, a failure in a strategic material—may seriously, perhaps horribly, upset the whole social equilibrium. Technical achievement and public ignorance of its implications are tending to move with equal velocity in opposite directions.

3. Natural resources are being exploited at a rate as alarming as it is wasteful.

4. Monotony and wearisome repetition in mechanical work while apparently not on the increase at the present time, has worked frightful havoc with millions of human beings temperamentally ill-adjusted to the process.

5. Specialized tasks are sundering the ancient trinity of work, play and art, and thus tending to upset an admirable, and perhaps biologically necessary, human equation.

6. Machines, like the radio, the phonograph, the moving picture, have forced recreation in the direction of second-hand watching and listening rather than toward the more rewarding forms of active participation.

7. Specialization has enormously promoted the importance of money. This leads to a serious confusion of values, in that the symbol displaces the underlying reality in the average mind.

8. Workmen are displaced by machines faster than they can be absorbed in other occupations.

9. Modern industry requires more vitality in its workers than was the case in the past, with the result that they are being scrapped at an earlier age with attendant difficulties in meeting the problem of economic survival in their declining years.

10. The existence of more machines than purchasing power to absorb their output has led to the foolish and expensive antics of high-pressure salesmanship.

11. The increased speed and use of the mechanical process has made for a greater accident rate in the United States since 1920.

12. At the present time industry is clearly overvalued at the expense of agriculture.

13. Mechanization has led to cities so congested that it gives little pleasure for most of us to live in them, or to contemplate what will happen if the pressure becomes much greater.

14. Noise, dust and smoke levy a terrific toll on modern peoples, a toll unknown before Watt.

Advice to Young Americans

The New Republic quotes and comments editorially upon the outspoken advice given by Professor Robert E. Rogers of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology :

There is no one so pathetically eager to take advice as the new-born college graduate, and now is the time when he gets it by the bucketful. The content of the familiar mixture demands no new examination; but we are happy to chronicle the appearance among the customary streams of exhortations, pious hypocrisies, and oratory in general of one dish of bitterly cold truth. Speaking at the graduation banquet of the senior class of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Professor Robert E. Rogers of the Department of English of that college summarized in forthright fashion the Things a Young American Ought to Know, and presented them as his contribution toward helping the graduates achieve that which every American knows God expects him to achieve—Success. Some of the maxims, as reported in the press, follow :

1. Be a snob.
2. Set before yourself a definite plan to be a ruling person.
3. Be superior, act superior. Talk like it. Think like it.
4. Brains are not nearly so important as will.
5. Found a family that will be successful. The ambitious aspiring men are always marrying a little higher in the social scale. It is just as easy to marry the boss's daughter as the stenographer.
6. Join a good club. Eat like a gentleman and demand good service at your club, and, above all, be with gentlemen.
7. A snob university gets the most publicity and the most money. What goes for a university goes for an individual as well.

The Tragedy of the Modern Japanese Girl

This little incident, described in the *Living Age*, will recall to many Indians some of the dilemmas and conflicts of sentiment with which they themselves are faced :

A slim girl, wearing a smart gray suit and a pert gray *cloche* hat, stood hesitating in the doorway of the restaurant of a large department store in Tokio. She was taller than most Orientals; and her costume was in such perfect Occidental taste that she could only just have returned from the West.

In this room full of kimono-clad Japanese women, she obviously felt a little uncomfortable, a little *depaysee*. Her eyes searched the tables until they fell upon one at which was seated another woman in Western dress. Quickly she moved forward, and dropped into the chair opposite though she did not speak. The waitress came up with a tray containing the other woman's meal—Western dishes, specially ordered—and offered the newcomer a menu. Without saying a word, the girl in gray brushed the menu aside, looked up, and then made a gesture toward the tray opposite. Perhaps she did not speak Japanese well. At all events, the waitress understood the gesture, and moved off.

At the next table sat a group of Japanese women, who never once took their questioning eyes off the gray figure. One of them had a little boy of six with her. When the stranger sat down, he leaned over to his mother and mumbled something, but his mouth was so full that the words were lost. His mother shook her head and motioned him to be quiet. But a little later the child had emptied his mouth and spoke up again :—

"*Kachan*", he said, "is she a modern girl too?"

He asked the question, not rudely, but in a matter-of-fact tone. Nevertheless the girl in gray flushed deeply, and a few moments later arose hurriedly to make her way out. As she approached the doorway, a careless Japanese woman carrying a bundle brushed roughly by her.

"*Gomen kudasai mase*," said the girl politely, stepping aside. The Japanese was perfect, with just the slightest accent.

Next day on the crowded Ginza the traffic halted for a moment to let those who wished make their way across to the little safety islands where the trolleys stop. In the midst of a group that surged forward was a tall, graceful Japanese girl, talking animatedly with a very stylish young man dressed in British clothes. She, however, wore a dark-red kimono with *zori* cords of the same shade, and a lovely dark-purple *haori*. Looking at the perfection of the costume, one could scarcely believe that it was the same girl who had seemed so uncomfortable in her gray suit in the restaurant the day before.

"This—and you—and everything," her companion was saying in English, smiling down at her, "looks very different from the last time I saw you in London."

"At that time I never dreamed of seeing you in Tokio," she replied in beautiful English. "It's as crowded as that day on the Strand, isn't it?" And they both laughed.

The car came. The two entered, separately. There were no seats, and the girl took hold of a strap. This time, too, all eyes were on her; but they were admiring eyes that looked with approval upon the tall figure in the graceful kimono. A polite soldier arose and gave her his seat. She settled into it quietly, at peace.

The conductor arrived. She reached into her pocket-book for a coin. But the Englishman had already made his way to her side, and stopped her in a booming voice.

"Please allow me," he said cheerfully, and held up two tickets.

Her face flushed, and she hesitated; then she murmured "Thank you." The courteous soldier looked in astonishment first at the man, then at the girl. Then he deliberately turned his back upon both. Women exchanged amused glances. The Englishman talked loudly but there was no sound other than his voice and the clicking of the wheels of the car. These are commonplace incidents—the daily tragedy of the modern Japanese girl who has been educated abroad.

Air Raids on Mosquitoes

America, it appears from an article in the *Literary Digest*, has experimented successfully with a new method of combating

malaria. It is to sprinkle mosquito-infested areas with chemicals from an aeroplane :

How mosquito larvæ are bombed with poison dust in their breeding-places by swooping air-planes is described in an article contributed to *Aeronautics* (Chicago), by S. R. Winters. Mr. Winters tells us how seaplanes, flying low over swamps, marshes, and other mosquito-infested areas, are being used for scattering clouds of such dust. These air attacks against the germ-carriers of malaria fever involve the distribution of a mixture of Paris green and powdered soapstone on the dense vegetation and undergrowth, sheltering the breeding-ponds of the insects. He goes on :

"The dusting of mosquito-infested swamps from seaplanes, following a five-year experimental effort, is now recognized as a definite and permanent government project. The Bureau of Aeronautics of the Navy Department maintains at Quantico, Virginia, a seaplane equipped with metal hopper, for the specific purpose of spreading poisonous dust on mosquito breeding-places.

"Similarly equipped planes are loaned occasionally to other branches of Federal and State governments. Recently, the Marine Corps launched a sweeping air attack against a mosquito-infested area in Nicaragua.

"The dusting of Paris green from aircraft to control the breeding of mosquitoes, introduced five years ago by the Bureau of Entomology, was attempted in the face of much scepticism. It was classified as a publicity 'stunt' or a feat for exploitation by motion-picture producers. But the novel undertaking of arresting the multiplication of malarial insects has proved its value.

Then follows a description of the practical demonstration given in South Carolina :

"Spectators at this pond had, immediately preceding the flight-dusting operations, removed any doubt as to the existence of mosquito breeding-places in the pond. Carrying dippers, these curious visitors had literally scooped up mosquitoes in-the-making—eleven out of every thirteen scoops with a dipper producing larvæ.

"After the flight had been in progress for two hours, the spectators again re-entered the pond and dipped for young mosquitoes. Within the cleared spaces of the pond, only dead larvæ were produced. In areas clustered with trees and undergrowth, many larvæ were found dead—in fact, all full-grown ones had succumbed to the death-dealing poison—and only the first-stage larvæ remained alive.

"With the elapse of twenty-two hours after the dusting operations, the sanitary engineers and representatives of the Public Health Service sought to determine the mortality rate after the air combat. Cruising about the 500-acre pond in two boats, these Federal and State officials penetrated areas where the vegetation was densest and the floatage heaviest.

"With intensive coverage of twelve acres in the lower section of the pond, scooping a dipper into the water 103 times, only three living mosquito larvæ were found, while eighty-four dead ones and six living pupæ were recovered.

A German scientist, while in this country, apparently was sceptical as to the penetrative effect of Paris green when scattered from aircraft.

At Quantico, this visiting scientist was invited to place the larvæ of malarial mosquitoes in a pan and deposit the latter in the densest undergrowth available.

"Then, to remove this scepticism, a seaplane flying low over the bushy undergrowth where the pan of larvæ was concealed, sprinkled Paris green in the usual death-dealing doses—the larvæ were killed and the Doubting Thomas convinced as to the efficacy of the air raid upon mosquitoes.

"The airplane has thus become one of the most effective agents for controlling malaria infection."

Women's Progress in India

Dr. D. C. Wilson contributes an article on the women's movement in Northern India to the *Asiatic Review*, in which he surveys the progress that has been made by them in education, health, social position, and standard of living. As regards education Dr. Wilson says that :

An increasing number of Indian girls each year seek higher education in Government or Aided Women's Colleges in Arts, Science, or Medicine, where they are taught by British and Indian women graduates. The fees are small and many scholarships are given. The standard of work of women undergraduates compares favourably with that of the men students but the criticism is sometimes made that women students also resemble the men in not showing sufficient interest in the practical application of their studies—that they seek a degree and not education. In discussing this point, the vexed question as to what vernacular should be the medium of education is bound to arise ; there is no doubt that many college students have an insufficient knowledge of English. On the medical side Indian girls in increasing numbers are seeking training as doctors, nurses, and health visitors.

Indian women are also taking an increasing interest in public life :

Women in Northern India are backward compared with their sisters in the south in coming out into public life. Women are, however, represented in the Provincial Councils, on Municipal Committees and on the University Senate, and on special committees, such as that dealing with the censorship of cinema films. A woman from Northern India was a member of the recent committee set up by the Legislative Assembly to tour India and consider the problems bound up with the raising of the age of consent. The number of such prominent ladies may yet be small, but they indicate a general striving forward of a much larger number of educated Indian women.

A National Script for India

On May 13, 1929, Mr. Alma Latifi read a Paper on "A National Script for India" at Caxton Hall, London. A discussion, summarized in the *Asiatic Review*, followed. In course of the debate Sir Denison Ross said :

Sir Denison Ross considered the Latin alphabet to be one of the worst in the world. There were only two perfect alphabets—one the Arabic, and the other still more perfect one Russian. If they wanted to simplify the Indian languages they must begin by reforming the alphabets. The next stage would be to adopt Nagari as the uniform alphabet of India, and leave the Muslims their books in the Arabic characters; but if they liked these Muslims could learn a second alphabet, the Nagari, in order to communicate with the whole of India. The first stage was to reform the alphabet, the second stage to introduce Nagari; but he could not recommend an artificial English alphabet for use throughout India.

Problems of Russia

The Russian Revolution is perhaps the most controversial subject that demands the attention of historians and publicists to-day. As Professor Bartlet Brebner, who was one of the experts who went to Russia with the first American delegation in 1927 says in the *Political Science Quarterly*, the reception given to it is rather like that given by historical specialists to Mr. Wells's *Outline of History*. Each specialist felt that it was pretty shaky in his own field of interest, but a very good outline, and many specialists still admits its considerable validity as a general synthesis. It is the same with the Russian Revolution. Everybody looks at it from his own point of view and interprets it according to his bias:

It follows that not many observers of Russia have any answer to the question so often asked of them—"Are the Russian revolutionaries succeeding in their purposes?" They have to answer at once that the revolutionaries have changed, if not admittedly their ultimate purpose, at least their immediate policies and technique, not once, but repeatedly.

It might be said at once that nearly all the revolutionary scene can be resolved into a series of dilemmas, whose interrelation it is tempting to sum up as that great one between individualism and socialism.

First of these dilemmas is political:

In Russia the Communist Party, which exercises what sovereign power there is faces towards Communism, but, more modest than the British I. L. P. in its slogan, is no longer confident of "Communism in our time." Perhaps its first dilemma is that of its own political activity.

The party is urban and reasonably devout in the creed, and the urban youth of the state are sufficiently indoctrinated to make a more than usually tragic gap between them and their elders, few of whom are party members; but the vast majority of grown Russians are backward peasants, whose communism may extend to some village activities, but is hardly of enthusiastic Marxian orthodoxy. Peasant votes are diluted in power by the political mechanism, and peasants in their

lack of expressiveness and cohesion have traditionally been the victims of organized political powers. But Russia is a closed economy and the peasants not only feed the population, but are considerably depended on to produce a surplus whose sale abroad will permit the purchase of foreign necessities and productive machinery. In view of peasant heterodoxy and the pressure on the peasants of the economic plans of government the political question becomes: "How much dilution of peasant opinion will the traffic bear?"

The second problem is religious. Is Communism as a new religion, going to replace Christianity? On this point Professor Brebner says:

For one thing, the Orthodox Church has by means lost its hold on millions of Russians who now pay directly for its total maintenance. For another, the sects have never enjoyed before such great freedom, prosperity and growth in numbers. Yet it is perhaps more important to observe a real division or dilemma in the new religion. At its orthodox core it is professedly anti-religious—one must be an atheist to be a Communist—but on the fringes it is beginning to beatify Lenin bringing into high relief his Christ-like attribute of love and self-sacrifice and forgetting his ruthlessness and expediency. One can speculate on which character will prevail if one finds it necessary for either to do so; but in passing, it is well not to ignore a curious, if historically understandable, weakness in the orthodox atheist and materialism. When asked why a Communist must be an atheist, Stalin replied that if one has the exact certainties of science there is no need or room for religion. What is going to happen when this optimism, excusable in some circles fifty years ago, encounters the sincere humility of late scientists and *mirabile dictu*, now even of the vulgarizers, who reiterate the hypothetical character of their generalizations? Stalin's Russia enlists the services of the professors, but attempts to ignore the tentative conclusions of modern science. Lenin was more shrewd. He pamphleteered against idealism and the followers of von Mach.

The last dilemma is caused by the orthodox Communist programme of bringing about World Revolution by the

clash between orthodoxy and expediency in the matter of world revolution. As is well known, Mr. Hoover and the American people fed starving Europeans after the war, thereby relieving the distressed American farmer and, perhaps unconsciously, stamping out "Bolshevism." The failed to turn the trick in Russia, because a number of nations, by trying force of arms first, awoke tough Russian patriotism, and much of the mystifying difficulty faced by American Relief Association workers came from the fact that Russian Bolshevism had earned support in a way never approached by "Bolshevism" in other European areas. Nevertheless, food relief and national reconstruction loans stopped world revolution in Europe and armies checked elsewhere, even in Moscow's favourite kindergarten China. Now although the Soviet government cannot afford to back lost causes very seriously, Communist orthodoxy includes the Communist

International, whose justification for existence is world revolution. World revolution, and this is a curious reflection on the constitutional timidity of politicians in even the most self-satisfied of states, is a more serious obstacle to Russian international relations than repudiated debts. The difficulty is not diminished by the fact that *Comintern* operates with a board of directors which draws heavily on the board of directors of the Russian state. Perhaps that is why it at present operates with the soft pedal pressed down almost all the way. Communist agitators abroad are worse off than American missionaries in China. If they get into trouble, their government will do nothing for them. Yet Stalin must seem as orthodox a Marxian as Chamberlain a Tory. The Alabama Case can be cited to balance losses from intervention against repudiated debts, but can *Comintern* be normally scotched? The question was successfully circumvented in arranging relations with the Russian created group of nations to the south and east and even with some European states, but it still limits relations with Germany, and putative relations with the United States and Great Britain, to purely commercial terms.

Should MacDonald and Hoover Meet?

In spite of the enthusiasm with which the MacDonald-Daws talk about naval disarmament has been received on both sides of the Atlantic and the hopes it has evoked, there are, it seems, sceptical voices still to be heard in well-informed circles about the prospects of a new Anglo-American Naval agreement. *The New Republic*, while itself hopeful about the outcome of the proposed meeting between Mr. Hoover and Mr. MacDonald gives prominence to the arguments of those who fear that after all it might come to nothing or something worse:

Among some American students of international affairs who are both intelligent and liberal, there is a strong feeling that Ramsay MacDonald ought not to come to the United States for a personal conference with President Hoover. They cite as an analogy President Wilson's ill-fated visit to Paris for the Peace Conference in 1919 at which, it is generally conceded, much less of his programme was adopted than would have been if he had stayed at home and acted through emissaries. Those who oppose MacDonald's visit argue that the two countries are much farther apart on the naval question than is commonly believed; and that however far-reaching are the sacrifices which Mr. MacDonald, personally, or his party, are prepared to make, theirs is a minority government which would be turned out of office if it went to such lengths that public opinion is not prepared to follow it. The fear is expressed that, after the high hopes of recent weeks, a conference which resulted in failure would produce a profound reaction, and would leave things ten times worse than they were before.

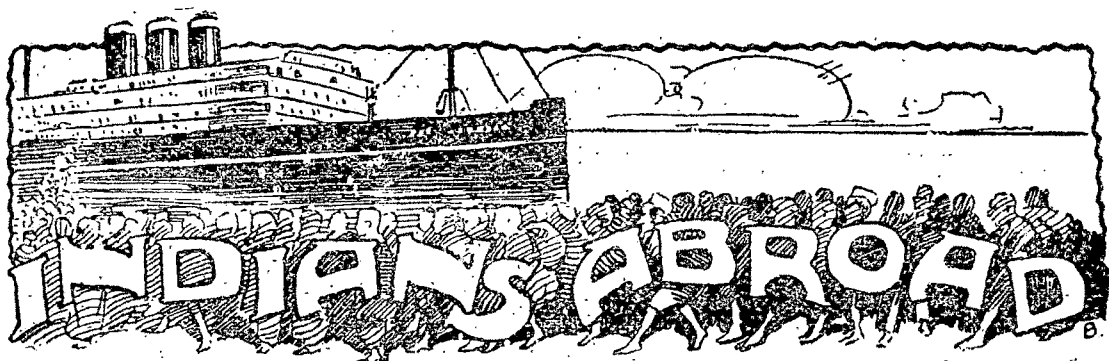
Those who hold this belief point to a specific difficulty in relation to armament reduction. The British navy, they say, is at present substantially larger than that of the United States, and President Hoover has repeatedly indicated that he will not be satisfied merely with parity. He wants parity at a level no higher than that which the United States has achieved to-day, and there is good reason to believe, because of his insistence on reduction, and on taking men off battleships to restore them to productive industry, that he wants a level materially lower than that which the United States has now reached.

Mr. MacDonald could, without much difficulty, persuade his fellow countrymen to accept a scheme under which the United States would build up to the present British level. He could, perhaps though with much greater difficulty, persuade them to scrap part of their tonnage in order to come down to the present American level. But could he get Great Britain to consent to a still greater reduction, to a level much below that of America at present, such as President Hoover wants? The pessimists say that his government would be thrown out of office instantly at the mere suggestion. The British Admiralty has dinned into the ears of the public the argument that England needs a fleet of a certain size, because of her peculiar world position, entirely irrespective of the size of the American fleet. Their argument is disingenuous, to say the least: if the American fleet did not exist, and if the Admiralty were not really contemplating even the faint possibility of a naval struggle between the two powers, they could not justify the existence of a fleet as large as the present one, or anything like it. Their propaganda has undoubtedly had its effect, however, and because of it, MacDonald will find himself, tied—with a fairly long rope, but a strong one.

Another reason, is advanced why MacDonald and Hoover ought not to meet during the next sixty or ninety days, as is contemplated. It is held that the Kellogg Pact, if taken seriously, must radically alter the whole conception of sea law. Under the terms of the pact, it is inconceivable that either the United States or Great Britain should be engaged in a "private" war of aggression. It is equally inconceivable that either of these powers, and the United States in particular, would insist upon the right to continue its trading, as a "neutral," with a power which was under a worldwide ban for having engaged in an aggressive war.

The Labour party has officially declared its faith in the new order of things brought about by the Kellogg Pact. It remains to be seen, however, whether British public opinion, and the Liberals in the House of Commons by whose grace the MacDonald government must survive, are prepared to embrace such novel doctrines. The attitude of Mr. Hoover is still more uncertain.

Those who hope MacDonald will not come believe that a conference of the President and the Prime Minister might result in an attempt to recodify sea law on the old basis, an attempt which is likely to break down and produce a reaction much worse than if no conference were held at all, or if negotiations were to go on by correspondence, so that a disagreement would not be so instantly and calamitously apparent to the whole world.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indians in Fiji

Honourable Badri Maharaj writes to me in his letter of 25th May, "I have just returned from India after seeing for myself the condition in the mother country and I have been now comparing it with the conditions here. During the whole of my tour in India I found one thing with which I was greatly impressed and that is the village life of my countrymen. I had thought that it must have changed but to my delight that village life still existed which is essential to the well-being of any Indian community. The system of village life in India is non-existent in Fiji and that is where the danger lies. I say without any reservation that for at least one generation Indian childhood in Fiji will be in danger because of the evil habits in the domestic life of the people. This is where the authorities are to be blamed. I cannot help referring here to the official records in which the Government of Fiji insisted during the days of Indenture system that the proportion of women sent out in each ship should not exceed 33 per 100 men. The Emigration Agent of Calcutta asked permission to raise the number of women to forty to one hundred men but the Fiji Government protested against this and asked that the number of women must not exceed thirty-three.

"This will show you where the blame lies in so far as domestic unhappiness is concerned and I venture to say that until this is righted, which time alone can adjust, nothing great should be expected from my people here. The most common argument advanced here is 'Are your people not happier here than in India? Don't they make more money here? Were they not starving in India before they came here?' I admit that a person of ordinary class is able to make a few pounds here. But is that everything?

Has he not made this money after sacrificing a lot?

"The long promised representation has after all come about and three seats have been provided by the Letters Patent which came into force on the 1st May. Time for registration of electors is 1st to 31st May. On account of the education test that is required I do not hope that there will be more than 1,000 electors in the whole of the Colony with a population of over 60,000 Indians. From this it can be seen that if anything is needed it is the education of the masses. The Education Commission submitted its report some twelve months ago but I doubt if any of the recommendations have even been taken in hand as yet.

"Before concluding I would like to say that if Fiji needs anything it is honest service and if Social Reform associations in India are able to send out here men with experience a good deal can be achieved.

"But it must be remembered that only those men who have broad outlook should be sent. Men with idea of getting big salaries or making large amounts of money will be useless. Unselfish men with desire to serve are required."

Sikhs in British Columbia

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Young India* of 18th July:

"Let me say at once that the Sikh community in British Columbia have done great credit to India, the Motherland. They have struggled on courageously all these years and have helped one another in a truly brotherly manner. There has never been a case of destitution in which the Khalsa Dewan Society has not come to the rescue. It has done my heart good to see such sturdy independence of character and such manly endurance as has been shown by these brave people.

"Secondly, the 'Komagata Maru' trouble is now a thing of the past. The British Columbians are ashamed of what happened and they do not in

any way defend it. There has also been some amendment; because now the Sikhs are quite freely allowed to bring in their wives into Canada and many of them have done so. This is one thing accomplished; and it was a real pleasure to me to see the Sikh ladies with their healthy children, and a joy to share their hospitality in their families. Since this admission of their children and wives, one of the worst grievances of all has been removed and the whole Sikh community is happier in spirit. The men, so I was told, have improved even in outward appearance. There is not the neglected look that there was before. They have become much more settled in their lives through having real homes of their own to come back to when work is over.

"One thing still remains, namely citizenship. They have not yet received citizenship, as Indians have done in Australia and New Zealand. Nevertheless if this were pressed for now, it would surely be granted, and the time is ripe. What is needed is for some one, of noble character and bearing, like Mr. Sastri, to go out to Canada as Agent-General and live there. If this were done, then citizenship would certainly follow. But if things are allowed to drift on and if there is no great personality out here, to draw Canada and India together, then there can be nothing in the long run but disaster.

"Let me give the conclusion of the whole matter. The world to-day is drawing closer together. India cannot any longer afford to stand apart. India should have her ambassadors in every great progressive country of the world, making for fellowship and goodwill."

We are delighted to learn that family life is being established among our people in Canada and we have nothing to say against the plea of Mr. Andrews for the appointment of an agent of the Government of India in Canada. As regards British Columbians being ashamed of Komagata Maru affair we are still very doubtful about it. They reduced the number of Sikhs in Canada from 5,100 to about 1,200 by the most unfair means and it was after considerable agitation carried on for years that they allowed the Sikh emigrants to bring in their wives. The doors of Canada are still closed against Indian immigration. Having reduced the population to insignificance in a country of 372,630 square miles and having secured complete prohibition of Indian immigration the British Columbians can well afford to say that they are ashamed of Komagata Maru affair. But



Mr. C. F. Andrews among Sikhs in Canada

is this expression of regret sincere? Or is it at all widespread? We have grave doubts.

Suppose we had the right to exclude and deport Canadians from India. After shutting out all Canadian missionaries and stopping all trade with Canada that may have been profitable to Canadians, and excluding the wives of Canadians from entering India and then compelling them to lead miserable life, we could also say that we are ashamed. Will that be considered sufficient by the Canadians? To be frank we are not much impressed by the advantages of fellowship and goodwill of Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians in the present state of our country. It is a fellowship of a pigmy with the giants. When we are masters in our own country and have the power to deal with these Dominions as they have dealt

with us this fellowship will come to us of its own accord. And then we shall decide in a business-like manner what concessions we ought to make to the Dominions of Australia, Canada and New Zealand where our population has been deliberately and by unfair means reduced to 2200, 1200 and 700 respectively.

Shrimati Kalavati Devi Patel

Miss Frances Booyson, a coloured Christian lady of South Africa, has embraced



Shrimati Kalavati Devi Patel

Hinduism and has been married to Mr. B. K. Patel of Johannesburg. She is now known as Shrimati Kalavati Devi. We would like to know the opinion of our Indian leaders in South Africa on such marriages. We favour them for the simple reason that they will remove our racial exclusiveness and bring us in close touch with the coloured population of South Africa. Similarly we shall have nothing but praise for a Hindu

girl who has the courage to marry a cultured coloured Christian gentleman of South Africa. It is after all true love that should matter in such cases and there must be no idea of proselytization behind them. In fact proselytization will ultimately embitter our relations with the coloured population. Our friends overseas must guard against the mentality so prevalent in India—the mentality that places creed over character.

The Agent of the Government of India in Malaya

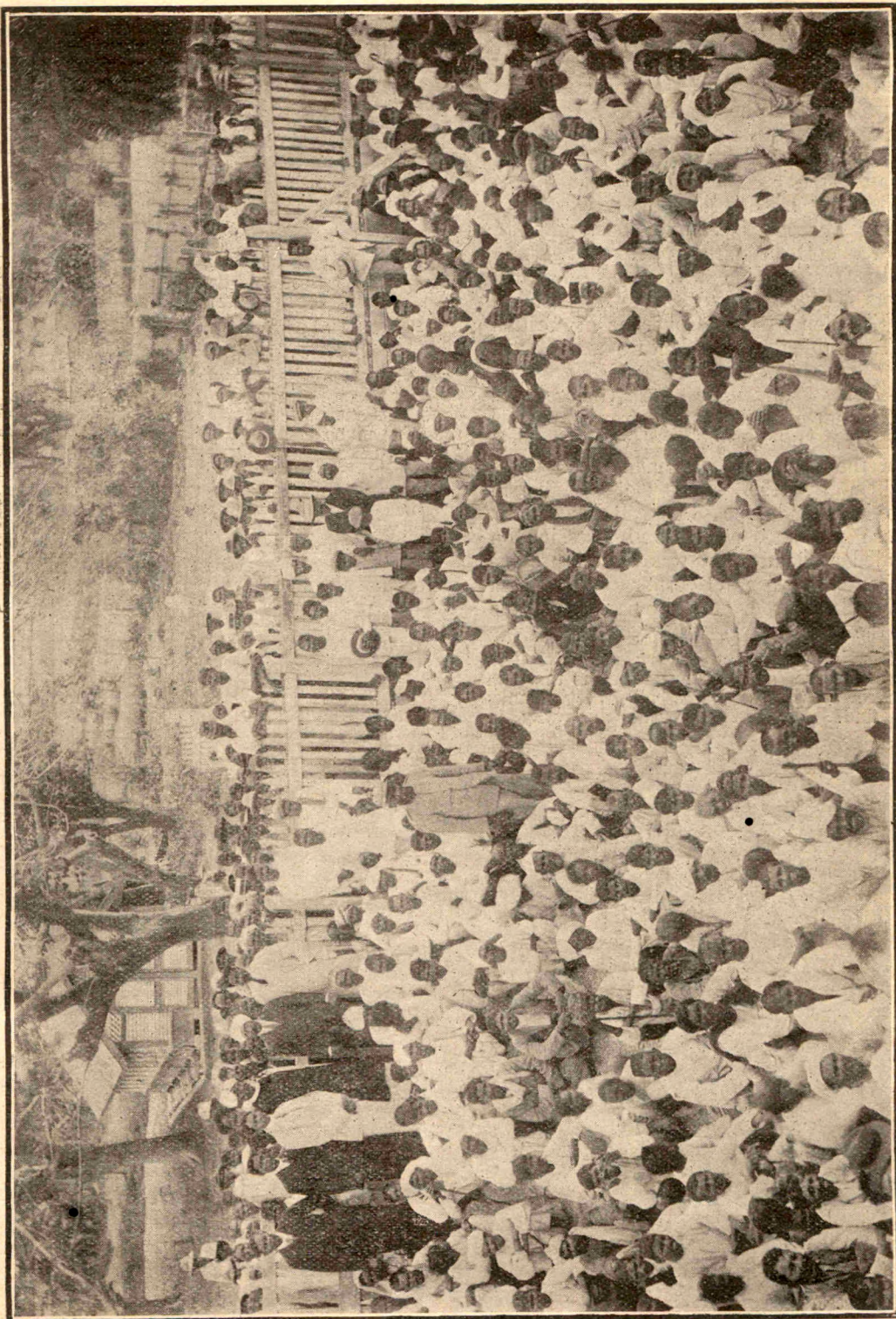
"We had an opportunity of discussing the Indian problem in Malaya with Mr. N. A. Perumal, an Indian journalist of the Federated Malaya States. Speaking about Rao Saheb Subbaiya Naidu, the Indian Agent Mr. Perumal said :

"Rao Saheb is no doubt a popular officer among our people in Malaya. He does not spare himself and great credit is due to him for the legislation of standard wage for the Indian labourers. He has been working hard to improve the status of our people in the F. M. S. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that he has to carry on his work with limited powers. It is the duty of the Government of India to recognize the valuable work that he has been able to accomplish and to make the Agency more powerful and more dignified by raising its status and keeping it adequately financed."

It is really unfortunate that the Government of India is very stingy in such matters. Why should there be any discrimination between our Agency in South Africa and that in Malaya? Does not the Government of India realize that by raising the status of their Agency in Malaya they will be increasing their own prestige? Suppose we had our Agent in Canada to-day as has been recommended by Mr. Andrews he will have to look after only 1,200 Sikhs while Rao Saheb Naidu has to take care of several lakhs of Tamil labourers. The time has come when our M. L. A.'s should interest themselves in this question and bring pressure upon the Government of India to be just and impartial in their treatment of different Indian Agencies.

Mr. C. F. Andrews in British Guiana

It is really surprising to see the large amount of work Mr. C. F. Andrews is able to accomplish single-handed in different parts of the world. He travels from place to place delivering speeches, interviewing leaders, seeing Government officials, writing



Indians in British Guiana

articles, giving interviews for the press and attending social functions. It is a sort of inspiring madness that gets hold of him at times and he rushes through programmes with considerable success—programmes that would surely wreck the health of an ordinary young man. It is the strong faith in his mission that keeps Mr. Andrews alive and active—faith that comes of constant unselfish work from day to day and year to year. Mr. Andrews is having busy days in British Guiana. He has already delivered several lectures there. The one that deserves special notice was delivered under the presidency of His Excellency the Governor of British Guiana. The subject of the lecture was Hindu ideals.

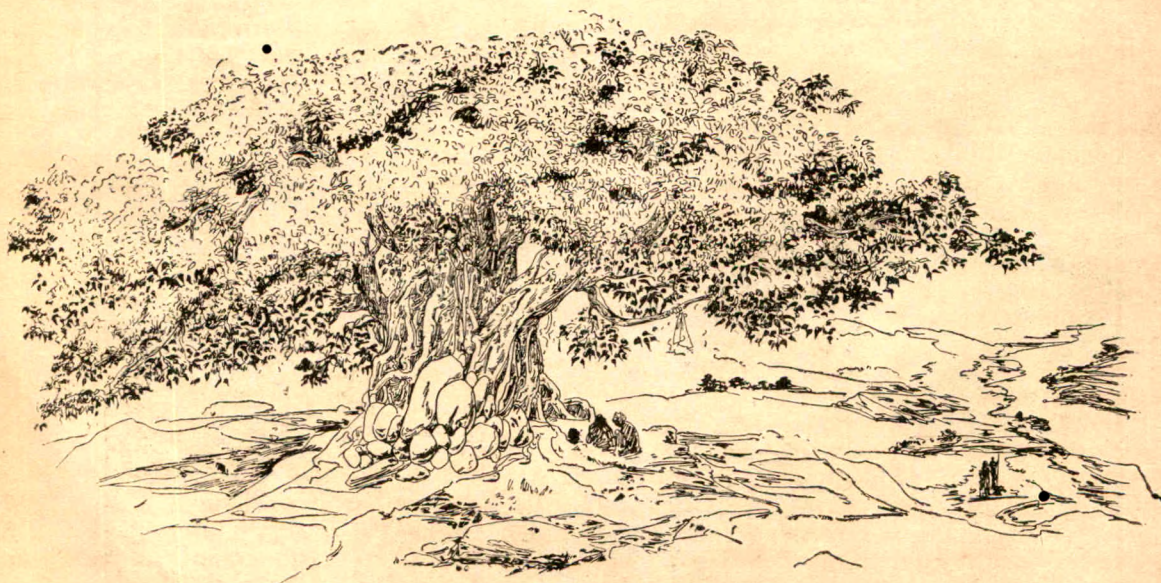
The *Daily Chronicle* of Georgetown, British Guiana, contains a full report of this lecture. Mr. Andrews first gave a general outline of the Hindu ideals and then illustrated them by the lines of Maharshi Devendra Nath and the Poet Rabindranath. The lecture produced a great impression on the crowded audience that was of a representative character. The Governor appreciated it as is evident from his remarks at the close of the meeting. He said :

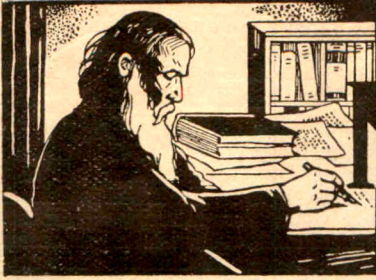
"My friends, I thank you very much for that. I do not deserve any of that. This is the man (Mr. Andrews) that deserves all the thanks you can find. He has come all this way to

help you and more than you he has come to help those of us who have got the shaping of your future in hands, and the more we know and the more we can learn—my officers and myself—about the institutions, the customs, the religions of India, the better we will be able to lead you in this land far from the land of your origin. The whole thing bristles with difficulties. There are very many difficulties to overcome, but I think we are determined to overcome them, because we believe them, because we believe that no race which loses its racial identity can ever really become successful in this world (applause).

You are not too late ; you have lost a lot of your racial characteristics but you have not lost them all and please God with the steps we intend to take in the future we will be able to offer you the opportunity of restoring what you have lost (applause.) Only do not forget that every race changes as the centuries pass by, and what may have been excellent institutions and customs one, two or three hundred years ago are not in practice excellent institutions and customs to-day. Ideals are very much the same. The ideal is the highest that you can picture and that will go on through the ages, but there will be different ways of attaining that ideal and every century sees a change in the way that we try to attain our ideal. I thank you for the vote of thanks and again I thank you, Mr. Andrews, for helping us so much, both the Government here and the East Indians, to understand the ideals of the Hindoo."

British Guiana papers refer to Mr. Andrews as goodwill missionary from India. We wish all success to this great missionary who is so different from the caste-ridden and arrogant preachers of Christianity in India.





NOTES

H. M. King George V on India's Political Goal

His Majesty King Emperor George the Fifth concluded his proclamation to "My Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of the Indian States, and to all My subjects in India, of whatsoever race or creed," dated the 23rd December, 1919, with the following prayer :

"And with all My people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom."

There is no means of knowing what His Majesty meant exactly by "the fullness of political freedom." The words may however be taken in their usual sense. But even the usual meaning is not easy to determine with complete exactitude.

Whether the fullness of political freedom can be attained under a monarchical system of government like that which prevails in Great Britain or any other country, or even under any republican form prevalent anywhere in the world, is a piece of academic discussion which would perhaps be inappropriate here. The standard of political freedom which ought perhaps to be kept in view is the highest which at present prevails in the world and particularly in the British Empire, which those who want to soften the actual fact call the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not easy to say whether any other people are politically freer than the British in Great Britain. But it is clear that the highest degree of political freedom prevailing anywhere in the British Empire is that enjoyed by the British people in Britain. The peoples who live in the Dominions are free, relatively speaking ; but they are not quite as free politically in the internal affairs and external relations of their respective countries as the people of Great Britain. So far, therefore, as the British

Empire is concerned, "the fullness of political freedom" must at present mean such freedom as the people of Great Britain enjoy.

When, therefore, H. M. George V prayed that the people of India might "grow to the fullness of political freedom," he obviously desired that they should be as free as the people of Great Britain and that their country, India, should have a political status exactly equal to that of Great Britain. If that be possible and practicable within the British Empire, it will be equivalent to independence ; for Great Britain is independent. But if that be not possible and practicable within the British Empire, His Majesty's prayer can find its fulfilment only in India's becoming free and independent outside the British Empire. Dominion status does not imply the fullness of political freedom.

There is no time limit indicated in the proclamation. It is not stated when India is to attain fullness of political freedom. On the one hand, no one can therefore say that King George desires that India should be free in 1930 or 1940, on the other, no one can say that he is opposed to India's becoming free to-day or in 1930 or in 1933. What is obvious is that those Indians who desire for their country a political status perfectly equal to that of Great Britain—call it independence or by any other name, wish for something which King George V also has prayed for. Of course, even if His Majesty had not prayed for it, Indians would have been quite at liberty to seek for their country what is best for it in their opinion in all legitimate ways.

Rabindranath Tagore's Message to Canada

In his message to Canada, published in the journal *India and Canada*, the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, referred to the fact that "the epic age of travelling has passed away."

We have deteriorated into mere tourists who do not have to pay in trouble for a living knowledge that can never be acquired cheap. Our tours are arranged on a smooth path of luxury and comfort by which it has been made easy and usual to see without knowing, to pass days in a strange country without living there a life which only she can offer. Such facile intrusion of superficial curiosity has become a positive menace to those whose acquaintance is made in a hurry; from whose pockets fragments of facts are picked up to be sold in a market that pays for sensationalism and cares not for truth. It is worse than influenza that crosses the sea and seeks far from its land of origin victims who are unconscious of its uncalled for malignity. The best and most honest course for a quickly vanishing visitor is to remain silent in spite of the temptation to turn out smart and lucrative misrepresentation, all the more easy to produce because of an imperfect knowledge, unconscientious cleverness and sympathy undeveloped.

Of Canada he said :

However, I may indulge in a generality and say with conviction that Canada being a young country is full of possibilities that are incalculable. She has neither exhausted her material resources nor those of her mind and character. She has not yet produced in her psychology the self-toxin of fatigue that old civilizations suffer from in the shape of cynicism and spiritual insensitiveness. Her creative youth is still before her, and the faith needed for building up a new world is still fresh and strong. Canada is too young to fall a victim to the malady of disillusionment and scepticism, and she must believe in great ideals in the face of contradiction for she has the great gift of youth, she has the direct consciousness of the stir of growth within, which should make her trust her own self, which is the only sure way of trusting the world.

In conclusion the poet gave an indication of the problems to be faced by Canada.

Let her feel in the sacred dawn of her life that the expectation of the human destiny is upon her as upon other young sister countries of hers, which have just entered into the cycle of their promise. She will have to solve, for the salvation of man, the most difficult of all problems, the race problem, which has become insistent with the close contact of communities that had their isolation for centuries in their geographical and cultural exclusiveness. They will have to reconcile the efficiency of the machine with the creative genius of man which must build its paradise of self-expression; reconcile science with religion; individual right with the social obligation it must acknowledge. She must dream of the introduction of honesty even in politics, which is the self-interest of the nation, knowing that such interest can only have its sure foundation in truth, justice and sympathy in international relationships. She must ever hope to be able to win the heart of the world by offering the best that she produces and never by material force or cunning diplomacy—even like what occurred in the golden age of India when her messengers reached far distant alien lands carrying the gifts of love and wisdom, the message of emancipation, acknowledging common human fellowship at the risk of danger and death.

How India's Salt is Repaid

Mr. Arthur Hawkes writes in *Toronto Daily Star*, as quoted in *India and Canada* :

A peculiar disservice is being rendered the empire by the Canadian tour of Mr. B. C. Allen, retired civil servant and former member of the Indian legislative assembly. Mr. Allen is delivering speeches to patriotic organizations against the demand of our Indian fellow-British subjects for self-government as we have it in Canada. The reports of his addresses do not indicate that Mr. Allen has said a word in favour of even the future self-government of that country which the King has endorsed.

How the King has endorsed it has been shown in the first editorial note in this issue.

There is nothing surprising in Mr. B. C. Allen's propaganda. He is only one of that brood of ungrateful propagandists who have eaten the salt of India and want to insure that their progeny should do so for countless generations by keeping India in bondage. But for their power for mischief they could be fitly described as despicable wretches.

The following description of Mr. Allen's propaganda given by Mr. Hawkes shows that that hireling is exactly like others of that kidney :

His evidence and arguments are clearly against any immediate extension of the degree of self-government which has been in operation for several years under the Dyarchy. *That dyarchy Mr. Allen calls an audacious experiment, which shows where he stands.* That the dyarchy is the clumsiest device possible in the twentieth century Mr. Allen himself makes clear to those who have followed Indian affairs.

Then follows a brief description of dyarchy, Mr. Hawkes adding that the Indian Ministers in charge of transferred subjects "are denied the sort of responsibility which our own Canadian provincial ministers exercise."

The white ministers deal with reserved affairs and complete control of all finances—so that nothing is really transferred. This, Mr. Allen calls an audacious experiment in self-government! The truth is Mr. Allen is talking about India exactly as bureaucrats talked about Canada when responsible government was regarded by British statesmen as a menace to the peace and order of the realm.

Mr. Hawkes then mentions some of Mr. Allen's bogies, which are a hackneyed repetition of the usual Anglo-Indian list of the catastrophes which would befall India as soon as British bureaucratic domination ceased. Mr. Hawkes shows that these fears are unfounded, as they have been shown repeatedly in *The Modern Review* and in Dr. J. T. Sunderland's book, "India in

Bondage : Her Right to Freedom." He observes :

Really, it would seem that Mr. Allen supposes that nobody ever heard of India until he was sent to enlighten us, so that Canada might be cited as against any larger extension of self-government than will be recommended by the Simon Commission newly returned to England.

Mr. Hawkes states in unequivocal language that by his propaganda Mr. Allen "sought to pre-empt Canadian opinion hostile to Indian aspirations." About "the solemn British trusteeship, of which we hear so much," Mr. Hawkes says :

There are many good features in what we have done in India—as there were in the Grand Trunk management from London. But our own praise of our own trusteeship is overdone.

He concludes with the following quotation from Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who was a Secretary of State in the Baldwin ministry :

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say, we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for the Lancashire cotton goods in particular.

Mr. Hawkes's concluding exhortation in the shape of a question is :

Is it not about time that Canada was abandoned by the super-imperialists as the ideal preaching ground for the doctrine that great poets, profound philosophers, eminent judges, notable literary men and wealthy merchants are unfit to govern their own country ?

Purushottam Visram Mavji

Mr. Purushottam Visram Mavji, whose untimely death is mourned in business, literary and artistic circles in the Bombay Presidency, was one of our earlier contributors on historical subjects. The present writer made his acquaintance at his Mahalaxmi residence, Bombay, in 1904, during Congress week and was struck with the valuable and varied collections in his museum. *The Bombay Chronicle* writes :

An ardent devotee of art and great lover of literature, Sheth Purushottam was a well-known business man of Bombay. He leaves behind him a unique collection of Indian art and sculpture and a fine library of rare and ancient books.

Mr. Purushottam was born of a respectable Bhatia family. After having passed his Matriculation examination, he commenced his business career in the very prime of his youth. By sheer force of hard labour, deep insight, genial temper



Sheth Purushottam Visram Mavji

and winning manners, he soon came to be considered as a leading business man of this city.

He founded twenty years ago the Laxmi Art Printing Works at Byculla in Bombay, which has by its fine execution of artistic work, now won for itself an all-India reputation.

His novel on Shivaji, his articles in his own magazine "Suvarnamala" and his various other articles published in the leading Gujarati magazines and art annuals, gave him a place among the prominent writers of Gujarat.

By his death Bombay has lost a shrewd business man, Gujarat a brilliant writer and India a man who could speak with some authority on her ancient art and culture.

Antyaja Seva Ashram of Navsari

Under the direction of the Gujarat Antyaja Seva Mandal an *antyaja* ("outcast") Ashram is being conducted at Navsari for the last six years. The outside world even in Gujarat hardly knows that a small band of young Gujaratis, most of them Graduates of the "Gandhi University" (Gujarat Vidyapith) and hailing from the higher castes have been unostentatiously carrying on welfare work amongst these classes. Besides the Ashram, they have extended the sphere of their



Sewing Class of Bhangi (Scavenger) Women Conducted by the Antyaja Seva Mandal

activity by opening a school for the last three years wherein the Municipal servants and their children—the scavengers, all receive education. They have now added a special sewing class for the sweeper women and girls for the last eight months and the special feature that attracts attention is that they have been able to secure the active co-operation of two graduate sisters for this work, one a Parsee and another a high class Deccani. These ladies of refinement and culture, to their credit it must be said, without feeling the least hesitation to mix with this class, readily shouldered the responsibility of conducting the class and teach the sweeper girls and women the art of cutting and sewing. They will thus be able to contribute a little to the family budget or at least free it from the burden of the sewing charges of their garments. Miss Tehemina Nariman, B. A. and Miss Anandibai Pathak, B. A., will have the blessings of these poor women for what they have been doing for them out of a sheer sense of service. These two ladies by their persistent labour and efforts have also nurtured in these women a habit of cleanliness; and those who had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses

of these operations being carried on, rubbed their eyes for a moment to think if the women they saw before them were really the scavenger class of women. The workers have been also able to interest some of the very prominent citizens of the town, like Dinsaw Daboo, Dr. Jivanji and Jagoobhai Kapadia and they evince a keen interest by lending support monetarily and otherwise. That is the key of these people's success. These women and girls have been, besides learning sewing, also been initiated into the fine art of Music. Mr. Parikshitlal, the energetic Secretary, Khandheria and his other co-workers, all deserve the thanks of a grateful province which bids fair to be in the vanguard of national progress.

R. M. K.

Tagore on Problems of Imperialistic Japan

In the course of a lecture on oriental culture and Japan's mission, delivered at Tokyo for the members of the Indo-Japanese Association, Rabindranath Tagore said :

I must confess that because I feel almost a personal pride in this building up of your modern history, pride as an Asiatic, therefore, I often feel

misgivings at anything that casts dark shadow upon the course of your progress. I have sometimes suffered the pain of such doubts; haven't I seen in the West manifestations of the national pride which gloats on the humiliation of its neighbours and fellow-beings without knowing that such humiliation comes back to itself? I have seen in the West the immense, monstrous pride in some glory that they exclusively claim and want to preserve for their own nation. Unfortunately, in the wake of some other evils these germs from the diseased hearts of the nation have come to us floating from the West and our treatment of alien races in the East is beginning to show signs of that supercilious contempt and want of consideration which in the West is justified in the name of patriotism.

The poet then spoke of the great problem which faces Japan.

A great problem has come to you, my friends of Japan. Now you have something you never had in your history, you have a dependency. You have also a neighbouring nation which is not equal to you in its strength of arms. And you have to deal with these races, these neighbours to whom it is so dangerously easy for you to be unjust with impunity. May I be frank with you and say that when I chance to hear of some instances of ill-treatment to Koreans and to others who are less fortunate than yourselves, it hurts me very deeply causing keen disappointment?

This was followed by suggestions as to how all Eastern peoples would like Japan to act.

I have ever wished that Japan, in behalf of all Eastern peoples, will reveal an aspect of civilization which is generally ignored in other parts of the world. It should be greatly rich in the wealth of human relationship, even in its politics. The generosity in human relationship I claim as something special to the East. We do acknowledge our human responsibilities to our neighbours, to our dependents, to all those who are related to us and this personal element in our civilization is something which we cannot afford to lose. Science is impersonal, and scientific diplomacy and scientific organizations of all kinds are developing this aspect of impersonal dealings with human beings which, even if not always painful, is always humiliating. Certainly it is owing to this that industrial class-wars are now being waged everywhere. The conflict between man and woman, between master and dependent, between neighbours, has become uncontrollable because the bonds of human relationship have snapped or become loose. Everything is ordered with a precision which is perfect, but mechanically perfect, which has callously divested itself of all elements of human sentiment, ignored all injunctions of the codes of honour that ever refused meanly to cling to calculating utility.

The poet then went on to consider the problem of the Koreans from their point of view.

More than once I have had opportunities to talk to the Koreans who brought their problems

to me. I explained to them my views and said that with the changed conditions in the present age no small countries can expect protection in their geographical barriers solely through their own small resources and imperfect training and education. And such helplessness has rendered all the weak spots of the human world danger centres of political storms, like areas of rarified air inevitably inviting a heavier host of wind to a turbulent rush of cyclone. No great nation, for the sake of self-preservation, can allow such weak spots in its neighbourhood to remain out of its control, for that is sure to afford vantage ground to its enemies and neither is it safe for the weaker people themselves to be left alone. And therefore the problem before the Koreans is to cultivate the moral strength which will enable them to establish a mutual relationship honourable for both sides.

He also dwelt on the moral danger to the Japanese from their possession of Korea and on how it could be obviated.

The moral danger is no less great for the people who unfortunately have the evil opportunity of exercising absolute power upon a weaker race. And for the sake of keeping up a high standard of national character which, after all, is the only source of permanent strength for the people it is imperatively necessary for the ruling nation to allow the subject race to find in themselves enough strength to be able to remind their rulers that they have to be just, honest, sympathetic and respectful. It is meet for the victors to maintain the pride of their righteousness by allowing rights to those who cannot forcibly wrench it away from them and those who, as human beings, have their inalienable claim upon human sympathy. You can establish your lasting kingdom if you can help your subjects to greatness and to self-government by training them up into self-confidence and bringing out into light all their latent power of self-expression.

The poet concluded his lecture with the following words of solemn warning and exhortation to the people of Japan:

You must know that the day comes when the defeated have their chance for revenge; that peoples have long memories and wrongs rankle deep in their heart; times of trouble are sure to come to all nations when the weak can bring fatal disaster to the stronger. The warnings of providence are often silent, and politicians do not heed to them. They have not the far-sighted vision; they live in the dusky den of the immediate present. And therefore I appeal to you as representatives of your people, win their love whom you can be foolish enough to bully into a sullen subjection, make them trustworthy by trusting them and by respecting them, train them into self-respect which is for your own good. Let the best mission of statesmanship be carried on in an atmosphere of sympathy and understanding, in the grateful heart of a people, the best of all back-grounds for the creation of the national genius.

A.-I. C. C. on Repression in the Punjab

At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Allahabad on the 26th July, Dr. Ansari moved a resolution regarding "repression in the Punjab." According to an Associated Press message,

It congratulated the people of the Punjab on the gallant way they were facing the arrests and convictions of the leaders and workers, the brutal assaults on undertrial prisoners and the terrorist methods and repression of the British Government and declared that in view of the fact that this terrorism appeared to be aimed at crushing the spirit of the people and prevent holding the session of the Congress, the only adequate answer which the people of the Punjab could give was to redouble their efforts to make the Congress a complete success and prepare themselves for the action contemplated in 1930.

Dr. Ansari reminded his audience of the arrests and prosecutions, particularly of the members of the Navajuvan Sabha, Punjab. Referring to forced feeding Dr. Ansari as a medical man explained the processes adopted. Generally it involved the least exertion on the victim and feeders, but the Punjab methods adopted would shock the people of a barbarous country; for there had come reports of exhaustion, nasal bleeding and other inevitable experiences of the victims.

Doctor Bidhan Chandra Roy, Calcutta, described the conduct of the warders and also the doctors employed as inhuman.

Mr. Sardul Singh informed the committee that Bhagat Singh was being forcibly fed by brute force of ten men, including those who themselves had been sentenced for murder. Terrorism was behind the actions of the Punjab Government, but the Punjab was behaving in such a way that the province which came last under the British Rule would be the first to declare independence.

Dr. Mahomed Alam (Lahore) declared that no amount of repression would avail in preventing the holding of the Congress. The Punjab would be ready to adopt whatever policy was resolved to be followed after first January.

The resolution was carried.

In the Punjab, both in the last century and in the present, punishments and repression have taken dreadful forms. But they have failed to produce at least one of the objects of such punishments and repression, *viz.*, to make people other than those punished afraid of doing what the latter had done. Neither those punished nor the others seem cowed down in the least. On the contrary, they are bolder than ever. This could not have been the object of the British Government.

Work within and outside Councils

The Modern Review has never failed to recognize that some good work can be done in the central and provincial legislatures and

some mischief and injury to the cause of the country, can be prevented by the efforts of public-spirited members thereof. Whether this kind of positive and preventive work be called great and important or comparatively small and unimportant, does not much matter; it is a matter of opinion. But it seems to us that no amount of work of this description is calculated to directly lead to self-rule. And the attainment of self-rule is undoubtedly more important than the things hitherto done or prevented by our legislators. Whether civil disobedience is practicable, whether it will bring Swaraj, we are unable to say. But a persistent and strenuous endeavour ought to be made in some way meant to lead directly to Swaraj. If that be practicable, surely small gains may and should be foregone for the sake of the one thing needful in politics, namely, self-rule.

An example may be given from Bengal. A resolution was passed unanimously at a recent meeting of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association that

In view of the fact that several educational bills of far-reaching importance, *viz.*, the Calcutta University Bill, the Board of Secondary Education Bill, the Bengal Primary Education Bill, are going to be considered at the next session of the Bengal Legislative Council, the A.-I. C. C. be requested not to enforce the policy of abstention of the Congress members from the Legislature so far as these bills are concerned, as in their absence measures are likely to be passed to the great detriment of the progress of education in Bengal.

This is true; but if and when Swaraj is attained harmful measures can be easily amended or swept aside.

Council Boycott Postponed

After prolonged discussion the following resolution was moved by Mahatma Gandhi at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Allahabad on the 27th July and carried by a large majority, only four members voting against it:

In view of the general situation in the country this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the time has come when all national effort should be concentrated on the preparation of the country for a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation after the 31st December, 1929 and agrees with the Working Committee that all Congress members of the various legislatures, Central and Provincial, should resign their seats to give effect to this campaign; but having regard to the views expressed by a considerable body of Congress members of the legislatures and

some members outside them, this Committee resolves that the question of withdrawal from the legislatures do stand over till the forthcoming Congress at Lahore.

This Committee further desires the public in general and the members of the legislatures in particular to prepare for complete withdrawal from the legislatures, should such a course be necessary on and from the 1st January next, provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the Congress Party in any legislature from resigning their seats before the Congress is held at Lahore, if they consider it necessary to do so on any new issue that may arise hereafter.

The moving and adoption of this resolution has been an act of sound policy.* You can take a horse to the water but you cannot make it drink—so runs the English proverb. There are many members of Councils who could probably have been dragged out of the Council Chambers by means of a resolution of the A. I. C. C., but it would not have been practicable to make them work towards organizing the country for non-violent disobedience.

Council Work and Outside Work

Council work is a cut and dried job. One has to make speeches or remain silent; take part in debates or become somnolent, or fall fast asleep; to move resolutions or not to do so; to vote on this side or that or remain neutral, or absent oneself; and to draw up travelling and other bills and get paid. And, there is no risk in Council work. There is freedom of speech there. Members can be pulled up, but not prosecuted for what they say there. If a member is a diligent talker; can say things to show that he means well, or can play to the gallery; is in the good books of a party or the reporters or some editor or other—he gets plaudits and fills a large space in the public eye.

The other kind of work, known as preparing the country for civil disobedience, is not quite so much a matter of routine as Council work. There may or may not be any remuneration for this kind of work. And even if there be, the travelling “allowances,” except for the bosses, are meagre; the subsistence allowances, if any, are literally so; there are no extras, except for the dishonest; one cannot fill much space in newspapers and the public eye, and get applause, unless one is a professional or semi-professional and peripatetic president

of Conferences and other public gatherings, having control over some daily or other; the ‘amenities’ of ‘civilized’ life available in the summer, and winter metropolises and provincial capitals are not to be had in the country generally; and, what is worse, if one is in earnest and means business, one may find oneself brought within the clutches of some section or other of the super-octopus-like penal laws of British India. If even these laws are not sufficient to bring an earnest worker to his senses, there are ordinances, regulations, etc., handy, to serve the same purpose. It is not suggested that such a fate always overtakes or is likely to overtake all earnest workers. But there is a deterrent possibility, which became an actuality in many cases.

If the All-India Congress Committee had passed a resolution to the effect that all Council members who are also members of the Congress must absent themselves from the Councils or give up their seats there, the would-be rebellious M. L. A.’s and M. L. C.’s, would either have stuck to their seats, or, boycotting the councils in obedience to the resolution, they would not or could not have done any work in preparation for civil disobedience. So practically nothing has been lost by the adoption of the compromise resolution, except this that the public must wait for some time longer to know who among Congress notabilities like and are fit for what kind of work.

Miss Mayo Again

The plague appeared in India some thirty-four years ago, and as India is a very patient and hospitable land, it has not left the country yet. Miss Mayo bids fair to be as permanent and persistent a visitation as the plague. The following appears in the *London Times* of July 10 under the heading “British Work in India”:

Miss Katharine Mayo, authoress of “Mother India,” and Miss Moyca Newell, who is associated with her in the club for British mercantile apprentices in New York, were the guests at lunch yesterday of the English Speaking Union, at the Criterion Restaurant. Professor Winifred Cullis presided.

Miss Mayo, speaking on her two Indian books, said they had ceased to be books to her and had become a cause, the cause of the bottom dog in India, who was turning to the West for hope and deliverance.

This sanctimonious claim of the notorious female hireling reminds us of the old lines :

And the devil went back to his study ;

Said, he, with a wink and a nod,

"Sure the true way still

To work my will,

Is to call it, *the work of God.*"

Miss Mayo went on to say :

In the words of that great American gentleman, unselfish patriot, and deep student, General Leonard Wood, stated only a few months before his untimely death, "The British administration in India is the greatest Christian performance of our era.

In August, 1927, *The Modern Review* published an article with the heading, "What Americans say about subject India," which has been later incorporated in the book named "India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom." This article contains the opinions of many Americans of far greater eminence, higher character and deeper and wider scholarship than General Wood.

A.-I. C. C. on Repression at Barisal

At the recent All-India Congress Committee meeting held at Allahabad,

An official resolution condemning the policy of repression followed by the Bengal Government in Barisal and in this connection the arrest and prosecution of Satindra Nath Sen and his comrades and congratulating them on their protracted sufferings was put from the chair and carried.

A.-I. C. C. on Golmuri Strike

Pandit Jawaharlal informed the Working Committee that he had received a representation from the Golmuri tinplate workers' union, Jamshedpur, where a peaceful strike was proceeding for the last four months for the betterment of the condition of the workers and pointed out that the Company had not even cared to acknowledge the labour leaders' communications.

The meeting authorized the Secretary to prepare the case for the strikers.

An Unhired American on Freedom for India

Dr. Curtis W. Reese, one of the Unitarian delegates to the Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations and an Associate Editor of *Unity* of Chicago, writes to that paper from Egypt on his return voyage home :

From Colombo we sailed on the *President Hayes* to Suez. Of especial interest to me were the days on the Red Sea. Each day increased my scepti-

cism regarding the crossing of that body of water on dry ground ; so when, in response to the purser's invitation, I conducted Sunday services, I thought it wise to refrain from all Biblical allusions. In fact, I read the Scripture Lesson from a compilation of the sayings of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson. Then after praying "May America once more become the Champion of Liberty everywhere," I preached on the freedom of India. Following the service, an American-Scotchman came to me in much confusion of soul. He said that for thirty years he had held my opinions regarding the freedom of India. "But," he added, "you spoilt your address by saying that you felt the same way about the Philippines." Oh, consistency, thou art—!

Macaulay on Self-government and Good Government

The speech which Macaulay delivered in the House of Commons, London, on 10 July 1833, is known to most publicists as containing the following passage :

It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system ; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.

About a century after Macaulay uttered these words, there are numerous Englishmen and Scotchmen to be found who are doing all they can "to avert or to retard it." *The day has come.* The people of India ask for self-rule. But, instead of being recognized as "the proudest day in English history," it is looked upon as a day of great calamity.

But this is a digression.

The same speech of Macaulay's contains the sentences,

Do I call the government of India a perfect government ? Very far from it. *No nation can be perfectly well governed till it is competent to govern itself.*

So, in a way, Macaulay anticipated Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's dictum, "Good government can never be a substitute for self-government," as well as Balfour's, who has said :

We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people."

Gandhiji on Sedition

The conviction of Dr. Satyapal of Lahore for sedition gave Mahatma Gandhi an occasion to write in *Young India* an article on the existing law of sedition in India. In the course of that article he makes some observations on the suggestion, which will occur to many persons, and must have occurred to many previously also, that "a wide agitation for the repeal of section 124-A" is required.

But repeal of that section and the like means repeal of the existing system of government, which means attainment of Swarajya. Therefore, the force required really to repeal that section is the force required for the attainment of Swarajya.

Exactly. But Gandhiji might have added that if Swarajya were attained, it might not be necessary to repeal the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code. For under Swarajya it would be practically inoperative, either because it would not then be rigorously enforced, or because many causes of criticism would then disappear, or because under Swarajya an Indian jury would not consider many things blamable which are now held blameworthy. Such is probably the case in Great Britain.

The Law of Sedition in England and India

The following paragraph from Dicey's "Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution" (pp. 239-240, eighth edition) shows that the law of sedition is substantially the same in Great Britain and India :

Every person commits a misdemeanour who publishes (orally or otherwise) any words or any document with a seditious intention. Now a seditious intention means an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the King or the government and constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite British subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes. And if the matter published is contained in a written or printed document the publisher is guilty of publishing a seditious libel. The law, it is true, permits the publication of statements meant only to show that the Crown has been misled, or that the government has committed errors, or to point out defects in the government or the constitution with a view to their legal remedy, or with a view to recommend alterations in Church or State by legal means, and in short, sanctions criticism on public affairs which is *bona fide* intended to recommend the reform of existing institutions by legal methods. But any one will see at once that the legal

definition of a seditious libel might easily be so used as to check a great deal of what is ordinarily considered allowable discussion, and would if rigidly enforced be inconsistent with prevailing forms of political agitation.

The last sentence in the above extract appears to show that, though the legal definition of sedition is perhaps wider in England than in India, in its application there it does not probably stand in the way of "what is considered allowable discussion" or of "prevailing forms of political agitation." The cause of such a state of things is the existence of Swarajya in Great Britain. Self-rule enables the British people to supply a competent jury of twelve *free* men, who "determine the questions of truth, fairness, intention, and the like, which affect the legal character of a published statement." Stress has been laid by us on the word 'free', because men who are accustomed to freedom and value their liberty will not easily do anything to restrict freedom of discussion and expression of opinion.

Though the law of sedition is substantially the same in India and Great Britain, the reasons why it is not felt to be equally restrictive and repressive in the two countries will have been clear to some extent from what has been printed above. They will be clearer from the Note which follows.

Mr. MacDonald on the Press in India

In his book on "The Government of India" Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald devotes a chapter to "The Press." The concluding paragraph of that chapter is reproduced below in three parts.

And yet the limits of press freedom consistent with bureaucratic government are narrowly defined. Grievances may be ventilated, and Government may even be attacked in language which ought not to meet the eyes of the sisters of its members. Still no harm is done : indeed, the Government may be all the better for the jolting it gets. It thereby knows the nature of the road it is travelling. But it is quite another thing when public opinion, supported by a powerful press, does not merely ventilate grievances, but criticizes policy, or goes the length of demanding that the bureaucracy itself should cease to exist and a freer form of government take its place. A representative Government successfully attacked by the press changes a minister or resigns ; representative government sways in the breezes of public opinion as a tree does in the winds, but its roots remain. A bureaucracy so assailed can change nothing, because it cannot be expected to change itself ; it cannot resign, and if it were to do so that would be a revolution in the form of government.

Free discussion, the witness of representative government, is the destruction of a bureaucracy. This is a fundamental difference with many attending consequences. The present form of Indian government cannot exist in the midst of a vigorous public opinion. It may be well intentioned, but it cannot be obedient. It cannot allow, if it can prevent it, a determined campaign to be conducted demanding for the people that badge of liberty—self-government. That is sedition so soon as it goes beyond the stage of an interesting debate and reaches that of a serious demand. And this is the case even when political opinion here in the sovereign State is in favour of the change asked for by public opinion in India, but opposed to, and by, the bureaucracy. For instance, there can be little doubt but that the opinions which have been prosecuted in India during the past few years have had the support of the people of this country.

Mr. MacDonald has, no doubt, reasons for holding the opinion expressed in the sentence quoted last. But the people of India have not yet had any practical proof of the statement that what the bureaucracy here condemned and punished as sedition was ever supported by the British people in general. Mr. MacDonald then proceeds to state the dilemmas of the Indian Government and the Indian reformer.

The Indian Government is in this dilemma. It may be doomed and its successor may be almost ready: still, it has to govern till the day of its death: therefore, it cannot tolerate the heralds and followers of the new order near to its own throne. The Indian reformer is in this dilemma. He must agitate for the revolutionized Government, for he knows he will never get it otherwise: he is well aware that this necessary agitation will make the bureaucracy more obdurate and its trust in repressive legislation more certain. Of course, in actual practice it is possible to avoid these dilemmas by the exercise of broadminded common sense and practical sagacity, but a bureaucracy of Civil Servants who have become old in authority must find it difficult, as the Indian Government undoubtedly has, to unbend itself and humour the powers which it cannot subdue. These considerations and not the existence of sedition and other political crime in India, however much of that there may have been, are the true reasons why the Indian codes and statutes are disfigured with so much repressive power. The Indian press, though its function may be to act as part of the constitutional opposition to the Government, cannot do its work in the full way that papers in this country do, until there is a really free press in India, but Press Acts will never finally disappear there, though both their contents and their administration may vary in stringency, whilst the Government is a bureaucracy. To demand the complete abolition of the Press Acts is equivalent to demanding that the Government itself should be put on a more liberal foundation.

Mr. MacDonald sums up his views in three pregnant sentences which bring his observations to a close.

The problem of the Indian Press is at 'root that of the inherent conflict between a bureaucracy and public opinion. The last chapter in the history of bureaucracies is repression. They pass away like an old monarch driven from his throne, hurling accusations of sedition against his approaching successor.

Mr. MacDonald both criticizes and praises the Indian papers. The following sentences give some idea of his views:

.....I have never failed to observe in Indian papers due appreciation—often expressed in exaggerated terms of gratitude—of Government actions approved by Indians. It is not true to say that the Indian Press is anti-Government. It is more accurately described as independent, and in this respect does not differ from the Anglo-Indian Press. Each looks after its own interest and supports or opposes the Government accordingly.

What he has to say on the monthly magazines is briefly expressed in the following passage:

Fortunately the growth of Indian nationalism has created a reaction towards Indian culture. Magazines like *The Modern Review* give the artistic, the historical, and the literary, as well as the political activities of the new Indian school a platform and an expression.

League Against Imperialism

Frankfurt-on-Main, July 21.

The second World Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League opened here this evening. Hundreds of delegates from all parts of the world were present, including 21 from Britain, 27 from India and six from British Africa.

Opening addresses were delivered by Madame Sun Yat-sen and Mr. James Maxton, M. P. The latter emphasized that the Congress fully supported the Soviet in their conflict with China, but hoped that the dispute would be settled amicably.

Comrade Melnit Shanki, a Soviet delegate criticized the British Labour Government for allowing their Indian comrades to be imprisoned for political reasons.

The Congress passed a resolution calling upon the peoples of the world to fight against imperialism and for the liberation of the "enslaved Colonial races."

The Congress will last for a week and will discuss the Russo-Chinese crisis, and the problems of India.—Reuter.

It is not at all self-evident to us that China is in the wrong and Soviet Russia is right in their conflict. Why then should the League against Imperialism take sides? Mr. Maxton and the League may be anti-Imperialistic; but are they also anti-Asiatic?

Dr. Paranjpye and the Simon Commission

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, member of the India Council, London, is a member of the

National Liberal Federation of India. As that Liberal body had decided to abstain from giving evidence before the Statutory Commission, Dr. Paranjpye felt bound to abide by its decision. That is why he did not appear before it to give evidence. Interviewed by Reuter he said he refused to accept the contention that his position at the India Council in any way compelled him to do something against the views of the party to which he belonged. But as his party had not made any pronouncement regarding social intercourse with members of the Commission, he could be present at certain social functions.

Society for Improvement of Backward Classes

Founded in 1909, this Society, of which the main activity has been educational, had on the 31st March, 1929, 424 schools for boys and girls with 12,907 boys and 4,711 girls on their rolls. In the year 1928-29 the total expenditure of the Society was Rs. 63,616, of which Rs. 6,000 only were spent for the Inspecting staff and the Central Office, the remainder, *viz.* Rs. 57,616, being spent for the schools. The total income was Rs. 63,570 consisting of subscriptions and donations raised through the Central Office (Rs. 8,124), collections made in villages, *i. e.*, village peoples' contributions and school fees (Rs. 46,196), and Government grant (Rs. 9,250).

The total expenditure last year has been slightly in excess of the total income. The reason for this state of things is that certain donors and public associations used in the past to contribute towards the maintenance of a number of schools started at their instance. Their contributions have since been withdrawn, but the schools continue to be in the hands of the Society. The Society has, therefore, had to bend all its energies for several years to raise additional subscriptions to make up the deficit, and last year's figures show that it has nearly succeeded in levelling its income again up to the expenditure. But it has to admit sorrowfully that the additional burden thus thrown on its workers has to some extent been detrimental to the inspection and other work in the villages.

The Need of a Permanent Fund:—It will be apparent from the above that the Society is a stable and well-established institution whose roots go down to 386 villages of Bengal and Assam. It has won the confidence and active co-operation of all sections of the public, Indian and European, and also of Government.

Subscriptions, however, are by their nature always fluctuating, and no permanent work of this description can be carried on depending on

subscriptions to the extent to which the Society has hitherto been doing. The promoters of the Society have therefore decided to raise a Permanent Fund of a lac of rupees (Rs. 1,00,000) with the following gentlemen as Trustees:

1. Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E., K. C. V. O.
2. Mr. N. N. Sircar, Advocate-General, Bengal.
3. Sir P. C. Ray, PH. D., C. I. E.
4. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, M. A.
5. Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder, B. L.
6. Dr. P. K. Acharji, M. A., M. B.
7. Dr. H. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. D.

- If we consider for a moment the facts that nearly 98 per cent of our brethren and sisters living in villages are deprived of the blessings of education, nay even of literacy, that a genuine desire for education is rapidly springing up amongst the people of the backward classes, and that the Society is now perhaps the most efficient private organization in Bengal for the satisfaction of that desire, we shall at once perceive that the finances of so valuable and longstanding an institution deserve to be placed on a permanent and secure footing. We, therefore, on behalf of the 444 lacs of people living in Bengal villages, earnestly appeal to the public-spirited and liberal-minded men and women of the country to come forward with generous contributions towards the Society's Permanent Fund. We are confident that the generous public, both Indian and European, will stretch their helping hands towards a cause, so worthy of their sympathy and assistance.

The appeal issued on behalf of the Society for its permanent fund is signed by Rabindranath Tagore, P. C. Ray, Ramananda Chatterjee, N. N. Sircar, J. M. Sen Gupta, Satyananda Bose, A. C. Sen, S. C. Chakravarti, P. K. Acharji and H. C. Sarkar.

The very fact that in 1928-29, out of the total expenditure of Rs. 63,570 so much as Rs. 46,196 was contributed by the villagers themselves from their slender means, shows their earnest desire for education. All educated men and women in the country have received their education partly at the expense of the nation, of which the villagers form the backbone and the majority. That we all owe our education partly to the contributions made by the people to the public treasury in the shape of taxes, was shown by us in a Note in our last issue. Therefore, if we pay any subscriptions and donations to educational societies, we really pay our education-debts to the nation. Fortunate are they who are able to free themselves from this debt. At the recent public meeting held in Calcutta under the presidency of Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerji, who is the Patron of the Society, to arouse public sympathy and win public support for its laudable work, it was announced that Sir Rajendra Nath had donated Rs. 5,000 to its permanent fund and promised to pay an annual subscription of Rs. 500.

These, in addition to his educational and medical benefactions for his native village Bhabla and his other similar benefactions, have made him free from his education-debt. Mr. A. P. Sen of Lucknow has contributed Rs. 1,500 to perpetuate the memory of his mother. Mr. Hemendranath Datta has paid Rs. 2,000, and Dr. Acharji Rs. 1,000. So a good beginning has been made. Rupees one lac is a comparatively small amount. It is to be hoped that it will be soon collected and another lac will be appealed for, and so on.

The early history of the work of the Society reads like a romance. The small band of earnest young men who started it had for their sole equipment devotion to the cause of the "depressed." "Of all the difficulties and obstacles they had to contend against at the outset, not the least was the distrust with which the depressed people themselves looked upon all attempts made by the educated classes to ameliorate their condition. It was only when one of those young pioneers had made a Namasudra village in the Dacca district his home for about 10 years, had lived with the Namasudras, moved among them, shared their meals, and slept under their roofs, that all opposition was at last worn down, and the selfless efforts of the workers began to bear fruit. Even now when the Society's activities have spread all over the province, it counts as its chief asset not the funds at its disposal, but the trust and confidence of the depressed classes that it has been able to earn."

The description of how the Society's work began in two centres will give some idea of how it has grown.

Berash centre:—The Society's humble efforts began in 1909 in an out-of-the-way and not easily accessible village named Berash in Dacca district, peopled mainly by Namasudra and Kapali cultivators. The people of the so-called 'upper' classes of the adjacent villages, (among whom were the zemindars), were not favourably disposed towards any efforts made to improve the condition of the backward communities. They made no secret of their antipathy to the objects of our mission, and they systematically tried to frustrate its work. It will be difficult for many of you to realize at this date how bitter that opposition was twenty years ago. Our worker, who lived with the Namasudras, started a Boys' school, a Girls' school and a Night school, and also excavated a tank for better drinking water for the people. Every one of these efforts met with, and had to be carried through against, intense opposition from interested quarters. On one or two occasions even the life of our worker was in danger. But he steadfastly went on doing his duty, placing his faith in God. Babu

Brindaban Chandra Majumdar, a well-to-do Namasudra cultivator, advanced in years, was instigated by our opponents to hamper our work in all possible ways. He continued his attitude of hostility for more than a year. But gradually a change was wrought in his heart, and one day he came to our worker to ask forgiveness for all the annoyance caused by himself. In a moment he found himself locked in our worker's embrace. He then and there placed one thousand rupees in our worker's hands for erecting a house for the Boys' school started by him.

Let us have a picture of the present condition of our work there. There are now *above 50 schools* for boys and girls in villages situated within a radius of ten miles from Berash. The villagers themselves have started associations with the objects of helping with stipends their boys and girls towards higher studies, of checking early marriages and other social evils, of settling disputes by arbitration, and getting the Union Boards to dig wells in areas of water scarcity, etc. They have established two Public Libraries, four Charitable Homoeopathic Dispensaries, two Co-operative Societies and one Association of Volunteers for nursing the sick during epidemics and for clearing jungles and obstructed tanks. This last Association has raised and sent to Calcutta a considerable sum of money for the relief of the flood-stricken people in Assam. Twice a year the villagers assemble in mass meetings to deliberate on all important questions affecting their welfare. Thus the village Berash can fitly be called now a centre of illumination for its surrounding areas.

Masiahati centre:—Masiahati (in District Jessore) is a village situated centrally in a tract of land comprising 96 villages peopled wholly by Namasudra cultivators. Originally the Society had a small cluster of 3 Lower Primary schools in the villages named Sujaitpur, Kultia and Nehalpur. These schools created amongst the people a desire for better and higher education. Under *their own initiative*, the three Primary schools were amalgamated, and converted as a first step, into an M. E. School at Masiahati. Class after class was then rapidly added towards the top. In the meantime villagers set about solving the problem of a house for their future dream, an H. E. School for their boys. They were cultivators all of them, and had to toil hard on their fields the whole day. But on their return home every evening after their daily toil, they cheerfully worked, oftentimes late into the night, at making bricks and at cutting trees for fuel for a kiln. Eventually they succeeded in making a lac and a half of bricks. The singleness of purpose, the self-help and perseverance, and the spirit of devoted service thus displayed by these humble village folk naturally won the admiration and respect of the workers of the Society, who gladly helped them in raising the School up to the Matriculation Standard, and obtaining for it grants from Government for maintenance as well as for the completion of the building.

The Society is under the control of a body registered under Act XXI of 1860. The Hon'ble Sir P. C. Mitter is its president and Sir P. C. Ray, one of the Vice-presidents.

"All is Well with India"?

On landing in England, Lord Irwin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India on leave, is reported to have said: "All is well with India." It is not clear in what sense the condition of India appeared to his Lordship completely satisfactory. Let us first consider the political condition of India. Bombs were thrown in the council chamber of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. There are big conspiracy cases going on at Lahore and at Meerut, the alleged conspirators coming from distant parts of India. In various provinces public speakers, editors, printers, publishers, etc., have been undergoing trial for sedition. Some courts of justice and the streets of some towns and cities occasionally ring with cries of "Long live revolution," "Down with imperialism," etc. All these show that there is political discontent and unrest in India.

The economic condition of India, too, does not appear to us satisfactory. There is widespread unemployment among all classes. True, the Jute Mills of Bengal secured profits to the extent of 7½ crores of rupees last year. But that shows the prosperity of the capitalists, not of the mill hands or of the people at large. There have been big strikes in various parts of the country, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, and large numbers of workers are still on strike. As we write perhaps the workers in a good many jute mills have gone on strike. Large imports of such staple food-grains as rice and wheat and of sugar do not show that our agriculture is in a satisfactory condition. So, Lord Irwin's dictum cannot be reasonably said to relate to the economic condition of India.

Even when he was in India, he must have read in the papers accounts of devastating floods in Assam, the eastern parts of Bengal, parts of Burma, etc. And there have also been floods in Sindh and Gujarat. So, his Lordship's remark could not perhaps have reference to India's freedom from natural calamities.

In the modern history of the world, no country under the rule of a civilized people has been able to boast of such steadily high death-rates as India, nor has plague made its home in any such country for more than three decades. There has not been of late any sudden or rapid or even slow improvement

in the health of all parts of India to make his Lordship enthusiastically optimistic.

Education has not recently made any remarkable progress. India is the most illiterate of all countries under civilized rule. There were more primary schools per mille of population in pre-British days than now.

The country has not been free from riots, too.

So one is at a loss to account for his Lordship's satisfaction. Probably he feels that all is well with British domination in India. Hindus and Moslems have not yet agreed. Among politicians of all classes and creeds, there is no complete agreement as regards ideals and methods. There are or may be other things to indicate that the people are not yet ready to present a united front. Probably it is this fact which has led his Lordship to diagnose that all is well with India.

But should the prospect of the long continuance of British domination in India make the head of the self-appointed trustees of India blind to India's unsatisfactory condition in every important respect?

After we had finished writing this note, we came across the following in *New India* :

A Deceptive Assurance—Lord Irwin has assured his folk at home that "all is well with India." It reminds one of the bulletins that used to issue from the various Army Head-quarters during the war, to allay anxieties in their homes. All is well in India, in the sense that the lid on which the authorities are sitting has not burst open and the forces of underground commotion are still ostensibly under check from the feet of those above. But let any Britisher read the Indian newspapers for a week, of the prosecutions for sedition, of house-searches galore, the hunger-strikes of men whose motive is redemption of their Motherland, however desperate their methods, and the internments without trial under autocratic laws made for the unsettled conditions of more than a century ago; we doubt if he will still endorse the sententious optimism of the Viceroy. All is *not* well with a country which, once the wealthiest in the world according to contemporary chroniclers, is now consciously the poorest, which not long ago boasted of a school in every village but is now a byword for much illiteracy. The Viceroy's declaration would only muffle such promptings as may be felt by the British public to attend to the rumbling discontents in this country, a striking eruption of which was witnessed in Bardoli last year, and another has caused and is still causing almost interminable trouble in Bombay.

In the *Morning Post* of London Lord Sydenham recently drew "the attention of the public to the 'ominous' situation which the Viceroy is coming home to discuss!"

A Political Sermon of Lord Irwin's

Not long before Lord Irwin's departure from India on leave, he dwelt in one of his speeches "on the naked conflict between two contradictory philosophies, that of physical violence and that of reason and argument and persuasion." As an academic discourse such a speech may be allowable and even admirable, if the speaker be a professor or a minister of religion or some other person of similar description. But as in the present stage of human civilization, governments cannot generally dispense with the standing menace of physical force and its application at the shortest notice whenever necessary, there is something inappropriate in such a political sermon being preached by the executive head of a large country which is kept in subjection to another by a large army of occupation. There are, besides, the territorial force, the auxiliary force, the military police and the ordinary police. The navy, war vessels, the air force, bombing aeroplanes, etc., need not be described at length. Not that these are peculiar to India. But all these have to be referred to to show that British rule in India is still far from being based solely or chiefly on the philosophy of reason and argument and persuasion.

When men employed by the bureaucracy dog the footsteps of various public men, perhaps the former want simply to have opportunities for a quiet talk with the latter to reason with and persuade them. When professional eavesdroppers paid from the public treasury secretly open and read the private letters of citizens passing through the post office, perhaps their object is the same. Warrants for the arrest of editors, publishers, etc., accused of sedition, should probably be viewed as invitations to persuasive conferences.

But, speaking seriously, perhaps his Lordship meant that the people of India should depend solely on the immaterial instruments of reason and argument and persuasion for obtaining from the British people what they want, but that the British people and their representatives should have recourse to both those immaterial weapons, as well as material weapons, keeping the latter in reserve, though not *quite* out of view, in order to clinch their arguments and replenish their persuasive powers whenever necessary. India's older and more experienced leaders, some as a matter of principle and others

from motives of expediency, have up till now depended on the aforesaid immaterial weapons and want to continue to do so, adding to their armoury the arm of civil disobedience in case of need. But signs have not been wanting during the last quarter of a century that many young men do not believe in the political philosophy and methods of the older leaders. It may be that Government would be able to crush larger numbers of them than have yet been arrested and brought to trial. But it would hardly be appropriate to call that persuasion—would it? And is it either pleasant, or profitable, or right to be always under the necessity of rounding up numbers of men for political offences and of punishing them? Government may plead that the necessity is not their creation. But that would scarcely be the verdict of history. History would probably lay at least part of the blame at their door.

India and the Labour Government

On the accession of the Labour Party to power the pledges, implied pledges and other similar things, for which certain labour leaders and conferences were responsible, have been republished in some papers in England and India to show that the party ought to grant dominion status to India. So it should. But the question is whether it can or will. As regards the first part of the question, it has been urged that, on the present occasion as on the last, Labour is in office but not in power, and, therefore, in spite of its good intentions it can do nothing substantial for India. Though not eager to ascribe want of good intentions to Labour, we cannot extract any profit or solace from good intentions. That disposes of the second part of the question also.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has in effect urged that the people of India should not shut the doors of their hearts against the entrance of charitable feelings towards the Labour Party. Some Indians, too, sojourning in England, have exhorted their critically-minded stay-at-home countrymen not to indulge in pessimistic criticism of the Labour Party. Unjustifiable criticism is bad under all circumstances. But it is not clear how even extremely perverse criticism can prevent the Labour Party from carrying out their good intentions, if any, in relation

to India. Even nation-wide Indian condemnation of any British political party cannot drive it from power or prevent it from doing what it likes. Nor can absence of any criticism on our part increase any British political party's power to do good to India. On the contrary, if the people of India continue to criticize and agitate, that may serve as a reminder at least to the small number of well-disposed Britishers that all is not well with India.

In any case, we believe in the wisdom of relying on our own efforts, not on the favour of others. This does not imply any desire on our part to antagonize any real friendliness on the part of any foreigners.

Visva-bharati Department of Islamic Studies

We have received the following from the Karma-Sachiva, Visva-Bharati, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta :

Dr. Julius Germanus, Professor of Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institute of the Royal Hungarian University, Budapest who has been recently elected to the Nizam Islamic Chair for Islamic Studies, has drawn up the following programme of work for the academic session 1929-30 (July-March).

PROGRAMME OF ISLAMIC STUDIES

Introductory Courses. Selected Arabic texts from the classics (6th century—14th century) with historical, philological, and literary commentaries.

2. *The History of Islam* from the earliest times. Arabia before Muhammad and the Qur'an. The Arab Empire. The Abbassides. The spread of Islam to foreign countries. The Turks. Islam in India.

Sources of historical research. Comparative method and criticism of sources.

3. *Research and Seminary work.* Methods of historical research illustrated by practical application to the history of Islam in India.

(a) Lectures on Islamic History will be delivered regularly. After every lecture a Seminary class will be held in which the sources for the period dealt with in the lecture will be critically examined. Advanced students and research workers will be given practical training in the critical examination of original sources.

(b) Separate seminary classes will be held for the study and interpretation of literary and philological works.

4. *Persian and Turkish Texts.* Advanced classes accompanied by Seminary work will be arranged for the study of Persian and Turkish texts and sources.

5. *Islamic Library.* An adequate number of standard books on Islam is being collected on a critical principle to serve the needs of students and research workers.

For information relating to fees, residential arrangements, etc., students are referred to the Karma-Sachiva.

Discontent and Unrest, and Economic Conditions

Some persons would ascribe all the discontent and unrest in India to poverty and unemployment and other undesirable economic conditions in India. That these have to do with the prevailing discontent and unrest to some extent nobody can or will deny. But Indian discontent and unrest are not due solely or even chiefly to these causes. If Indian men and women were mere animals, they could be quite satisfied if they had enough food, adequate housing arrangements and other necessities of animal existence. But like other human beings, they wish to realize their ideals, they want to manage their own affairs, they want to grow up to the full height of their possible stature, they desire to contribute their share to the world's progress. These they cannot do under present conditions. In a large sense the leaders of the Indian discontented were not sprung from the class of the unemployed. If some of them were or are poor, the poverty was or is self-imposed. It is not necessary to name all of them. The reader may repeat to himself the names of all the presidents of the Indian National Congress. In modern times Ram Mohun Roy was the first to rouse his countrymen to the realities of the situation. Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerji, Ananda Mohun Bose, Gokhale, Tilak, Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Gandhi, C. R. Das, and many others can be named whose dissatisfaction with the condition and status of India and Indians did not owe its origin to their own unemployment or solely or mainly to the unemployed condition or poverty of their countrymen. If Indians had human rights, they could themselves put an end to unemployment and poverty. They would not be able to do it in any other way.

Mr. MacDonald's Mission

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has summed his mission as "work for our people and peace for the world," and Mr. Thomas, one of his Ministers, has told the public how he would provide work for the British unemployed—

"we will ourselves make the things we import." Such a programme can be carried out in England, because she is self-ruling. Japan has been gradually carrying out such a programme, because she is self-ruling. India could do the same if she were self-ruling. It is true, even in her subject condition her children could have done more for industrial revival than has yet been done. But political depression is among the causes of their lack of sufficient enterprise and initiative. And just as, according to H. H. Wilson, Indian trade and industries were destroyed by unjust use of political power in the hands of the foreign East India Company, so Indian trade and industries can be fully revived only by the just use of political power in the hands of the children of the soil. As regards peace for the world, that would not be attainable unless India were free.

Protection of Minorities

An Anglo-Indian daily has brought forward an objection to the suggestion that the minorities problem should be submitted to the League of Nations for its solution, as such problems have been and are submitted to that body. That paper's objection amounts in effect to this that the European minorities in different countries differ from their majorities in race and language and sometimes also in religious denomination, whereas in India Musalmans* are in the main same in race and language with the other Indian peoples and differ from them only in religion. But that makes or ought to make the problem simpler here than in the European countries. The difficulty lies elsewhere. The League of Nations *News for Overseas* for July states :

It should be explained that minority questions can only be placed on the Council's agenda at the request of one of its Members ;

India, or rather the British Government in India, is no doubt a Member of the League. But the Indian Government is subordinate to the Imperial Government in London. And neither the master nor the subordinate would be willing to request the League to deal with the minorities problem in India. Every one knows why.

Irish Free State Ministers

According to Reuter, it has been officially announced in Dublin that Count Gerald O'Kelly and Prof. D. A. Binchy have been appointed Free State Ministers in France and Germany respectively. The Irish Free State has been gradually approximating to the status of independent states.

Hunger Strikes in Jails

Some political prisoners and under-trial men in jails resort to hunger strike as a protest against the indignities and hardships they are subjected to in order that they may be treated as such persons are, say, in England. Whether the method is wise and would be effective may be open to doubt, but the courage and public spirit of the strikers cannot be questioned.

Meerut Alleged Conspiracy Trial

The application of those who have been undergoing trial at Meerut for alleged conspiracy, for the transfer of the case to a more convenient place has been rejected. It is also uncertain whether they will have trial by jury at any later stage.

Common sense would have required the prosecution to show cause why the majority of the accused—only one or two belong to Meerut—were to be tried in that corner of India and were to be deprived of the right of trial by jury. Instead, the defence lawyers were required to show cause why the accused should be tried at some other place more convenient to the majority of them. It is also quite obvious that able lawyers are more easily available and at less expense at provincial capitals like Bombay, Calcutta or Allahabad than at Meerut. But these things could not perhaps be legally urged in favour of the transfer of the case.

The law has sometimes been called an ass. At other times it might also be called a fox.

Mr. Langford James has brought forward many ingenious arguments* against trial by jury. These are meant for consumption east of Suez.

Plan to help India (?)

Speaking in the British House of Commons on imperial preference and the safeguarding duties, Mr. Philip Snowden outlined a plan to revive British manufacture. He is reported to have stated that

The best opportunity of developing Imperial trade lay in helping India by lending her capital to enable the peasants to use steel instead of wooden ploughs and also use motor tractors. They might at sometime be educated to the point of using motor cars. British trade with India could be increased by £87,000,000 as compared to £2,000,000, with Australia, if the purchasing power of the people of the two countries was raised, say, by 6s. per head.

"Helping" India to become slightly richer in order that that wealth might subsequently be drained away to England may be an ingenious method of philanthropy. But in honest truth it ought to be called helping Britain.

Mr. Snowden did not expressly say that India was to remain in her present backward industrial condition due in part to her inferior political status. But that was the implication—perhaps sub-conscious—underlying his plan.

If India's purchasing power increases, why is she to buy British goods, instead of manufacturing her requirements herself? Mr. Thomas desires that unemployment in Britain should be reduced or ended by his countrymen making the things which they now import. Why should India not wish to do the same thing? They can do so if they have the political power.

Borrowing Capital from Britain

As for borrowing capital from Britain, we are opposed to it. The chief reasons for opposing foreign loans were stated recently in Bombay by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Sir Lallubhai Samaldas at a meeting of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood. Mr. Mehta's views are given below in part. He referred to China's difficulties first.

Between two independent countries, a foreign loan was like any other commercial transaction in which both parties stood to gain. But if the borrower happened to be a weak subject nation and the lender a strong governing nation, then the dangers of a foreign loan were infinite. Taking China as an example, about a hundred years ago the British and the other foreign nations forced trade relations upon that free country at the point of the bayonet and by gradual stages forced her to accept loans from them for building up her

industries, for which she had to mortgage her customs revenue to the foreign capitalists. And it was now quite patent to all that in every effort to shake off her foreign shackles, China was only becoming more and more entangled in their net. Thus by taking foreign loans China has been at the feet of the foreign nations for the past 100 years and this was the real reason for all her internal disasters, bloodsheds and wars.

Then he took the example of Egypt.

Egypt was a free country for a long time and its downfall began with the taking of foreign loans after she had wrung home rule from the Sultan of Turkey. It was easy to borrow but not so easy to pay back. Egypt was occupied by the British in 1882 and the British statesmen repeatedly and solemnly promised to vacate as soon as their loans were repaid. In 1922 she got a sort of independence but the British were still in power and the British statesmen could close down the Egyptian Parliament any moment they liked.

The fate of the Sudanese next came under review.

The Sudanese Government had taken a loan of £13,000,000 from the British capitalists for the development of her cotton cultivation. In return for this the Sudanese peasants were forced to lease their lands to Government for a period of 40 years. It was quite possible that after the expiration of 40 years conditions might change and the question of vested rights, would crop up. The loan would still remain unpaid and the peasants would be forced to remain the perpetual slaves of the British.

From the examples of these countries he rightly concluded that as soon as the bondholder entered in at the door, the freedom of these countries flew away. As for India,

From the days of the East India Company the same history has been repeated in this country. It was the infinite economic resources of the country that the British wanted to use to their own advantage and that was why they were unwilling to make India a free nation. In 1921, when the 7 per cent. sterling loan was raised in England by the Secretary of State the people of India raised a hue and cry. Then followed the conversion loan, to be repaid with either 6 per cent. interest or £200 at the time of conversion for every £100 subscribed. In spite of strong protests the loan was floated and subscribed, the effects of which would be seen at the time of conversion. Fresh loans were now being contemplated and unless they were resisted with all the force at India's command, India would have to remain a perpetual slave of the British nation. India owed to the foreigner Rs. 470 crores and it was this debt together with such private capital that were sunk by the British commercial classes in this country, that was responsible for India's bondage to-day, and it would continue to be the cause of her bondage until such time as India was able to build up a strength greater than the strength of the nation which was dominating her.

Mr. Philip Snowden had not made his speech in Parliament on imperial preference

and safeguarding duties when Mr. Jammadas Mehta spoke. But the following words of the latter read exactly like a comment on the former's plan of "helping" India :

A most important thing which everybody should remember was that the slightest increase in the standard of living made available to the people in the country through the aid of foreign capital was but another link in the chain which bound India to the feet of the British capitalists.

Sir Lallubhai Samaldas presided at this meeting.

In his concluding remarks he referred to the 7 per cent. conversion loans of 1921 and said that when that loan was started he wrote to the then Finance Member a strong letter protesting against the exploitation of this country, and threatening to see that the Indian loan that was to be started shortly would not be subscribed for if the Government did not behave better. The speaker also moved a resolution in the Council of State practically passing a vote of censure on the Government, and as there was a strong feeling against this manifest in justice to this country, the resolution was passed by the House. This also had no effect and that debt of bondage still stood and when the time of conversion came, India would have either to repay the loan with six per cent. interest or pay £200 for every £100 borrowed. Thus by the conversion date India's foreign debt would be doubled, and she would not be able to meet the same which would mean that she would have to remain a perpetual slave of Britain. The political domination and the economic domination of a country went hand in hand and unless India was economically free she could not dream of being politically free. If India were to remain permanently under the domination of British capitalists as a price for the development of her industries, it were better that she did not develop her industries at all. "Let us first of all nationalize our industries," concluded Sir Lallubhai, "and let us earn more and spend less. Then and then only we can be economically free. And with the dawn of the economic freedom, political freedom was bound to follow."

Education and Poverty

The following paragraphs are taken from the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* :

The Education Department has just completed the investigations which it has been carrying on for some time into the number of children of superior intelligence who graduate from primary schools and the number of these children who are debarred from attendance at higher educational institutions owing to the poverty of their parents and other handicaps, etc. The results of these investigations show that at the end of March, 1927, the total number of graduates of primary schools throughout the country was 1,753,943, of whom 275,031 were classed as children of superior intelligence. Of these superior children, 237,017 entered higher grade schools, 12,314 could not do so owing to poverty, and 25,698 more could not go on to

higher grade schools for some other reasons. As the above figures show, about 15 per cent of all graduates from the primary schools are of superior quality, and there is a tendency for the number of those children who cannot enter higher schools owing to poverty to increase year after year. The other reasons for which these children could not receive a higher education are classified as follows :

1.—Lack of interest in studies on the part of their parents or themselves (34 per cent.)

2.—Lack of facilities for attending schools (9 per cent.)

3.—Need of the labour of such children by their parents (54 per cent.)

4.—Other reasons (3 per cent.)

The fact is thus revealed that economic reasons operate in most cases in preventing intelligent children from receiving more advanced education. This is deemed regrettable, from the point of view of equal opportunity for education, and the educational authorities are seriously studying the ways and means of helping such poor children to receive more advanced education.

Can our readers prophesy when a similar investigation will be carried out in India ? Would it be at any time during the period of British domination ?

Nationalism and Internationalism

In the course of one of his educational lectures in College Square, Calcutta, Mr. I. B. Sen dealt with the cults of nationalism and internationalism. His lectures are delivered in Bengali. According to him,

The underlying truth of nationalism is that in a particular territory there live a people which in its linguistic resources, religious notion, social rites, ceremonies and habits and moral artistic and literary currency has attained such solidarity that it is capable of having a common political will which it can express and carry out effectively by combining a sufficiently large portion of that people, it has the indefeasible right of sovereignty within that territory. Nationalism premised several states and not one universal state ; that it did not (for it could not) exclude the use of force to support the state ; that though in the nationalistic state co-operation was very necessary, competition was inevitable ; and that whatever Rabindranath Tagore and other exponents of Internationalism might say, nationalistic state would not disappear from this world for several centuries.

Whether nationalistic states would ever disappear or whether it is necessary for human welfare for them to disappear, is not yet a certainty. That they would undergo changes in their rights, duties and function appears to be inevitable. The process has already begun with the functioning of the League of Nations.

As regards internationalism, Mr. Sen said that there were internationalists before the war, e. g., Tagore in our country, and since the horrors of the last war thinkers in Europe and America had again turned to internationalism. Speaking of Tagore, Mr. Sen observed,

It would be erroneous to infer from the fact of his strong condemnation, not of any nation in particular, but of the general idea of all nations, that he condemned without reservation the ideal of complete political sovereignty of the Indian people in India, so long as his wished for millennium did not arrive. Young India knows how much it owes to Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath for the growth and spread of the ideal of nationalism in India. This highly respected visionary may say that India's problem is social, rather than political, that the problem in India is a race problem, that the gigantic organizations of the West hurt others while warding off their blows and make money by dragging others back, that the strenuous efforts to make the organizations strong and efficient turn them away from the higher possibilities of human nature where man is creative and where man disinterestedly loves his fellow-men. *But Tagore himself demands freedom and has largely created in India the demand for freedom*; he denounces the wicked inequality in possession of wealth.

We have always held and continue to hold that India's problem, though certainly social and racial to some extent, is undoubtedly also political. It also seems to us that there may be a type of nationalism which is not predatory.

Mr. Sen went on to point out that Tagore does not say how freedom is to be attained in India in the modern environment, nor how the wicked arrangement for perpetual poverty for the vast majority of the people in India could be replaced by a more equitable one.

Tagore is perhaps not an extreme pacifist, but he has not yet suggested any practical, effective, adequate programme whereby freedom may be attained in India and poverty banished or considerably reduced during the centuries that his wished for millennium will take in coming.

As regards the banishment or reduction of poverty, at least some slight glimpse of Tagore's ideas relating to the subject may be obtained from his utterances on the co-operative movement and the scheme of village reconstruction being carried out at Sriniketan, Visva-Bharati.

"Complete Sovereignty for the Indian People"

In order to prove the need of complete sovereignty in India for the Indian people,

Mr. Sen next dwelt on different ideals of freedom.

Until Internationalism in its glory came, the Indian people must be taught the necessity for complete sovereignty in India for the Indian people. "Sarvam atma-basham sukham." But the freedom that Mr. Sen wanted was not the freedom that Epictetus taught in the Roman Empire nor the freedom preached by some Indian sages obsessed with the ascetic ideal of life. According to Epictetus "the man who is not under restraint is free. But who is free from restraint? He who desires nothing that is in the power of others." "Freedom is acquired not by the full possession of the things which are desired but by removing the desire." That was an ideal which Mr. Sen without hesitation would call upon his countrymen to reject in the modern environment. Not that the spirit of asceticism was altogether unnecessary to cultivate. But the ascetic ideal in its extreme form was a useless ideal in India in the modern environment.

The need of freedom was then explained.

Freedom was necessary for the full growth of personality in the individual. If the modern ideal taught the individual to work for the benefit of the State, the State should remember that it existed for the benefit of the individual. Where the individual could not attain full growth of personality, for which freedom was a necessity, the State must mend itself or be ended to yield place to a better state. The modern State, even in India, was bound to exercise increasingly greater control and influence over the life of the individual. It was no longer a mere tax-gatherer nor a mere organizer for purposes of defence or of occasional adventures of the type of "dig-vijaya."

In the modern environment which in the main was bound to persist for several centuries, complete political sovereignty in India for the Indian people was a necessity for the full growth of personality for the individual. Even dominion status for India would be no suitable substitute. A reference to the history of Canada and the achievements of the Canadians as compared with that of U. S. A. was made by Mr. Sen to illustrate his position.

But if freedom did not mean removal of all desire for things in the power of others, nor was it the popular ideal of liberty.

The popular ideal of liberty appears to be "the right of each man to do what he likes and to prevent other men from doing what they like."

Freedom might not be removal of desire. But freedom, in order to respect the rights of others, must promote the pursuit only of "socialized" desires and affections.

What chance had a poor man, with the present unjust distribution of wealth, to enjoy the freedom necessary for the growth of personality, for the pursuit of socialized desires and affections? Rights in statute books were but little good to the poor. Such rights could neither be enforced nor enjoyed. *Freedom implied opportunity for exercise of rights.* The opportunity must be for the masses and not for a few only. What would freedom mean to the

poor—even if complete sovereignty were attained—so long as the poor continued to be oppressed by a wicked system of unequal distribution of wealth?

Pandit Motilal Nehru's Message to new Congress Muslim Party

The following occurs in Pandit Motilal Nehru's message to Mr. Brelvi, president of the new Congress Muslim party, Bombay :—

Leaving aside the mushroom associations specially got up to vilify the All-Parties Committee Report and confining ourselves to the premier Muslim political organization, the All-India Muslim League, we find that the only modifications the League proposed to the report on behalf of the Mussalmans related to six definite points. The Convention accepted two of these. The remaining four, which were not acceptable to the Convention, were (1) that one-third of the elected representatives of both Houses of the central Legislature should be Mussalmans (2) that there should be reservation of seats in the Punjab and Bengal in the event of adult suffrage not being established, (3) that the residuary power should rest with the provinces and not the central Legislature, the emergency powers of the central Legislature to interfere with provincial Legislatures being confined to times of war or rebellion and schedules of subjects being revised accordingly, and (4) that the separation of Sind should not be made to depend upon the establishment of a Commonwealth.

On these four points the Pandit says :

These questions are still open to negotiations and discussion. In the name of common sense, I ask the Mussalmans what disaster will befall Islam if these suggestions are finally rejected. Again, in the name of common sense, I ask the Hindus what disaster will befall Hinduism if these suggestions are accepted. Quite apart from theory, they do not in my opinion matter in practice one way or the other. The question is whether the Mussalmans can successfully achieve their object by being in the Congress and pressing their claims upon it or by standing out and abusing the Congress. Let the British Government once agree to the immediate establishment of full responsible government of the Dominion type in India and I am sure that these and any other differences that may arise will be adjusted in no time.

The opinion expressed in the sentence quoted last appears to us quite right. When there are only two parties to a discussion, the chances of agreement are usually and naturally greater than when there is a powerful third party in the fully seen background possessing great powers of inducement and terrorism. It is also obvious that Mussalmans can bring about a settlement more easily and speedily by being within the Congress than by standing out.

But we do not agree that the points of difference "do not matter in practice one

way or the other." As regards residuary powers, let us hear *The Leader*, a staunch supporter of the Nehru Committee's report :

We are not quite sure if others will take such a light view of the differences. One or two of them are of fundamental importance. For instance, the question as to whether the residuary powers should rest with the provinces or the central legislature is one of great constitutional importance and will matter a great deal in practice. History and common sense alike point to the need of a strong central government in the interest of stability and national progress, but the Muslim League, for communal reasons, is opposed to it. These reasons are based on the fear of the majority. If this can be removed, we think they will agree to the principle of having a strong central government. How to dispel it is the principal problem. The remedy, in our view, is to be found in the triumph of the spirit of nationalism, that is, in a clearer realization of the fact that the vital interests of the two communities are identical and inseparable.

In saying that the Muslim League is opposed to the Central Government having residuary power "for communal reasons," *The Leader* has stated the fact. But it is not an exact statement of the whole truth to say that these communal "reasons are based on the fear of the majority." Thought-reading is not in our line. But our firm impression is that Mussalmans want to have practical sovereignty in those provinces in which they form the majority. Hence they want the residuary power to rest with the provinces. They want to have an assured Muslim majority in the provincial legislatures in the Punjab and Bengal either by the establishment of adult suffrage or by the reservation of a majority of seats for them, and they want the separation and formation of Sind as a Muslim majority province, whether a Commonwealth be established or not.

Whatever Bengali Swarajist leaders may say, Hindu Bengalis in general will not agree to the reservation of a majority of seats for the Muslims in Bengal, though if adult suffrage be introduced throughout the country they would and must be prepared to take their chance in Bengal.

If Mussalmans want to have seats in the Bengal and Punjab legislatures in proportion to their numerical strength in those provinces, they should agree to the same principle being exactly followed in the case of Hindu representation in the Hindu majority provinces. But that is not what they want. They want to be masters in the Muslim majority provinces and in addition they want in the Hindu majority province and in the Central Government to have mor

seats than they would be entitled to on the basis of population. This, in our opinion, amounts practically, not to seeking minority protection, but to a demand for a privileged position. This no true nationalist, whatever his creed or absence of creed, ought to concede, nor is it a demand which can be conceded by Hindus in general.

It may be considered necessary to conciliate the Moslems; but is it also necessary to exasperate the Hindus, because they are "mild" and are not aggressively self-assertive?

A Musalman Nationalist speaks out

In his presidential address to the Bundelkhand Youth Conference Dr. Sheikh Mohammad Alam, M. L. C., of Lahore said, in part:

Abolish communalism, and political subjection will vanish itself. It is my firm belief that we require no other effort to establish *Swaraj* than to eradicate communalism from every phase of our life. I hold communalism responsible for the backwardness of India in its social, economic and political life. It has sapped the very life of our nation and the poison is so sweet in its taste, that the more we eat of it the more we become eager to swallow it in a greater quantity. The most curious thing about it is that some of those who condemn it the most are themselves most seriously affected by it. Everyone of us has a substantial touch of it but we deceive ourselves into thinking that we are free from it. The infection has travelled even to the circle of our leaders, and I may be pardoned to proclaim it boldly that many of them are guilty of spreading its obnoxious germs in the country. Many of our leaders to-day have ceased to be leaders at all. They are cowards and cannot face public opinion. They move with the tide; and I may even say that at times they originate communal feeling, on account of disappointment in national achievements when they get tired of national work and want to maintain their position by taking shelter in communal strife. Instances of such leaders, some of whom have already been exposed, are not wanting and you should be on your guard not to allow yourselves to be deceived by such people. Worship principles, and not persons. The country should be purged of communalism before you can form into a nation; and unless you become a united nation *Swaraj* is neither attainable nor of much use to us. The measure of your earnestness to achieve *Swaraj* is the extent to which you discard communalism.

Communalism has resulted in our complete demoralization and degradation. Have you ever imagined the depth to which we have sunk? How do you feel when you hear the cry of *Hindu Pani* (water) and *Mussalman Pani* at railway stations. Whilst the nations outside India are busy conquering the forces of nature

to turn them to their use, you are engaged in dividing the common gifts of God on a communal basis. Your next move may perhaps be, to divide air into Hindu *Harva* (air) and Mussalman *Harva*. Your communal disputes are endless, and even differences in the way of killing a goat have ended in butchering several human beings. Can you, so long as this mentality lasts, hope to form a nation and achieve *Swaraj*? We live in a vicious circle and are also hypnotized by our masters. India relies solely on its youth to break this circle. Will you do your duty?

Tampering With Our Foreign Mail

We have more than once informed the public that letters and packets addressed to us by correspondents in America, Germany and other foreign countries are delivered to us at least a week and usually two and sometimes more than two weeks after their date of arrival in Calcutta. We arrive at that conclusion from the post marks of the offices of despatch of the postal articles; for the Calcutta postoffices do not stamp these foreign letters and packets with the dates of their arrival or delivery, though inland letters, etc. are always so stamped. Are foreign postal articles differently dealt with to prevent the addressees from proving the delay in their delivery?

It is probable that some foreign postal articles are not delivered to us at all, though it is not possible to say so definitely.

This has been going on for years. It is to be hoped the persons who are ultimately responsible for tampering with our foreign mail in this way have thereby made their employers more honoured, more safe, more powerful and more wealthy than ever before. But one thing is certain. The mean practice of eavesdropping cannot become honourable even when indulged in from silly political motives.

"India in Ferment"

Mr. H. G. Alexander, author of "India in Ferment," travelled in India and met some Indian leaders for the purpose of collecting materials for his book. He says that he cannot help feeling and recording that a majority of British officials have no ideal at all to animate their labours in India and that their chief pride is that they are slaves to the fetish of efficiency. Discussing

the various pictures that are usually drawn of what would happen if the British withdrew from India, this author says :

Whatever consequences might follow the British withdrawal there can be no reconquest of India by a foreigner. Increasing international jealousy and growing enlightenment of nations prevents that prospect. There are only two alternative courses open to the British people in India. One is to yield to the national movement and to confer responsibility on the Indian Parliament. The other course is to determine to hold India by the strength of the sword. Of course, there is the third way, of conferring on the Indian people gradually increasing responsibility, but this course of action is not to be thought of because Indian leaders are not prepared to co-operate in that process and it cannot be worked effectively without the co-operation of Indian leaders. If Britain is not prepared to rule India by the sword, she must be prepared either to withdraw completely and to leave the Indian people to their resources, or to come to an agreement with Indian leaders and accept their terms. The British business community must face the consequences of whatever decision is taken.

Mr. Alexander further says, "If there is a catastrophe the British business interests in India must bear the chief blame."

Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill

The Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Bill provides for a Central Primary Education Committee to advise Government and requires the local government to consult the committee before taking action under certain clauses in the Bill. This central committee should not be made merely advisory. It should have powers similar to those proposed to be given to the Secondary Education Board provided for by the Secondary Education Board Bill. Further, this committee should have an adequate number of Indian educated women as members. The District School Boards also should have such Indian lady members. There are few districts or none where at present competent Indian ladies would not be available for the purpose. Unless there be an adequate number of educated Indian women both in the central committee and the District School Boards, primary education cannot make sufficient progress and in the required direction among our girls.

We strongly object to the levy of any cess for meeting the expenses involved in the spread of primary education. The British Government in India gets the largest amount of revenue from Bengal, and, though

it is the most populous province, gives it less money for its purposes than is given to any other major province. This is extremely unjust. The revenue from jute ought to have been and ought to be given to Bengal, as it is Bengal's monopoly and is produced in Bengal by Bengal's agriculturists. The Government of India gets from it annually some four crores of rupees. Up to date it must have got some forty crores of rupees from this source. This annual jute revenue, if given to Bengal, would quite suffice to make primary education in Bengal universal, free and compulsory.

Of the proposed cess of 5 pice in the rupee, 4 is to be paid by the cultivator and 1 by the landlord. The cultivator's share is excessive.

Strike in Jute Mills

Owners of jute mills in Calcutta and its neighbourhood increased the hours of work of their men some time ago from 54 to 60 hours a week, without increasing their wages. This naturally gave rise to great discontent. As the mill-owners have not acceded to the just request of the workers for increment of wages, many of them in several mills have left work.

The demand of the workers is absolutely just. So the strikers deserve every kind of support. If the jute mills were not paying concerns, that would be another matter. But in some years the mills yielded dividends of from 100 to 300 per cent. and last year the profits totalled 7½ crores of rupees. The mentality which leads men rolling in wealth to refuse to pay more wages for increased hours of work is nothing short of wicked.

Consent Committee's Recommendations

It is said, the Age of Consent Bill Committee appointed by the Indian Government with Sir Moropant Joshi as its president has finished its labours. Some of its recommendations, as published in the papers, are given below :

- That the age of consent within marital relations be raised to 15 years.
- That marital intercourse below 15 years be made an offence under the Penal Code.
- That the age of consent for the protection of :

girl against assault by a person not her husband be raised to 18 years.

That, in order to deal most effectively with evils of early marriage and early consummation a law be enacted fixing the minimum age of marriage of girls at 14 years.

That, subject to any provision of personal law for the time being in force, the validity of a marriage performed in contravention of the marriage law be left unaffected.

That an accurate marriage register be kept by an administrative Government department containing details of every marriage including the ages of the couple and that it be made obligatory by law on the parties and the guardians of the parties to every marriage, either personally or through their authorized agents, to report to the proper authority.

That the prescribed authority be required to maintain a register of births within the area under his control and to prosecute persons who omit to send the report within the prescribed time.

That women police be employed where available to aid in the investigation of sexual offences and that women willing to serve as jurors or as assessors be empanelled in the trial of cases of rape or marital misbehaviour.

That the law be amended so that a suit by a husband for the custody of his wife or for the restitution of conjugal rights shall not lie where the girl is below 15 years and

That effective steps be taken to spread general education among men and women and measures be adopted to give wide publicity to the marriage and consent laws.

"The Chief Result of the Reforms"

The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, writes in his quinquennial review of education in that Presidency:

The chief result of the Reforms is the emphasis they have given to the differences of religion and caste owing to the system of special representation which they have set up; and nowhere have the evils of communalism been more conspicuous than in the administration of primary schools by local authorities.

Tuberculosis Danger

Dr. A. C. Ukil, Professor of Bacteriology, National Medical Institute, and officer-in-charge, Tuberculosis Research, Indian Research Fund Association, Calcutta, who has gone abroad for study, said in an interview, he was going abroad as a Ghosh Travelling Fellow of the Calcutta University to study recent advances in the experimental investigations and treatment of tuberculosis in England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark and America.

Asked his opinion on the tuberculosis problem in India, he said it had spread rapidly into many

parts of India of late years and it was now the most important preventible disease, next to malaria, to be combated in India. There were about 800,000 cases in Bengal alone. The number in India would be over 6 millions at a modest estimate.

There were no sanatoria in Bengal yet to accommodate 200,000 cases waiting for protection. A small hospital sanatorium had been started at Jadavpur, near Calcutta. But it was struggling for want of money.

The Government ought to take up this problem in right earnest in co-operation with the municipalities, district boards, railways and commercial organizations. The prevention of tuberculosis was a national problem and in almost every country in the west such organizations were known as National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. They were voluntary organizations getting full support of the State.

Before leaving India I appeal to the public and the Government to take up the question in right earnest in preventing a national peril, as other Western countries have done. Provincial organizations should be set up to study the disease and to ascertain the causes of its rapid spread as well as to devise measures for prevention. If prompt steps are not taken now, it may be too late to prevent its being a household disease in a short time.

"Hindu Mahasabha not Anti-Muslim"

In his evidence before the Bombay riots enquiry committee Mr. M. R. Jayakar stoutly defended the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha in Bombay and repudiated the allegations made against it of causing the disturbances of last February. He rightly held that the Mahasabha was a defensive organization and its activities were never directed against Muslim interests except in two matters, namely, abductions and kidnapping, and conversions by force or deceit. He gave instances of forcible conversions by Muslims and said that Government should take steps to put a stop to them. He suggested that no conversions should be held valid unless it was made before a Government officer who must be convinced of its genuineness. He said that an understanding should be arrived at between the two communities on this point.

Dr. Shiels on Indian Problems

Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary of State for India, made a speech last month at a dinner of the Empire Marketing Board.

Referring to India, Dr. Shiels thought that it was the unfortunate result of concentration of some of the best brains in India on purely political issues.

that a great deal of necessary and urgent work of social and economic kind had been left undone. Development of agricultural and industrial resources of India, together with a higher standard of life for the workers were the problems which no mere constitutional changes could solve and which could be set aside as of a secondary importance, only at a great risk to the welfare of India.

Dr. Shiels expressed an opinion that it would be a tragedy if the factory and machine were to diminish still further opportunities of Indian craftsman, who in many respects was very wonderful worker.

It is amusing how easily and quickly British men who know very little of India master the prevalent silly cant about Indian problems.

If some of the best brains in India are concentrated on purely political issues, other best brains have always been devoted to the solution of all urgent problems, be they political, social or economic, other very able men have all along devoted themselves purely to India's social uplift, and some men of very capacious brains have devoted themselves mainly to industrial enterprises. The selfish interests of the British people may require that Indians should leave politics severely alone; but was that ever done, could that ever be done, should it be ever done by the people of any country, dependent or independent?

Dr. Shiels would cut a very sorry figure if he were examined by any Indian public man on his proposed methods of tackling India's social and economic problems without reference to politics. All well-informed and thoughtful men in India are agreed that social and economic progress is dependent on the possession of political power and on the helpful support of the State. This has been understood and acted upon since the days of Ram Mohun Roy, the first all-round Indian reformer in modern times.

Dr. Shiels may not be personally responsible for the decay and practical disappearance of most handicrafts in India, but his countrymen are. So, from his praise of and sympathy for Indian craftsmen much grim though unintentional humour can be extracted.

Egypt and England

Lord Lloyd treated Egypt as if it were worse than a dependency of England. So it is good that he has been made to resign. Let us see what real status the Labour Government gives to the Land of the Nile.

CORRECTION

(In the paper on *Ruin of the Hindus of the Madras Karnatak.*)

P. 131, col. 2, l. 28 *for* to Golkonda *read* to the Golkonda

" 132, " l. 24 " gathered " gathering

" " l. 51 " 30 " 36

" " 39 *After this add the following:*

From the letters of Aurangzib (*Adab-i-Alamgiri*) we learn that when in 1656, the Mughals tried to annex Mir Jumla's gains in the Karnatak, consisting of the Cuddapa district and the neighbouring tracts, Shahji led an army of his own there in order to seize as much of the country as possible during these disturbances, but he was repeatedly defeated by the Mughal forces in the Gurum-konda and K-u k-n-u-a-r (?=Partanur) sub-divisions (at the southern end of the Cuddapa district.) Evidently, Shahji never recovered Bangalore after his cession of it as the price of his release in 1649, but the Arcot district (called in the Jesuit letters "the territory of Jinji") was his head-quarters, being shared with two other Bijapuri generals (Muslims). From this place he tried to fish in the troubled waters north-west of him, in the Karnatak uplands, when wars broke out between Mir Jumla and the Adil-shahis, Aurangzib and Qutb Shah, and Aurangzib and Adil Shah.

P. 133, col. 1, l. 25 *for* have *read* had

" " " 2, l. 4 " horse " foot

" 134 " " l. 22 " *jasud* " a *jasud*



WHEISTONE
By Sudhir Ranjan Khastagir



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The Indian Antigone

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

I

THE fall of the mighty, the misfortunes of those who had once stood on the crowning slope of rank and wealth, the sorrows that cloud the evening of a life radiant with health and joy,—have been the apt themes of moralizing prophets and tragic poets. These purge our souls by exciting pity and terror; but they, at the same time, by one stroke sweep away the differences of birth and fame, riches and beauty, and reduce the greatest on earth to the level of the meanest among us. We then realize that the sons of Adam are equal brothers in the vale of tears.

But the instability of fortune is not the choric song heard in the last scene of every such tragedy in history. Enjoyment is not the supreme end of life, nor the highest test of human capacity.

—Life is not as idle ore,
But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And battered with the shocks of doom
To shape and use.

Sorrow's crown of thorns has sometimes been transformed into a halo of celestial light by duty, by heroic endurance, by self-forgetting sacrifice. Then the victim of Fortune's frowns has triumphed over the

worst that she could inflict, and has reached a higher pinnacle of glory than ever before—it may be in life, it may be as a name enshrined in the hearts of adoring posterity for all time to come.

II

One such blessed figure in our own land was Jahanara, the eldest child* of the Emperor Shah Jahan. When (in 1614) "this rose of her race first budded forth, the sun of Akbar was still crowning the azure," as a French poet has put it; (which is true in the sense that the Indian sky was still radiant with the after-glow of Akbar's reign.) Early in the reign of her father, after the death of her mother (1631), she became the first lady in the land and the power behind the throne of the most magnificent of the Grand Mughals, and continued in that high position for twenty-seven years.

Up to the age of forty-four, her life was all happiness and glory, and nothing dimmed the splendour of her noontide. Independent sovereigns of other parts of India, vassal princes of the Mughal empire, members of the imperial family, and nobles of the

* Not the eldest-born, as her sister Hur-un-nisa had been born a year before her, but she had died at the age of three and therefore did not count.

realm,—all sought her kind intercession in their need, and they never sought it in vain. Her wealth was boundless, as fifty lakhs of Rupees, being one-half of the vast riches left behind by her mother, the glorious "Lady of the Taj," were given to her, in addition to her large annual stipend and the revenue of Surat, then the richest port of India. The presents which she received every year from kings and princes, nobles and humbler suppliants, were second in value only to the Emperor's.

And yet she used all this wealth and influence not to gratify insolent pride or love of enjoyment, but for the good of others. At the height of her glory she was known as a ministering angel,—relieving the distressed; healing discords in the royal family, cherishing orphans, and turning away the just anger of the Emperor from offenders by her gentleness.

She had known sorrow. Her loving mother,—mothers usually treat the eldest-born daughter more like a sister and friend than a child,—had died when she was only seventeen. Eleven years later she was most cruelly burnt by accident, and hovered between life and death for four months. She never married and never knew the joys of the highest fruition of woman's existence in motherhood.

At the height of earthly greatness her soul had turned to God and she had entered herself as a disciple (*murida*) of the religious order of the saint Mian Mir (of Lahor). She studied the life and teachings of an earlier saint, Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti, and wrote a short account of him in Persian (entitled *Munis-ul-arwah*) for the benefit of other seekers after spiritual light.

III

Within the royal family her mission was the blessed one of a peace-maker. Her brothers opened their hearts to her in their troubles. Dara (who was the nearest to her among them in age, being only one year younger) dearly loved her, and she shared his thoughts, aspirations and even spiritual communings as a Sufi or mystic; and she treated Dara's wife as a sister and tenderly brought up their orphan daughters after the tragic death of the princely couple (1659), as if they had been her own. Even the cold calculating Aurangzib, who from an early age used to show an inborn aversion to

Dara and Dara's friends,—unburdened his soul to her in his need, as the following letter will show:

AURANGZIB TO JAHANARA (1657)

"It is not unknown to you that ever since His Majesty conferred a *mansab* on me, I have performed, to the limit of possibility and my power, every task that he has laid on me.... I know not what offence I have now committed that certain measures have been taken by him which are undeserved by a faithful servant like me and will cause my disgrace and show his distrust in me to men far and near. First, the fort of Asir had been first conferred upon me, and then on *Bhai* Murad Bakhsh, and finally on me again; but now an order has arrived that I must not send my own *qiladar* there!....

What disfavour and distrust is being shown to me by His Majesty, as I after my twenty years of devoted and distinguished service to him in disregard of my life and property,—have not yet been judged equal to my nephew *Pathal* (i.e., Sulaiman Shukoh) in gaining His Majesty's confidence!

Secondly, at this time, Dada Bhai Jiu (i.e., Dara Shukoh),—whose characteristic friendliness to me is well known to His Majesty,—has sent his own agent, named Mulla Shauki (?) to this place (i.e., the Deccan) for the purpose of conveying to the ruler of Bijapur certain happy news and the acceptance of his prayers [by the Emperor]—which will make the latter and others like him more turbulent. Dear sister, although I have never considered myself as worthy to be ranked among His Majesty's disciples and servants, and have claimed to be nothing more than his slave (*ghulam*), but have been content with any treatment he metes out to me,—yet, as I have spent my life in honour and respect and have governed this province as its supreme master... at His Majesty's free grant without any demand or petition from me,—disgrace and loss of authority will come down upon me as the natural consequence of this measure. I have fallen into a whirlpool of perplexity; I cannot guess His Majesty's intentions with regard to me.... If his wish is that among all his servants I alone should spend my days in dishonour and finally be destroyed in an unworthy manner (i.e., be murdered by my usurping eldest brother), then I have no help

but to obey. But as it is hard to live and to die thus;...it is better that by order of His Majesty I should be released from the shame of continuing such an existence,—my life and head being always a ready sacrifice to His Majesty's pleasure—so that (certain) minds may rest at ease concerning me.

I had learnt this truth ten years before, and been convinced that my life was desired [by Dara.] I had therefore resigned my posts; but afterwards, solely in order to please my father, I had turned to this career (again)...”*

IV

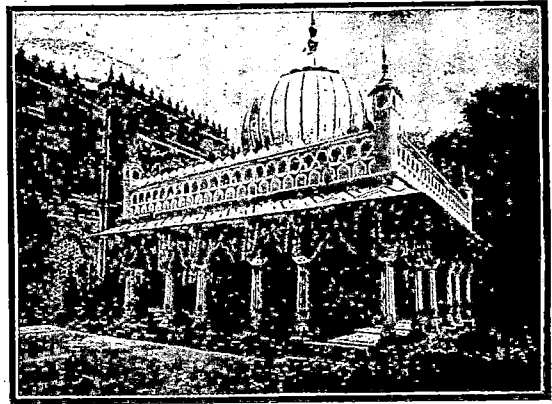
The supreme trial came to Jahanara in 1657. Her father fell seriously ill and then all his four sons took up arms to contest the throne even before the old Emperor had closed his eyes. The story of that tragedy has been unfolded in my *History of Aurangzib*, volumes 1 and 2, from contemporary records and often in the very words of the actors in the drama. It will be enough to say here, in outline, that Dara was the favourite and chosen heir of Shah Jahan; but Aurangzib was by far the ablest of the four brothers, and by a succession of victories made his way to Agra, where the aged Emperor was then in residence. Dara after a crushing defeat at Samugarh, some ten miles east of Agra, fled towards Delhi, and Aurangzib besieged his father in the fort of Agra, and by cutting off his water-supply forced him to capitulate unconditionally after three days of bloodless blockade.

Then Jahanara paid a visit to her victorious brothers (for Prince Murad Bakhsh was allied with Aurangzib) on 10th June 1658, in their camp in the Nur Manzil or Dhara garden outside Agra city, and tried to effect a peaceful partition of the empire among the four. But her mission was as futile as the following letter which she had written to Aurangzib before the battle of Samugarh:

JAHANARA TO AURANGZIB (MAY 1658)

“It is the duty of the great Emperors—who are charged with the burden of keeping

the empire safe, that they should not be the least remiss or idle in cherishing the people (who are all a trust from the Creator), but should guard them in every way. Praised be God, that His Majesty Shah Jahan is devoting all his time, both day and night,—after performing his religious duties,—to the regulation of the Church and State; his constant endeavour is to promote the population and safety of the provinces and the happiness of his subjects. Up to now, always in accordance with the rules laid down in the Book and practices of the Best of Men (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad), he has made it his business to worship the Lord of Honours, and has not agreed to any conduct that is wrong or evil on the part of any man, especially on the part of his sons, who are adorned with all good qualities of conduct and character.



Tomb of Nizam-ud-din

At this time, by reason of the occurrence of disturbances...characteristic of the present age...from the violence of turbulent men, disorder had taken place in the transaction of the business of the administration of the realm, far and near, and utter ruin has befallen the peasants and the weak. It is the aim of His Majesty to remedy the misdeeds of the wicked and to show mercy to the miserable and the oppressed.

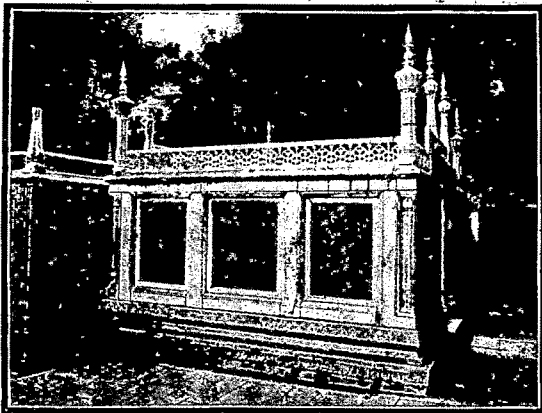
It is very far removed from the rules of worshipping God and the manner and method of holding the true faith, to set your heart on becoming (at the advice of young people who possess neither the wisdom due to experience nor the sense to learn) the creator of disturbance and rebellion,—undertaking (by the performance of improper

* There are 28 letters from Aurangzib to Jahanara in *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 18 of which are formal and useless, and two very long and important. One of these two long letters has been translated in extracts above. Its date was not literally ten years after Aurangzib's resignation, which would give 1654, but 1657.

acts) the destruction of the life, property and family-honour of the soldiers and peasants who are all Musalmans of pure heart and true faith,—and (after shutting your eyes to what the time requires as most advisable) assembling troops and drawing up forces in battle order against your eldest brother, the heir to the Emperor Shah Jahan, which is externally and internally equivalent to the waging of war against your father.

It is proper that this valiant brother should bring himself close to the valley of true devotion and fair fidelity, promptly obey the imperial order from the bottom of his heart and with life, and not hesitate in manifesting what devotion and fidelity require as his conduct. Consider it proper to avoid the wickedness of ending in battle with your father and putting Muslims to death in the blessed month of Ramzan in which the *Quran* was revealed. Halt at whatever place you may have reached, and inform me of your heart's desires, so that I may report them to His Majesty and get all things done.”*

To this Aurangzib replied in a long letter addressed not to Jahanara but directly to Shah Jahan and justifying his own action by arguments which I have summarized in my *Aurangzib*, ch. 17, (vol. 2, p. 414).



Tomb of Jahanara

V

At the final downfall of Shah Jahan, Jahanara might have imitated the conduct of her younger sister Raushanara and revelled

* The text is very corrupt in the Persian MS. now before me and the translation is at places doubtful.

in wealth, pleasure and freedom by coming over to Aurangzib's Court. But she chose the better part with Antigone and Cordelia. The story of her self-sacrifice for the sake of her afflicted father is told in a most dramatic fashion by the French poet Leconte de Lisle. Aurangzib cries out :

See ! I am Alamgir, the conquerer of the world.
I have conquered, I have punished. I have
gathered in my arms
The sheaves of the goodly crop sown by
Timur Khan,
And from the royal field burnt the tare unclean.

—But what hast thou done with thy father,
Aurang, son of Shah Jahan ?

To her indignant question Aurangzib replies,—

—Jahanara ! it was the will of God
That my brows should be branded under this
band of flame.
Come, my guardian shadow shall watch thee,
child,
And, whatever his fate, thy wish shall I grant.

My hands have respected my venerable father.
Fear no more. He shall live, honoured, though
captive be,
Pondering in his heart, of vain dreams chastened.
Over fragile human glory to swift end hastening.

Jahanara rejected this offer with scorn and said,

Aurang ! Load my arm with a part of his
(i.e., Shah Jahan's) chain
That is my dearest prayer, my fairest dream !
In order that the aged [Shah] Jahan may
pardon his executioner
In order that I may abjure equally bitterness
and hatred
Bury us, living, in one and the same tomb.

Then, the French poet continues in enraptured verses,

Well, thou didst live ten years close to that
sombre old man
Jahanara ! charming his sorrow and his calamity
And when he laid himself down in his royal
sepulchre
Thy fair body was tarnished and became as
a shadow
And thy spirit took wing in a filial shriek.

Thus didst thou disappear, solitary star !
From this vast sky where nothing so pure has
shone
Thy very name,—thy name so sweet, was
forgotten
And God alone remembered, when thou didst
quit the earth
The angel whom He had sent to this world.

VI.

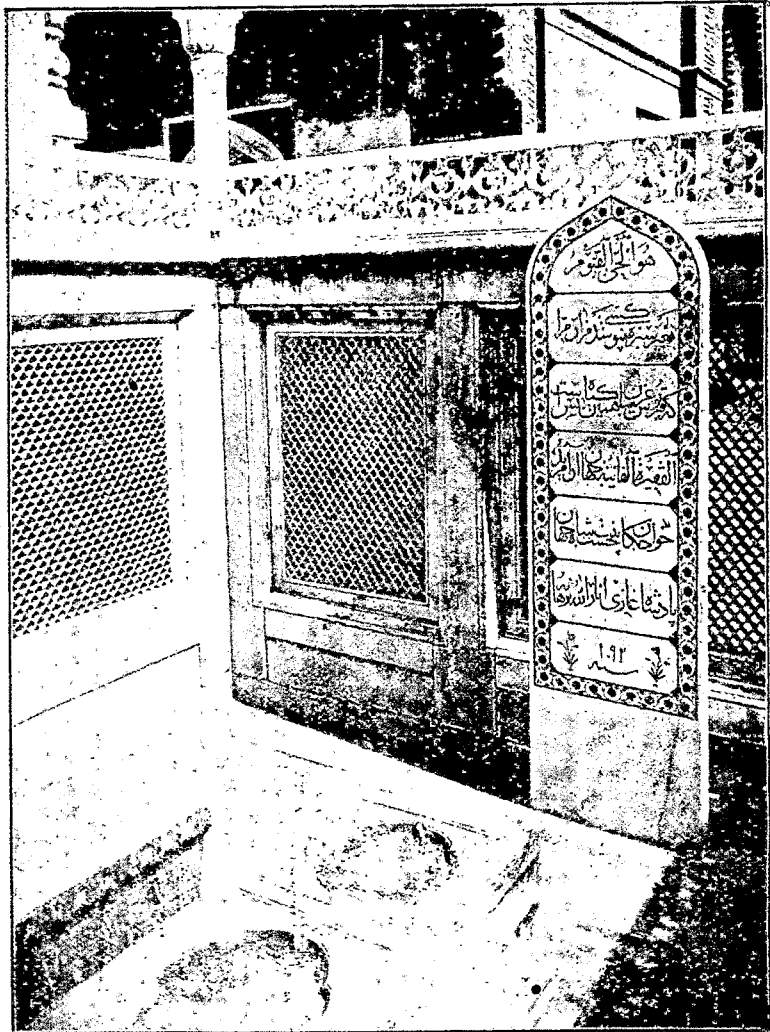
Shah Jahan died in January 1666, after seven and a half years of captivity,—Jahanara nursing him to the end and, when all was over, arranging for his homely funeral, (as has been described fully in my *Aurangzib*, vol. 3). On the receipt of the news of his father's death, Aurangzib wrote this letter of condolence to his sister:

AURANGZIB TO JAHANARA
(JAN. 1666)

"The Creator of the Universe,—May His name be glorified!—give this gracious friend, in this great misfortune, perfect patience and thus bestow on her a great reward. What shall I write, and how can writing suffice, to express what passes in my sorrow-stricken mind at this inevitable occurrence? Has the pen the power to write one word about this heart-breaking pain? Where has the tongue strength enough to express this patience-robbing grief? Imagination of your sorrow and mourning throws my strengthless heart into greater weeping and agitation. But, against the divine dispensation and the will of Heaven, we have no remedy save helplessness and bowing the head down in submission. (Arabic prayer).

Know that, God willing, this ashamed creature will reach you soon, with all his pain of heart. It is certain that you are giving the needful consolation to the mourners for his late Majesty, especially [his widow] Akbarabadi Mahal.

Dear sister! the thing that will be useful to the late Emperor at this time is the conveying [to his soul] the religious merit of reciting the *Quran* and giving alms to beggars. Exert yourself to the utmost



Tomb of Jahanara (interior)

in this matter, and offer the merit of these acts as a present to the resplendent soul of his late Majesty. This sinner, too, is engaged in the same work; and he hopes that it would be accepted [to God]."

JAHANARA TO AURANGZIB (in reply to the above letter of condolence):

"May God ever keep the shadow of the favour of the Emperor Alamgir constant and enduring over the head of the universe! What power has the pen to describe this heart-piercing calamity and report even a fraction of the condition of this dark day? What capacity has the tongue to narrate to the mind the affliction that has come down

[upon me] ? What has befallen me in consequence of this event, would have dried up the ocean if it had struck it, and would have turned the day into a gloomy night if it had alighted on the day. It is true that wisdom tells us that in such calamities no remedy is possible save recourse to patience and self-control, and no help is conceivable except holding fast [to the reading of] the verses [of the Book] of God and the Traditions of the Prophet which have descended for teaching resignation and peace of mind. But, the volume of my grief is more than the strength of my endurance.

At the time when I was sunk in the ocean of grief and mourning, with a heart full of sorrow and eyes covered with tears,—the rays of the Sun of this loving brother's grace shone forth ; and at once it seemed as if the water of life had been thrown on the raging fire of my [heart]. Therefore, having withdrawn myself from prostration and uncontrolled grief, I gave my heart consolation from the [written] counsels of this august world-illuminating star of kingship and engaged myself in praying for the increase of your life and fortune. I am hoping that this life-destroying fire [of grief] would be quenched by the water of your

visit and my dark night would be changed into the clearness of dawn.

You have written about the mourners for Shah Jahan, especially Akbarabadi Mahal. It is evident and clear that henceforth the full care of all those left behind by him will depend upon your favour and attention. In these circumstances what can I write that is not obvious to you ?”

This happened in 1666. The death of Shah Jahan freed Jahanara from her self-chosen captivity. She now came out of the fort and lived in the city in the former mansion of Ali Mardan Khan, honoured and consulted by Aurangzib and cherishing Dara's orphan daughters. Thus she lived on for 15 years more, and when she died, on 6th September, 1681, she desired to be buried in the low roofless tomb uncovered by tombstone but with grass growing on its top; that she had built for herself under the shadow of the gorgeous sepulchre of the saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya outside Shah Jahan's city of Delhi. There repose the mortal remains of the Indian Antigone. The epitaph runs thus :

Let no man cover my grave save with green grass, for this grass the fittest mantle for the tomb of the lowly.

Astrology in India*

BY PROF. JOGESCHANDRA RAY

•I.

MR. “Kumbha”, the author of the second of the books noticed below, appears to represent the moderate view of the educated modern who find it difficult to accept astrology in its entirety and

are not satisfied until some reason is found for their belief. Unfortunately, it is exactly here that our difficulty comes in. We can understand the attitude of those who tell us to accept astrology as true because the predictions made by its rules are found to be true. It has to be borne

* (1) *Brihat Jātakam of Varāhamihira*. With an English translation and copious explanatory notes and examples. By V. Subrahmanya Sastri, B. A. Mysore, 1929. Demy 8vo. 616 pages. Cloth, price Rs. 8-8.

Varāhamihira, the celebrated astronomer and astrologer of the 6th century A. D. has left for us three precious works, one on each of the three branches of ‘Jyotisha’, as were known in his time in India. His *Pancha-siddhāntikā* treats of astronomy, *Brihatsamhitā* of natural phenomena interspersed with astrological beliefs, and *Brihat Jātaka* of horoscopy. Each was mainly, if not entirely, the result of compilation from older authors, whose works are now all lost and whose names also would have been lost but for casual

references by Varāha and his faithful and industrious commentator, Utpala Bhatta (10th cent.). *Brihat Jātaka* is thus the first and foremost work on horoscopy and has been published with Utpala's commentary, both in Nāgarī and provincial characters. The work before us is of a different order. It may be described as an English commentary by the learned author interpreting the text with the help of similar works on the subject. The copious Table of contents and Indices both in Sanskrit and English and often introductory synopsis of each of the twenty-five chapters of the text have made the work extremely useful. Sanskrit words cannot be correctly printed in Roman type without a set of diacritical marks. The Mysore Government Press where the work has been

in mind that the ancient exponents of the art never gave any reason, and what is most important to remember but almost always forgotten is the fact that according to the ancients the signs of the time at the moment

printed does not evidently possess them, and the author has done well by giving the Sanskrit words in the English portion also in the Nāgarī character. There is another reason for our appreciating the additional trouble. Our brethren of the Madras Presidency have a peculiar way of spelling Sanskrit words in English which is often confusing to the readers of Northern India. This difficulty has been removed, by double writing. There is, however, another point to which we would draw attention of Southern writers. It relates to the diagram of the Zodiac. The different provinces appear to differ in placing the initial sign in the diagram and in the direction of the signs, some counting them from left to right and others from right to left. There is good reason for this difference. The ecliptic lying on the north of the observer in low latitudes, our southern friends stand facing the north, and their Zodiac is therefore right-handed. The case is opposite with the observer in high latitudes, and their Zodiac is left-handed. But a work meant for readers of all latitudes should conform to a common rule. At any rate, it is easy to indicate the sign of *Mesha* by a letter and the direction of counting the signs by an arrow-head.

In the matter of interpretation the author has rejected at places Utpala's view and followed *Sārāvati* and *Horāmakaranda*.—He has quoted passages from various other works, known and unknown. But unauthenticated evidence is hardly of any value. We wish the author had given an account of his authorities, at least their approximate date. For, unless they are proved to be old, at least as old as Utpala, there is risk of saying something which was neither intended by Varāha, nor known at his time. Utpala came four centuries later than his master, and during the long interval some of the old ideas had undergone partial change. A glaring instance of introducing new idea has been afforded by the author himself by explaining away palpable errors in astronomical knowledge with the help of *Bhāva Chakra*, an idea of much later date. Varāha and his predecessors knew nothing of this, and having been an astronomer could easily point out the errors of the astrologers—(ch. XI. 20 : ch. XII. 6). The value of Utpala's commentary further lies in the fact that his quotations are from old works, many of which were the sources of Varāha's compilation itself. He quotes *Sārāvati*, probably the same as that by Kalyāna Varmā, who is believed to have preceded him by a century. But *Horāmakaranda* by Guṇākara was later than Utpala, though not later than the 14th century. On the whole, our author has executed his work remarkably well. To the student of Indian history the three works of Varāha are invaluable. Each furnishes data for the early history of the branch it deals with, and *Brihat Jātaka* for social history as well.

(2) *Highways in Astrology*. By Kumbha, Svetāranya Ashram, Mylapore, Madras, 1927.

of birth of a child *indicate* and do not *cause* what happens in his life. Thus Varāha Mihira in the third sloka of his *Brihat Jātaka* tells us that "whatever has been acquired by a person through his *Karma*, whether good or bad, done in previous births the *hora* (horoscopy) reveals its fruition." It has nothing to do with the fruits of action of this birth. For instance, if King Amanullah has lost his kingdom, it is because he was destined to lose it on account of some unknown deeds, *daiva*, done by him in a previous birth, and it might have been possible to predict the event by scanning the time of his birth as defined by astronomy. This explanation appears to us more philosophical than that certain planets in their disposition caused his downfall. Horoscopy, and not astrology in general, is thus based on the theory of pre-destination, a theory which can neither be proved nor disproved. It is to be noted that the acceptance of this theory does not require the acceptance of the propositions, *viz.* (1) that it is possible to learn the future destiny by "stars" and (2) that the ancients did discover laws of such prediction from the disposition of planets at the moment of birth. Twins taking their birth at the same astrological time and yet differing in their careers, and the fate of thousands of persons meeting death from the same calamity and sometimes simultaneously have remained hard nuts to crack. For instance, are we to believe that the millions of men, women and children who have been rendered homeless and foodless by the recent flood in Assam had all at the different times of their birth the same malefic planetary combinations to cause the misery?

These are stale arguments ; but they do not make impressions on certain minds. Mr.

This is a nicely got-up small volume of 90 pages on the elements of horoscopy, but written in jaunty style, new in this kind of literature. It has been intended for beginners, but the author assumes that they are acquainted with the terms he employs which are partly Sanskrit and partly English, and know how to draw a horoscope. Those who possess the preliminary knowledge may find the book useful. For our part we prefer Sanskrit to any translation, Vernacular or English, because the astrological rules have all to be committed to memory before they can be applied, and the Sanskrit language has the wonderful capacity for condensing ideas and because metrical Sanskrit is easily remembered. It is, therefore, advisable even for a beginner to learn the rules in Sanskrit and to have them explained in the language he understands.

"Kumbha" informs us in the preface that "the book is the result of a truant mind which flew to astrology as an escape from arid text-books for an exquisite hour of juvenile dreaming." This happened many years ago, but the tendency of mind cannot change of itself. It seeks refuge in rationalization, when confronted with contradictions in its behaviour. In the introduction he writes,—"Astrology has its basis on the causal relationship of all the manifestations in the universe, on the faith that there is unceasing interaction of influences among all things seen and unseen in the wide expanse of space." But he forgets that many of his "things" are the imaginings of astronomers. For instance, *lagna*, the pivot of astrology, has no more existence than Rahu and Ketu, the nodes of the moon. In this respect Varaha and his predecessors were more consistent than their successors. They ignored the Dragon's Head and Tail. In fact, it was impossible for Varaha to bring them in after ridiculing the popular belief in the existence of a Dragon. Mr. "Kumbha" has relegated the Head and the Tail to an insignificant position, but has yet accorded places in the periods of life! It is amusing to find him invoking the aid of Vedanta in his search for a rationale. He writes, "True to the highest conception of the Vedanta, the whole universe is saturated with the history and predictive intelligence of all life", etc. But his effusion comes to a sudden stop when he realizes that a Vedantist has no more use of astrology than the time tables of railway trains have of auspicious moments. He gives up the line of defence and assures us that "it is best to conceive astrology as a science of so many symbols or scripts in this sky, speaking to you your future in a starry dialect." But he warns us that the scripts are legible only to those who have "clear vision," "intuition," and plenty of "common sense". We are further told that "the knowledge of astrology is pre-eminently for self-application and not for professional or mercenary purposes". Here the author forgets what a wide door is left open for self-deception and becoming wise after the event, and if the statement be true that "the moment you know your future, by scrutiny of your chart, the future does not happen as predicted," and he justifies it on grounds of psychology—we should rather advise our readers not to probe the stars lest they lose thereby the good things of the

world that may have been in store for them. The admission is, however, clear that the utterances of oracles are ambiguous, and even when understood they are not universally true. There is indeed joy in unravelling a mystery as in working out a difficult mathematical problem or in averting a checkmate in a critical situation on the chess-board.

II

It is often asserted that astrology is a very old science in India, and that Rishis were its authors. Astrology is, however, a wide term and includes various branches depending upon belief in the influences of stars and planets. If by astrology is meant belief in the power of divination by stars, and its practice in some form or another, it is certainly very old and was widespread among all nations. But if it means horoscopy as we now find in Sanskrit or even what Varaha found in his time, it is certainly not old for India. It is a growth of almost two thousand years. Our Aryan ancestors, like every other nation believed in good and evil times,—and every day or moment is not opportune for every kind of work,—and associated certain months, *tithis*, and *muhurtas* of the day with either good or evil. Analogy led them to extend the principle from the sun and the moon to the rest of the planets when these were discovered. There arose wise men who watched the signs of the time and the positions of the planets in the *Nakshatras* and took to the task of giving warnings to the community. The method may have been faulty and knowledge very imperfect, but the object was the same as that of the modern scientific bureaus. Every natural phenomenon which appeared to the ancient observers abnormal or of rare occurrence and to violate the law of uniformity as understood at the time naturally became an evil omen. The same is the case with us even in the days of progressive science. It is the abnormal which opens the door for research and also for fear of the unknown. There is, of course, difference between the present and the past attitude of mind towards natural phenomena, normal or abnormal. But it is of recent growth due to the achievements of science not yet two hundred years old. The ancients were not wanting in intelligence; but they suffered

from lack of experience and of opportunities of comparing results which we now possess, and had we to begin the story anew in the conditions in which our Aryan forefathers did, there is no doubt it would have run on the same lines. There was the vast mass of non-Aryan population steeped in ignorance and superstition, and though the Aryans tried their best to keep their non-Aryan neighbours at a distance they did not succeed in their attempt. The experiment was tried many times in many different countries and the result was always the same. It is impossible to utilize the services of slaves without the masters degrading themselves. The general level of education among the three classes of the Aryans was not high, the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were not keen about high education, and the Sudras forming the servile class were not allowed it in any form. In such a state of society predominating in ignorant masses a widespread belief in the agency of "stars" is inevitable, and if it be fostered by the highest class in the land superstition runs wild and encroaches upon every affair of life. At the time of the present Manu smṛiti and Vishnu Purāṇam had arisen a class of clever people, the Nakṣatra-suchakas, who, taking advantage of the psychology of the mass mind, preyed upon the common people. These soothsayers and fortune-tellers who were apparently all Brahmins were regarded as pests of society, outcasted and condemned in unmeasured terms by the custodians of social weal. And it is a fact worth noting that the section of Brahmins who deal with astrology is even now looked down upon by other Brahmins and never allowed to mix with them socially. By the 4th cent. B.C. there had been many branches of the art and Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* (Bk. XIII. ch. i) mentions the class names of Kartantika, Naimittika, Mauhurtika, Pauranika, and Kshanika. Shrewd that he was he knew the weakness of popular mind and extensively employed astrologers as spies. He had no faith in them, and in fact, sneered at their pretensions. He said that "among the obstacles to the acquisition of wealth the seeking of auspicious *tithis* and *nakṣatras* is one. Wealth will pass away from the silly who frequently consult the stars. For, wealth is itself the star of wealth. What will the stars do?" (Bk. IX. ch. iv.)

Such was the utterance of a man who is reputed to have been at the root of a vast empire.

But credulity begets credulity and welcomes it from all quarters. The Greek domination for centuries in Ariana, modern Afghanistan, and the north-west corner of India opened the way to the influx of the superstitious beliefs of the Greeks, the Yavanas of old Sanskrit. India yielded to the alluring prospect of achieving results through the good offices of "stars," and, instead of breaking loose the fetters forged in foreign lands, seemed to delight in multiplying them on the pattern of the Yavanas. The Greeks had themselves borrowed a great part of their astronomy and astrology from the Babylonians, and it was from their fortune-tellers that India got her 'Hora-tantra,' the science of horoscopy. The disciples gave it an Indian form, elaborating in some parts and modifying in others. The division of the ecliptic into twenty-eight or twenty-seven equal parts, the *Nakṣatras*, and also into twelve equal parts for the twelve solar months was the work of the Vedic Aryans. But the solar Zodiac with its division into twelve signs was of Babylonian origin, and was associated with astrology. Our Aryan ancestors knew the seven planets and their motions; but the invention of week-days was entirely the work of Babylonian astrologers. The solar Zodiac and the week-days with their astrology appear to have reached India about the third or second century B.C. The Greek names of the signs were translated into Sanskrit, and the week-days were given the Sanskrit names of the planets. But the task of translation was given up later when a large number of Greek astrological terms came with the 'Hora.' Varaha could not account for this word, *hora*, and suggested a fanciful derivation from Sanskrit *ahoratra*, forgetting the fact that *hora*, really an hour, implies division of the day into twenty-four equal parts, a division unknown to Indian almanacs even now when clocks are found everywhere. The fresh Indian disciples of Yavana astrologers had not even the patience of using the Sanskrit names of the Zodiacal signs and the planets. They incorporated the Greek names in their Sanskrit composition. By the time of Varaha (6th cent.) there appears to have grown up a vast literature on horoscopy, mostly on the original lines of the Yavanas amplified here and modified there according to the inclinations of the authors. Varaha explains the reason of his writing *Bṛihat Jataka* in these words:—

"Numerous are the treatises on horoscopy written by men proficient in it. I construct a raft of the Sastra for the benefit of those who have failed in their attempt to cross the ocean." But the small raft of his is a veritable Noah's arc, carrying within it a motley crowd of Indian and Yavana astrologers. It is no wonder that he constructed a smaller raft, the *Laghu Jataka*, which Utpala freely quoted.

Varaha does not name all the sources of his book. He mentions by name a few, such as Parasara, Satya, Jivasarma, Siddhasena, Vishnugupta, Maya, Manitha, and Yavana. Of these Parasara is the only name which can be taken to be that of a Rishi. But this Parasara could not be the same as wrote the Vishnu Purana nor the Jyotisha Samhita bearing his name. The author or authors of these works lived long before the Christian era, about the 14th cent. B. C. when the Zodiac beginning with Aries could not come into existence. The Parasara of Hora was either a patronymic, or what is more probable a myth based on the existence of a Parasara Samhita. We know that writers of no reputation taking advantage of similarity of topics used to pass themselves off in the name of the distinguished author. Besides this Parasara, there were many others. A Parasara wrote a *smṛiti* for this *Kali* age, another in association with Garga was an authority on *Silpastra* or Engineering, another was an author of a tract on agriculture, another the author of a voluminous work on Hora, a treasure-house of forty-two methods of finding the longevity of a person. Its nucleus was probably older than Varaha and formed the basis of his remarks. But he does not specify Parasara as a Rishi, nor refer to him with respect due to one. At any rate there is nothing to show that Parasara, the author of a Hora, was a Rishi. The race of Rishis had indeed been long extinct, and it would be dishonouring the hallowed name if we in our ignorance applied it to a poor representative or to a fictitious substitute. This Parasara was probably a contemporary of Garga of the family of Garga of whom we shall speak presently.

Among the astrologers mentioned by Varaha, the name of Vishnugupta furnishes an example of confusion arising from identity with Chanakya, *alias*, Kautilya. The name occurs twice in Varaha's work. But it is curious to find Utpala taking him in one

place (ch. VII 7) as Chanakya, and in the other place (ch. XXI. 3) as a different man. He was therefore not sure of his identification. Not that Kautilya was a disbeliever in planetary influences. There were perhaps none who could be free from the prevailing belief. But the connection in which the name, Vishnugupta, occurs justifies the contention that he was not Kautilya. Satya, often spoken of as an Acharya, a Doctor, and probably a founder of a school like Yavanacharya, gives an opinion which Yavanas contradict. But Vishnugupta supports Satya by showing the absurdity of the Yavana view (ch. XXI. 3). Vishnugupta's retort implies knowledge of the Zodiacal signs and the supposed influences of their parts on nativity. It is difficult to assume that Satyacharya preceded Chanakya and that a complicated system of horoscopy had reached India before the 4th cent. B. C. We find nothing about these in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. The astronomical references found there are pre-Greek and entirely Indian. Then again, Kalidasa, the astrologer of the 12th cent. gives the traditional account by stating that Satya, Manitha, and Vadanayana (mentioned by Utpala) were contemporaries of Varaha. Whether the statement is strictly correct or not, they were not far removed in time from Varaha, and Vishnugupta could not be Chanakya.

Parasara comes in only once, Vishnugupta twice, Satya or Satyacharya five times, and Yavanas six times in *Brihat Jataka*. Utpala quotes Yavanas perhaps no less than thirty times and *Saravati*, (an abridged edition of Yavana work on nativity) as many or more times. Varaha's *Brihatsamhita* contains a chapter on nativity; but it is very much simpler than what is found in *Brihat Jataka*. Here again in his commentary Utpala quotes Yavanas, and not less than sixteen times. He speaks of them as Yavanacharya and Yavanesvara (king of the Yavanas) and in his commentary on *Brihat Jataka* tells us the name of one king, Sphujidhvaja, who, according to him, flourished after the Saka Era. We learn also that there were Yavana authors who preceded the Era. The latter were styled Yavanas the Elder, one of whom was Minaraja. It, therefore, appears certain that Yavana astrology reached India in two instalments, the first part, the simpler part as described in *Brihatsamhita* about two centuries before Christ, and the second part as described in *Brihat Jataka* about an equal interval after Christ.

III

This brief outline will show how the noble stream of Indian astrology widened to a mighty river gathering its volume of water from the land of the *mlechchhas*, mingling with and changing the hue of the Indian current to an astonishing degree. Few of us realize the tremendous influence exerted and still exerts on the national mind, which was and is cabined, cribbed and confined in the narrow limits willingly accepted by a few, but imposed by them upon the general population in the name of the Rishis. The hundred and one injunctions relating to, say, the week-days were all issued by the Greek village astrologers. India did not know that the days and hours of the day are ruled by planets and that there are malefic lords among them. One must not shave or put on a new piece of cloth except on the week-days sanctioned by the *mlechchhas*. One must not marry at sunset, the customary time of our Rishis, but at a time, the *Suta-hivuka lagna*, prescribed by them. We appreciate the value of appointing days for festivals and are willing to abide by the decisions of one or two wise men. But if masters be many and each threaten to ruin us if he be not obeyed, it becomes impossible to satisfy each and to feel happy. Take the simple case of selecting a day for a journey. Our Rishis considered only two elements of time, the *tithi* and *nakshatra*, and it was easy to find a day. But with the introduction of the week-days with their lords and chiefs series of permutation and combination with the thirty *tithi* and twenty-seven *nakshatras* delighted the Tantrikas who were in their ascendancy from the 6th century onwards to produce a formidable number of claimants to our attention. There are at least two dozen points to be considered before a day can be selected which is believed to prove auspicious for the intended journey. And a week may pass away before such a day can be found. Even then the anxiety is not over. Every hour of the day is not equally auspicious. There are malefic planets which rule at least three hours of each day at stated intervals. Yet we know it was a child's play to assign seven days to seven planets by rotation and there was nothing mysterious about the scheme. But such is the thralldom of superstition that no nation is free from it, regarding some week-days good and others bad.

For, it is a psychological fact that once its mastery is acknowledged, it becomes a tyrannical tormentor.

But to proceed. Garga figures largely in astrological lore. There had been a Rishi of that name. But what happened to Parasara happened to Garga also. We do not know how many bore that name. There was one who married a Yavana woman and the issue of the union was Kala-yavana. By another account Garga was the priest of the Kala-yavanas. He was the writer of an astrological tract, and there is good reason to believe that he flourished in the second century B. C. He was an admirer of Yavana astrology, and his connection with the Kala-yavanas was likely to influence him in their favour. We do not know who the Kala-yavanas were. Possibly they were those Yavanas who understood *kala*, the signs of the time and were possibly the Chaldeans. Varaha extolled the proficiency of the Yavanas in the art or science of divination and strongly recommended its study to Brahmans. (*B.S.*) Utpala quotes Gargi as an authority in his commentary on *Brihat Jataka*. It seems Varaha felt himself in a dilemma. There were the Smritis which were dead against the race of soothsayers, and Varaha was a Brahman. On the other hand, the acquisition of knowledge of foretelling events was too tempting to be set aside. He made a compromise, as we do in similar circumstances. He made a distinction between a *Nakshatra-suchaka* who belonged to the old school and depended for the practice of their art on *Nakshatras* alone, and a *Samvatsarika*, a *Daivajna*, of the new school possessing wider knowledge of planetary influences. Thus the qualms of conscience were soothed by the offering of a new drug against which there was no ban. For it is sin to taste wine, but it is no sin to swallow opium, (the latter drug was unknown to the Smritis).

But popular curiosity is ever ready to swallow new drugs, and about the thirteenth century India received a big consignment of Arabic astrology under the name, Tajik, grown on the Persian soil. There were people ready to accept the Arabic terminology and incorporate the same in Sanskrit. The drug, however, failed to get itself assimilated in the Hindu system, because the dose was too strong for the weakened condition of the system at the time and the business of construction had ceased long ago. With the advent of the Christian rulers

Sunday has acquired an importance as the day for rest; but it conveys no meaning to the Indians whose God needs no rest. There are votaries of astrology among Christians in Europe who, like their Indian fraternity, on a consideration, cast nativities. But these Zadkiels are rarely found in India, and the astronomical part of their calculation being somewhat different and advanced, the Western system has not yet made any impression. Besides, it has not been presented in Sanskrit garb, and it is impossible to revive an old Indian sage in this twentieth century. Nevertheless, Neptune and Uranus by virtue of being planets have found admission into the portfolio of our up-to-date Zadkiels to influence our destiny.

Thus while additions to the original Aryan stock have been going on for two thousand years, no attempt has been made to examine them in the light of experience. None have dared to stand up to declare that he has tested this or that rule and found it false. Critical study does not imply irreverence to the ancients, but surely every tract written in Sanskrit is not a part of Dharmasastra. In the matter of horoscopy there is evidence to show that the whole of Yavana astrology was not accepted in its entirety and that its rules were tested and some discarded or modified while others left to the judgment of future astrologers. It is easy to verify the rules for prediction of longevity, and numerous attempts were made to discover them correctly. But we fancy the data were insufficient and the statistical method of analysis was undoubtedly unknown. When we think of the legion of factors which are said to influence our life, we despair, and in fact

the formidable army of conflicting elements of unknown or vaguely known strength deterred the present writers from meeting it seriously. On the other hand, study of the fundamental conceptions of the science will amply justify the contention that they were based on the supposed physical characters of the planets and their relative distances as well as the imagined figures of the Zodiacal signs. The rest of the scheme relates to arrangement which was at first purely mechanical as in the order of the week-days. But we shall not enter into details. There is certainly no harm in borrowing science from a foreigner, even a *mlechchha*, if it be a science. Indeed, our ancestors never disdained to acquire knowledge from any source, touchable or untouchable. At the same time they warned us against the folly of accepting it as true without scrutiny (*Yukti-vichara*). Here the word, scrutiny, does not surely mean a discussion on the authenticity of a statement. Look at an almanac, and particularly a Bengali almanac. It bristles with astrological beliefs from the beginning to the end of its large bulk. As we have said before, we do attach due value to the appointment of days for feasts and festivals the observance of which is a part of Hinduism. But surely the question whether the king and the minister controlling the affair of the year be this pair or that pair of planets is no part of Hinduism. The invisible foes in the name of planets, Yogini and Sula and many others are more powerful in their visitations than a few friends whose existence is not felt by the hesitating mind. At any rate the whole lot is a set of anachronism in these days of Western science.

Egypt and Her Problems

By PROF. SAIENDRANATH DHAR, M. A.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THAT the history of a country is influenced by its geography is a very commonplace observation. It is, however, so very true in the case of Egypt that it demands more than a passing notice. The country is about a thousand miles long and only ten miles broad. The total area (excluding the Sudan) is some 350,000 square miles, but only about a thirtieth of it is fertile and populated. This is the narrow

strip of land bordering the Nile. It is said to be the most densely populated region in the world. The population is nearly fifteen millions, with about 1200 people to the square mile.

The country is destitute of mineral resources and is thus unsuited for industrial undertakings of the modern type. Of its population of fifteen millions, about thirteen millions and a half are peasants and live entirely on the land. Agriculture in Egypt

is absolutely dependent on the fertilising action of the waters of the Blue Nile, which overflows during the summer months every year, leaving a rich sediment which makes the land the best agricultural region in the world. Very aptly does Herodotus call Egypt a "gift of the Nile." The rainfall is practically nil.

The population of Egypt has nearly doubled in the last forty years. If it continues at this rate, the increasing pressure upon the land will bring about an acute economic crisis in Egypt. The scale of living of the Egyptian peasant is very poor. He hardly tastes any meat. His food consists of coarse bread, radishes, onions, garlic roots, and a little olive oil. With the progress of education, however, the standard is sure to rise. Then, unless conditions undergo fundamental changes, an economic crisis will arise. The process of subdivision of land, under Muhammadan law, would tend to make the adoption of scientific farming impossible.

That the land has been able to bear the strain caused by the rapid increase of population is surely due in part to the irrigation schemes carried out by the British. The construction of the dam at Aswan and of the barrages across the Nile has enabled the holding back of the flood during the season of high water and its dispersion and distribution through irrigation canals, with the result that intensive cultivation of cotton has been made possible and the economic situation relieved to a great extent.

One of the most acute problems facing the people of Egypt is its economic future, and the various facts of the economic situation are influencing the political programme of the Egyptian people and government.

EDUCATION IN EGYPT

Since its foundation about 945 years ago, the university of *el. Azhar* has played the most conspicuous part in the history of Muslim education.

In this historic seat of Islamic culture nothing is taught which conflicts with the Q'uran. The course is for seventeen years. At the end of the eleventh year, a preliminary examination is held, which qualifies the student for minor offices in the mosque and for the post of elementary teacher. The studies fall into two classes, preparatory and professional. The former include grammar, logic, poetry, arithmetic. The professional

subjects include theology, Muslim law, the explanation of the Q'uran, and the teaching of the traditions (Hadith). A little history, geography, mathematics, and rhetoric are also offered. Insistence is made on the memorization of a vast number of compilations, as in our *tols*.

Since the establishment of the kingdom of Egypt in 1922, education has entered on a new phase. Though the present king and his ministers are hardly popular among the extreme nationalists of the country, they are in dead earnest in the matter of education, expecting to find a solution of the manifold problems of Egypt through the spread of European culture among the people. They have organized a huge network of elementary and secondary schools, culminating in a university, controlled by a Ministry of Education. The university, which opened its gates in October 1925, is situated in the suburbs of Cairo and is organized strictly on modern lines. Many of the teachers are foreigners, though the cry is already raised for ousting them and replacing them by Egyptians. The university admits women as well as men students. The medium of instruction is Arabic, but the difficulties of the Arabic script as well as the absence of the nomenclature of modern science in the Arabic language are proving to be great handicaps in an institution which seeks to disseminate modern culture. For these reasons, Arabic has already been replaced by English in the medical school. For the last twenty-five years English has been taught as a compulsory subject, in all Egyptian schools, so that the adoption of English as the medium of instruction will not mean a revolution.

The educational authorities have given much anxious thought to the subject of elementary education of the Egyptian peasant. The problem is how to devise a curriculum of studies which would increase his efficiency without dissociating him from the land. The schools which are being established contemplate a course of study under which the child spends half the day at work in the field and the other half at work in the school.

A formidable obstacle in the way of the spread of a genuine culture among the people of Egypt is the habit of mind of the modern student population, who (as, largely, in our country also) think of education in terms of service in the various government

establishments. This is produced by natural circumstances, under which the vast majority of the people seek a meagre subsistence from the land and there are few industries and few manufactures. As in our country, again, industrial opportunities as yet are so few that the vast majority of those who receive education are compelled either to seek government employment or to crowd the medical and legal professions. Consequent upon this is unemployment and unrest among the student population.

EGYPT'S POLITICAL POSITION

Before the outbreak of the European war the position of Egypt was very anomalous. Nominally a dependency of Turkey, outwardly an independent state under its own ruler, the Khedive, it was really under the control of Great Britain, in her internal as well as external relations. Having come to Egypt for securing the payment of debts owing to herself, France and other European nations, and having been compelled by force of circumstances, gradually to intervene in Egypt's internal administration, Great Britain found herself compelled in the end to remain in occupation of the country in the interests of good government. She was, in this capacity, confronted by a very dangerous and difficult situation. She was compelled to evacuate the Sudan, which, for a time, organized an independent government under the Mahdi and his followers. She had to disarm the jealousies of other European powers, notably that of France. She had to bring order and decency in administration, to exploit and develop the natural resources of the country. No doubt Egypt has benefited greatly by the British connection. Modern Egypt, it is not too much to say, is the creation of Lord Cromer.

At the same time the country had to sacrifice its independence. Here it was at the mercy of its geography. For though Great Britain has declared on more than one occasion that she would terminate her occupation as soon as the prospects of good government were assured, it is clear that, in view of her vital imperial interests as also the commitments in Egypt itself, it would never be possible for her to leave Egypt to Egyptians. Egypt is the 'neck' of the British empire. It is the highway to India.

For students of international law, the position of Egypt was simplified on the declaration, as soon as the Great War broke

out, by the British government that Egypt was to be under the protection of Great Britain, this sundering its nominal relationship of dependence to Turkey. It did not, however, bring about any change in the position of Egypt, for while the connection with Turkey was little more than formal, the tutelage of Great Britain was real, and galling to the people's self-respect and put their affairs under many inconvenient restraints.

Under the pressure of the nationalist movement Great Britain proclaimed the independence of Egypt with certain reservations in 1922. At the same time a constitution was adopted. Once put in possession of the government, with their own king and parliament, Egyptians showed very little inclination to concede the English demands. British financial interests were threatened, when, the situation was revolutionized by the fatal attack on Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan. Lord Allenby, the High Commissioner, was contemplating methods of punishing the Egyptians, when, in the parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage, Zaghlul Pasha was found to be in complete possession of the situation with his extreme nationalist followers. The British High Commissioner could not tolerate a situation as desperate as that and Zaghlul was compelled to give up his office as Prime Minister. The situation in Egypt has remained practically unaltered since then. Egypt is nominally independent, but practically controlled, in all vital matters, by the British High Commissioner who sits in Cairo with an army of 12,500 men.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION

The unrest among Egyptians is not, as in the case of the Senussi in Africa and the Wahabis in the Hedjaj, due to the stirrings of a militant Islam. Though the vast majority of the people, *viz.*, the peasants, are extremely devout, and faithfully observe all the fasts and rituals enjoined by their religion, the urban population have thrust religion into the background. As in Christianity, so in Islam the struggle between fundamentalism and modernism has begun. The new educational programme is bound to produce a further effect on the Egyptian's attitude towards his religion. Even *el Azhar* has felt the new influence and has been compelled to liberalize its courses of study.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

Competent critics are unanimous in declaring that the Egyptian movement is due partly to economic and mainly to political reasons. I have referred to the apprehensions of intelligent Egyptians about the serious economic situation that will certainly be created in case the population goes on increasing as it has done in the past, particularly in view of the inevitable rise in the standard of living of all classes consequent on the spread of Western culture. The economic difficulties would become greater and more dangerous because of the policy of England to control and develop the Sudan. The soil of the Sudan has been found to be very suitable for growing cotton, a sure supply of which is needed for the English looms. At present an area of about 500 square miles is being irrigated for the cultivation of cotton, and a large amount of the water of the Blue Nile is being diverted for this purpose. One of the largest corporations engaged in this work is the Plantation Syndicate, of which a son of the late Lord Oxford is the London manager. The British Parliament, by an Act, have guaranteed a Sudan bond of three million pounds for the purpose of building a dam on the Blue Nile south of Khartoum for irrigating the lands of this syndicate. This is one of the perennial causes of controversy between Great Britain and Egypt. Of course, England has promised that she would not starve Egypt of water, and she has entered into an agreement with the Abyssinian government, whereby the Nile water is impounded at its source, thus enabling the flood to be still more regulated. Also, the government of the Sudan, from the time of its reconquest till the murder of Sir Lee Stack, was placed under the joint control of England and Egypt. Dependent as the very life of Egypt is on the water of the river, she could be content neither with the promise of the British Government nor with the *condominium* in the Sudan. At any rate, her control of the Sudan water enabled England always to flourish the big stick over the people of Egypt. The peril of the situation in which they were placed was illustrated by the action of the British High Commissioner after the murder of Sir Lee Stack. By his own administrative decree, he proclaimed that the Sudan may draw Nile water "to an unlimited figure as the need may arise." At the

same time, England, by unilateral action altered the *de facto* regime in the Sudan.

Though the economic situation of Egypt, accentuated, as we have seen by the Nile water problem, is a potent cause of unrest, the main spring of agitation is nationalism. "Egypt for the Egyptians" is no new cry. But the desire for independence was reborn after the Great War. The countries of Asia and Africa are now pulsating with a new life. The Egyptians want England to pack off; the Arabs, who fought with the Allies in the Great War, claim freedom; the Syrians want to govern themselves; the Turks are doing the same thing already; and India wants dominion status or independence.

The gulf between Britain and nationalist Egypt has been widened by want of tact on the side of the British government. The Declaration of Independence which Great Britain felt compelled to issue in 1922 was accompanied by four vital reservations. The complete autonomy and independence of the Egyptian government was recognised in sweeping terms in the constitution which was issued at the same time. The reservations, *viz.*, the safeguarding of the Suez Canal and the road to India, the protection of the foreign interests and of the minorities in Egypt, and most important of all, a free hand in the Sudan, made the declaration of independence little more than a diplomatic fiction. At the same time the British government instructed their diplomatic representatives to communicate to the governments to which they were accredited, the will of the British government "that the termination of the British protectorate in Egypt involves no change in the *status quo* as regards the position of other powers in Egypt," and the warning was given that any interference by any power in the relations between England and Egypt would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Clearly, they did not want the "sovereign independence" of Egypt to be regarded as a present fact but a basis of discussions for the initiation of a constructive policy. Curiously, however, these matters were not specifically declared as a preliminary condition for the adoption of the constitution. This enabled the Egyptian government to take the action to which the declaration opened the way, without committing themselves to accept the terms of the British declaration. Sultan Fuad proclaimed Egypt to be a state enjoying sovereignty and independence and himself assumed the title

of king. A parliament and ministry were established. The amount of water that could be drawn out of the Blue Nile was sharply limited. The Eckstein syndicate saw their investments seriously threatened, and other difficulties arose. At this crisis there occurred one of those strange incidents which from time to time happen in history and violently interfere with the march of events without leading to any solution of the questions at issue. Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-General of the Sudan was brutally murdered by a group of political assassins at Cairo. The Egyptian ministry and parliament were immediately dismissed. To punish the Egyptians further, the British High Commissioner issued a proclamation annulling the guarantee of the British government with regard to the Nile water. This decree was not supported by the Home government, which ordered the whole question of the Nile water to be investigated by a committee consisting of one Egyptian member, one British member and a Dutch chairman.

CAREER OF ZAGHLUL PASHA

A word here about this great nationalist leader. Born in 1860, Zaghlul was educated in a village school and then in the university of *el Azhar* in Cairo. He received his first training in nationalist activity by joining the movement of Arabi Pasha. After the troubles were over, he began the practice of law. In 1906, he became the Minister of Education. Under his enlightened administration, observed Lord Cromer, "education made rapid strides in advance." After the Great War, Zaghlul, who had, by this time, become the principal spokesman of the nationalist party began to agitate for Egyptian independence. He was arrested and interned in Malta. Returning to his native country in 1921 he continued to represent the extreme nationalist party. His anti-British propaganda was held to be responsible for the murder of Sir Lee Stack and he was again deported, this time to Ceylon. On his return he continued to lead the forces agitating for nationalism. At the election in May, 1926, he obtained an overwhelming triumph, but was unable to assume office on account of the opposition of the High Commissioner.

Sir Austen Chamberlain tells us that on two occasions he offered terms of a settlement to the Egyptian nationalists, but could not obtain any success on account of the

intransigent attitude of the extreme party. Thus the situation in Egypt continued to grow worse, and finally power passed out of the hands of even Sir Austen (as Mr. Henderson seeks to show) and became concentrated in the British High Commissioner, whose will became law. The Parliament of Egypt became a farce, and 'not even a dog barked' when the present Prime Minister Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha dissolved the legislature two years ago and established a dictatorship.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The resignation of Lord Lloyd followed quickly by the publication by the newly installed Labour Government of the terms for a fresh understanding with Egypt certainly comes as a surprise to most people, but they are really nothing but the outcome of the British declaration of 1922 and represent one more attempt (perhaps the last that will ever be made) to pacify Egyptian nationalists by everything short of evacuation. The first important point is that British military occupation is to cease, and that British troops are to be moved out of Cairo and other towns to the Canal zone. The present relations are to be substituted by an alliance. Britain is to support Egypt's application for membership of the League of Nations. Her responsibilities for the lives and properties of foreigners cease. The High Commissioner is to be replaced by an Ambassador. In the Sudan, the Convention of 1899, which was ruptured on the murder of Sir Lee Stack is to be resumed. In return for these concessions, the Egyptian army is to be British-trained, British-officered and British-equipped, Egypt is to act in concert with Great Britain in its foreign policy, has to afford Great Britain all facilities in war including the use of her ports, aerodromes and communications.

Though the Conservative press in England have set up a hue and cry over these proposals, it seems clear to us that they adequately safeguard all British interests in Egypt. Again, though Egypt still fails to secure the status of a sovereign state as international law understands it, and though, for this reason, the Egyptian nationalists are sure to reject them, these terms give the Egyptians far greater control in internal affairs than when Lord Lloyd and the British army were dominating the situation. They constitute a compromise solution of Egypt's problems, and it would be interesting to see if a compromise succeeds.

Pandit Jagannath Tarka-panchanan

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

THERE is no proper life of Jagannath Tarka-panchanan, the most eminent of 18th century Bengali Pandits, and whose name is still remembered with veneration for his wonderful memory and unrivalled knowledge of Hindu law. His best title to fame was the compilation of the *Vivada-bhangarnava* (The Sea of Controversial Waves), a Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession, derived from various codes and commentaries, made in the early days of the Company's rule when there was no codified body of known Hindu laws, the usual practice being for the Brahmans to declare the traditional custom in every disputed civil suit.

The credit of starting the first attempt to codify Hindu law belongs to Warren Hastings, who engaged (May 1773) eleven pandits of Bengal to compile an abstract of their laws from authentic Sanskrit legal sources. This was made ready in the course of two years. But as at that time very few Englishmen knew Sanskrit and the English version finally arrived at for the use of the English judges and members was a second-hand translation, (the Sanskrit original having been translated into Persian by the interpreters and then again into English by Mr. N. B. Halhed, a Civilian of the Company), a more scholarly work was needed. This was undertaken by Sir William Jones, whose mastery of Sanskrit, added to his legal training in England, eminently qualified him for the task. He got the work started under his own superintendence and direction, and was fortunate enough to enlist the services of Pandit Jagannath Tarka-panchanan, a native of Triveni in the Hughli district. We learn from a minute of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis that 'Sir William Jones recommended to him in the strongest manner, the addition of a person named Jagannath Tarka-panchanan to those already employed. This man is much advanced in years, but his opinions, learning and abilities are held in the highest veneration and respect by all ranks of people, and the work will derive infinite credit and authority both from the

annexation of his name as a compiler and from his assistance... Sir William recommended a salary of Rs. 300 per month, to be allowed to Jagannath Tarka-panchanan, and Rs. 100 to his assistants. Agreed to, and ordered accordingly.' (August, 1788).

Jagannath performed his task creditably and was able to hand over the manuscript of his digest, the *Vivada-bhangarnava*, to Sir William Jones in February, 1792. But Jones did not survive to translate it into English, which was accomplished by H. T. Colebrooke, a distinguished orientalist (December 1796).

Jagannath's salary of Rs. 300 was discontinued after the completion of his work, although the eleven pandits who had prepared the first digest in Warren Hastings's time were still enjoying their pensions. In January, 1793, the Taraka-panchanan petitioned the Government for the continuance of his salary through life, in order to enable him 'to subsist himself and a numerous family in this his old age.' *

The request of Jagannath was complied with by Government 'in consideration of the very favourable testimonies... received of the petitioner, his great age, and numerous family,' but the pension was ordered 'not to be continued after his death to his family or descendants.' (January, 1793).†

This, in brief, was all the information that could be gathered from State Records when I published a sketch of the Pandit in this Review (Nov. 1926, pp. 493-96). I could not then trace the exact date of the Pandit's death and I had to rest satisfied with '1806' as the year of his death, on the authority of a small biography of him published by his relative Umacharan Bhattacharya. The same date has probably been inscribed on the tablet lately erected to his memory at Triveni.

Happily, I have since succeeded in unearthing

* Jagannath Taraka-panchanan to Governor-General Shore.-*Public Con.* 11 January 1793, No. 11.

† *Bengal Public Letter to the Court of Directors*, dated 29th January, 1793, paras 56-57.

ing from the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, some State-papers which furnish us with accurate information about the year of his death, as will be seen from the following petition, addressed to Lord Minto on 5th January 1808, by Kashinath Sharmana, the grandson of the Pandit :

"The humble petition of Kashinath Sharmana, grandson of the late Jagannath Taraka-panchanan most humbly sheweth unto your Lordship that the said Jagannath Taraka-panchanan, whose name, abilities and proficiency in the Hindu Shastar are too well known to the public and to your Honorable Board for your petitioner to state anything, *died in October last at the age of more than 100 years* leaving a very numerous family upwards of an hundred, three-fourths of his time he spent in teaching his students that used to come from every quarter of the country on paying their expenses.

"By order of Lord Cornwallis he published the Code of Hindu Laws called *Vivada-bhangamava* a collection of very useful and important to the public and for which his Lordship was pleased to bestow on him a pension of Rs. 300 per month which he regularly received from the year 1793 but on his death it is now ceased.

"Your petitioner and the rest of the family most earnestly request your Lordship to consider that in addition to their suffering by the death of a father of the family they have lost their monthly income whereby the family will not only be distressed for subsistence but also the education of his descendants will be totally stopped which is no little disgrace to them particularly when some of his children have gained good deal knowledge in the Shastar and expect to keep the house so established by his grandfather for so essential purpose and how unfortunate circumstance it would be to them if they are prevented from it and that the name of that famous man should not be continued afresh through the means of his descendants.

"It is pretty well known to the world that the Company from their unbounded generosity have always assisted and shewn their charitable disposition towards needy and those in the same situation with your petitioner.

"Therefore your petitioner most humbly craves your Lordship will be pleased to take the matter into consideration and extend your benevolence by continuing the stipend to your petitioner for the purpose of supporting the family and keeping up the house of his grandfather."*

*Public Consultation 8th January 1808, No. 100.

The Magistrate of Hughli was directed (8th January, 1808) to ascertain and report upon the circumstances of the family. This officer, upon enquiry, gave the following report to the Governor-General :

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th January last, transmitting a copy of a petition from Kashinath Sharmana and directing me to ascertain and report, for the information of Government, the present circumstances of the family of the late Jagannath Taraka-panchanan, deceased, and whether their situation is such as to render it necessary, or expedient to continue to them any part of the pension granted to the late Jagannath.

"I understand that the family possess about 800 bighas of land in different districts, and that it yields them an annual revenue of about Rs. 800.

"The late Jagannath Taraka-panchanan enjoyed a very high reputation. He devoted the greater part of his time to his numerous students, and the principal ground, on which his grandson Kashinath applies for the continuance of the pension, which was granted to Jagannath, seems to be that the family may be enabled to prosecute the studies, and impart the knowledge, which raised him to such eminence. But I understand that neither the petitioner Kashinath nor any other of the descendants of Jagannath have inherited his talents or his zeal. The most able man in his family is said to have been Gangadhar, who was some years the Law Officer at Krishnagar, but died a few months before his grandfather Jagannath.

"If in consideration of the extraordinary merit of the late Jagannath, the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council should think proper to continue to his family any part of the pension, which he enjoyed, I conceive that Rs. 100 per mensem would be a liberal allowance for them."*

Kashinath Sharmana was informed on 22nd April 1808 that under the existing circumstances of the family of the late Jagannath Taraka-panchanan the Governor-General considered it neither necessary nor expedient to continue to his family any part of the pension which had been granted to the Pandit in consideration of his extraordinary merit.

* T. H. Ernst, Judge and Magistrate, Hooghly, to Thomas Brown, Chief Secretary to the Government, dated 13th April 1808.—*Public Procdgs.* 22nd April 1808, No. 47.

The Practice of Medicine in Ancient India, Babylon and Persia

By E. WATTS, M.B., B.S. (London)

MEDICINE IN ANCIENT INDIA

THE great benefits that have accrued to India through the introduction of Western medicine and principles of sanitation are calculated to make one forget that ages ago Hindus were great students of all branches of medicine and attained a skill which is often discredited. It has been claimed by some students and not without reason, that the present-day knowledge is largely the outcome of the system which was followed several centuries ago in India. There is considerable difference of opinion as to how far Greek and Hindu medical science were dependent upon each other, but the question has not been sufficiently investigated to permit of a decided answer. Several Europeans, notably, Professor Wilson, Dr. Royle, and Dr. Wise, have devoted much time to the study of the history of the system followed in India, and the last-named in a lecture reviewing the history, says, "It is to the Hindus that we owe the first system of medicine." The habit of tracing the origin of all Aryan culture to the Greeks has proved somewhat of an obstacle to an impartial enquiry. The same authority remarks that "facts regarding the ancient history of medicine have been sought for only in the classical authors of Greece and Rome, and have been arranged to suit a traditional theory which repudiated all systems which did not proceed from a Grecian source. Still candour and truth require us to examine the clue of the new facts in history as they are discovered, so as to arrive at just conclusions." It is true that references from the books of Hippocrates seem to render it probable that Greek influence penetrated even into the medical work of India before our era. Some brief account of the evidence of a capable medical system in the early Hindu days may be of interest. It is not possible to obtain anything but a scrappy knowledge of medicine as it was understood in the time of the Kurus and Panchalas to the time when all Hindu learning seemed to pass through a stage of scientific treatment, (B.C. 1400 to 400). If such

knowledge were available it would perhaps throw little light on the later system which the Hindus may justly be proud of. It is true that there appears to have been a wide scheme of treatment for various use of magic charms, and mantras seems to have played too large a part for it to be considered scientific. Yet it has been pointed out by an Indian writer, Mr. R. C. Dutt, that the later writers alluded reverently to the earlier work in the medical line under the collective name of Ayurveda, a gift of the gods and only professed in their books to explain what had been handed down to them. But it was in the Buddhist period that we find the first real scientific development and in that time it reached a knowledge of medicine and surgery that is a matter of surprise when it is remembered how slow science had grown up to that time. As Buddhism passed away and Brahmanism gained the ascendancy the many hospitals which had been erected disappeared. The Brahmins fearing the defilement which would result from contact with dead bodies, handed over the work to the Vaidyas, a lower caste, who in turn left it to the village Kabiraj in whose hands it speedily degenerated into a system of quackery. When the Mahomedans arrived, a new system was introduced though much of their knowledge was derived from the ancient Hindu books. This had been augmented by the learning of the Greeks, many of whose books had been translated into Arabic. As the Mahomedans rose to power medical attendance on the high nobles was the monopoly of these new men.

The two chief authorities on Hindu medicine, as practised in the first centuries of our era, are known as Charaka and Susruta and they probably lived in the Buddhist period though their works were doubtless recast in the Puranic age. The fame of their works travelled far and wide and the Caliphs of Baghdad caused several of them to be translated into Arabic in the eighth century. These books were quoted as authorities by men who were accepted as great teachers, notably the celebrated

Arabic physician Al-Razi who died in 932 A. D. The history of European medicine down to the eighteenth century was closely related to the Arabic, and the importance of the knowledge of the Hindu doctor, Charaka, is shown by the fact that the Europeans often quote him in the Latin translations of the Arabic treatises. The books of Charaka deal chiefly with medicine and give detailed accounts of the origin and use of medicine the treatment of epidemics, descriptions of fevers, leprosy, the diseases of the organs of sense, defects of speech, and a wide range of fevers and other diseases. His work is in the form of instruction imparted by the Rishi Atreya to Agnivesa. In the introduction to his book he ascribes the origin of the medical knowledge to Brahma who has handed it down by several stages to the six Rishis of whom he is one. Brahma first granted the knowledge to Prajapati who imparted it to the Asvins. They imparted it to Indra who handed it on to Bharadwaja from whom Agnivesa received it. A similar story accounts for the surgical knowledge possessed by Susruta. One is surprised at the list of surgical operations described in the books of Susruta for they evince a wide knowledge of the human anatomy. An enumeration of them would require much space. "Many of these ancient theories are, of course, now shown to be fanciful and many views then held are now shown to be mistaken. But nevertheless the exhaustive treatment of diseases in medical works compiled two thousand years ago shows the progress of science in Ancient India. Amputations were performed with success and special attention was paid to midwifery. The students were taught to practise on wax which was spread on a table and also on the tissues of vegetable kingdom and on dead bodies. Even modern medical science is indebted to Ancient India for the operation of rhinoplasty, or the formation of artificial noses, an operation Englishmen became acquainted with in the eighteenth century. No less than 127 instruments are described in these early books, and we are informed that the instruments should be of metal, always bright, handsome, polished, and sharp, sufficiently so as to divide a hair longitudinally.

The Hindus were familiar with chemistry and with the preparation of many chemical compounds, a fact we need not be surprised at when it is remembered that materials for the preparations of these chemicals abounded in

India. They were also familiar with acids and alkalis and there are references to the use of antimony and arsenic. It is claimed for them that they were the first to use metallic substances internally. "Though the ancient Greeks and Romans used many metallic substances as external applications it is generally supposed that the Arabs were the first to prescribe them internally But in the works of Charaka and Susruta, to which, as has been proved, the earliest of the Arabs had access, we find numerous metallic substances directed to be given internally." This and the indebtedness of Europe and Arabia to it shows that science, even in those days, was not to be despised and that even to-day there may be hidden some valuable knowledge in those ancient books in spite of the fact that many of their theories have been disproved.

MEDICINE IN ANCIENT BABYLON

A writer who is accepted as an authority on all things connected with the life and history of the people of Assyria and Babylon, has given an excellent summary of the medical system which was in vogue in these two countries. Though the knowledge of the Babylonians cannot be said to equal that of the Hindus in ancient times, it is evident from the summary referred to that the profession of medicine was well-organized, and systematic and the long list of fines to which a surgeon was liable if he accidentally inflicted unnecessary damage on a patient in treating him shows that the profession was one that carried with it grave responsibilities. As with the study of medicine in India, Arabia, Persia, and China, it is always a difficult problem to separate the magical from the practical. Any reference to the medical system of these countries must concern itself in some measure with the supernatural aspect of the doctor's work, for the doctor himself was never able, altogether to alienate himself from it. If he prescribed a drug for a particular disease, it was necessary to indicate spells to be used at the same time. Many of the drugs used were most successful, and have been acknowledged by later peoples to have considerable medicinal merit, but their efficacy was very much increased by the employment of the magical incantations. Students have been able to recognize many of the diseases mentioned in the cuneiform tablets, but, as yet, there are many names which have baffled their

search. With a greater knowledge of the medical literature however, greater success in this direction may be attained. Sudden plagues, such as cholera are met with in all periods of their history; dysentery, typhoids, small-pox and similar pests were frequent visitors; malaria was prevalent in the swampy districts, and a peculiar skin eruption known as "Baghdad Boil" appears to have been well-known. There is a tablet in the British Museum which gives a minute description of the omens that follow the appearance of the "button" on the body, while reports issued by the King's Governors mention its presence in various parts. Before referring to the practical side of the medical work, it will be of interest to show how closely related, in the mind of the people and the doctor, were the two forms of disease and treatment.

The principal causes to which sickness was ascribed were the visitation of some god or goddess, to the attack of a devil, and the machinations of sorcerers. An examination of the cuneiform texts makes it clear that the idea of there being some god, demon, or ghost, which was troubling the sick person, was paramount in the mind of the people, and they were convinced that no other remedy would be of avail unless the intruder was first driven out. The god Ea, is the deity of the healing art, but the physician finds it necessary to appeal to this supreme power through his son, Marduk who is supposed to intercede with his father on behalf of the patient. In addition to the "Word of power" i.e., the name of some divinity invoked by the physician, it is necessary to have the knowledge of the name or the description of the devil which he hopes to expel, and some substance which possesses medicinal qualities whereby he may complete the cure. Having discovered who the devil or ghost is that is troubling the patient, the drug is applied together with incantations suitable to the case. Two of the methods by which the devil was driven from the sick man are worthy of reference. The first known as 'the atonement' is based on the principle that the demon causing the sickness must have a substitute for the victim, so a young pig or kid is taken, slaughtered, and placed near the patient. At the word of command the devil leaves the man and enters the body of the kid or other animal provided for the purpose. The second method employed rids the patient of the evil by causing the spirit to leave him, and to enter the figure

of an image made in clay or dough. "The magician took various herbs, put them in a pot of water, sprinkled the sick man with them, and made 'atonement' for him; he then modelled a dough image of his patient, poured out his magic water on him, and fumigated him with incense. Then, just as the water trickled away from his body was supposed to trickle off, the water being caught in some receptacle beneath, and poured forth abroad that the sickness might be dissipated. Much more might be said of the magical side of the medical profession.

Turning now to the more practical side of their work we find that they did not lack a certain measure of skill in the use of drugs and the knife. The number of plants mentioned on the tablets must have been very large, but unfortunately there is little to guide one to identify them. They were used freely, and were efficacious in the curing of minor diseases. Complaints of the stomach, liver, bowels, are dealt with according to definite rules and prescriptions. 'When a man's inside eats him,' he is to give the haltappanuplant and salt pounded up and dissolved in water or fermented drink; in the case of 'the food being returned to the mouth' the head and breast were to be bound and certain drugs eaten in honey, mutton fat, or butter, while the patient was to be denied certain kinds of food during a stated period and was not permitted to wash; a mixture of 'salt of the mountain' and amanu-salt pounded together and put in fermented liquor, which was to be drunk on an empty stomach; diseases of the liver are treated by garlic or cassia drunk in beer or large draughts of beer or 'wine water'; jaundice which is carefully described, was recognized as a dangerous disease, but certain drugs were found to cure even this evil. It is interesting to note that even in those days drunkenness was a failing, and the medical men of Babylonia had to prescribe suitable remedies for these unfortunates. "When a man has drunk fermented drink, and his head aches and he forgets his speech and in speaking is incoherent, and his understanding is lost, and his eyes are fixed, mix the eleven plants together, and let him drink them in oil and fermented drink before the approach of Gula in the morning before dawn, before any one kisses him.

There are certain ideas that will persist through many ages, even after the advent of more scientific knowledge. To-day the

Arabs of Mesopotamia believe that tooth-ache is due to particular worm, which can be extracted by the application of dried withanifera, after which the worm will drop out of the mouth. This theory of tooth-ache dates back several centuries before the Christian era, for accounts of its origin are to be found on the tablets. Snake-bite is treated by the patient eating the willow root which has been previously peeled, or by drinking a portion of Si-Si plant in fermented liquor; the sting of the scorpion by mixing some of the eleven plants with the oil of cedar; the Baghdad boil or 'Mosul button' was frequently treated; the troubles of the head 'when a man's brain holds fire' are all described and prescribed for. The writer referred to, states that, as yet, no accounts confirmatory of the custom mentioned by Herodotus that the Babylonians were wont to bring their sick into the marketplace for the advice of any who might suggest a remedy, have been found on the thousands of tablets etc. that have been discovered and deciphered. He suggests that what Herodotus thought were sick people brought by their friends were merely the lame, halt and blind, who sat begging in the market-place. In letters extant there are accounts of surgical operations, and criticisms of the operations performed by other doctors, all of which point to the fact that, while the Babylonians were severely handicapped from a scientific point of view by the great part the magic was forced to play in their profession, they had a good understanding of the value of herbs, a successful treatment of many diseases and a knowledge of surgery which enabled them, at least, to perform minor operations.

MEDICINE IN ANCIENT PERSIA

Some years ago one of the Parsi medical men published in Bombay a treatise called *The Zoroastrian Sanitary Code*, in which he attempted with considerable skill, to prove that the systems of Medicine and Hygiene contained in the Avesta were of great value, and especially "to show my co-religionists how well the laws of the Vendidad enacted for the preservation of health and for the observance of the purity of things are in harmony with the laws of hygiene and the principles of the science of medicine." We are prepared to render all honour to the claims of present-day writers who exalt the medical systems of India, Persia, Arabia, and

other nations practised long ago, provided they are prepared to recognize there has been considerable advance since those early days. In lands where civilization reached such a height it would be strange if the healing art of medicine should not also have reached a high standard. Recognizing the deficiencies of the knowledge possessed by these Persians regarding many of the commonplaces of present-day medicine we are nevertheless compelled to acknowledge that their system as expounded in the Avesta is one from which lessons invaluable for the needs of to-day may be gained. There is a great deal of magic mixed up with their system, but generally speaking, the Persians based much of their science on sound principles. It is an open question as to how far Iranian medicine was influenced by Indian and Greek systems, but it is not unlikely that both countries sent doctors to the courts of the Kings. At all epochs of Iranian history there appear to have been Greek physicians at the court of the Shahs, Demokses under Darius: under the Sassanians there were several Greek physicians and Spiegel believes that at that time there were also Hindu doctors serving the Shahs. The number of Greek physicians was probably large, and they doubtless often competed with the native ones in the great cities.

Dealing with the literature of the early period, the Avesta, we find that medicine is in large part associated with magic, and traces its origin according to the Vendidad, to the hero Thritas, the first great physician described as "the first of these heroic active benevolent men with magic power, brilliant, powerful before the giving of the law who made the various diseases cease." In response to an appeal to Ahura Mazada he was granted thousands and millions of medical plants amongst which was the source of all medicines, the mysterious *Goakerena*. Thretona or Faridun is also credited with the honour of discovering the power of medicine, and a recent writer points out that the amulets worn by modern Persians bear the name of Faridun. Aairyman a personification of prayer, is also closely associated with the healing art, and in later writings he becomes the tutelary genius of physicians to whom he grants special powers over the body. Several attempts have been made to recognize in the names of diseases found in the Avesta the diseases common to-day, but the work of Geiger has scarcely been

improved upon. Many of the names are obscure but it seems certain that fevers, diseases of the head, skin-diseases which were a special scourge of Persia, venereal diseases, carbuncle, small-pox, were known and treated. Many of the names are mere conjecture but those mentioned are well-supported by authorities. According to the sacred book, medicine is divided into three sections—those dealing with the knife (*kerata*), herbs (*urvara*), and formula (*manthra*). It will be seen that the Greek classification—surgery, medicine, and prayer followed this. On the latter great stress was laid and the following example of a manthra or prayer frequently used is typical. 'I conjure thee, disease.' 'I conjure thee death.' 'I conjure thee burning.' 'I conjure thee fever.' 'I conjure thee headache,' etc. The physician who can use manthras with success is considered according to the Avesta, the greatest of all. Turning from his magic aspect we come to the more practised side, and there we see the Iranian doctor worked on a regular system. The training was not so elaborate or trying as the medical courses in Western medicine, but we are informed, "the candidate is to practise not on a Mazdean but on *adaeva* worshipper, that is, the follower of any other religion. Should he operate upon one such with fatal result, and again a second and third time, he is declared incapable for ever of practising either medicine or surgery. Should he persevere and injure a Mazdean, he is guilty of crime equivalent to homicide. After three successful experiments however, he is considered a fully qualified medical man. Interesting regulations were made stating the amount of the time that should not be exceeded by a doctor, between the intimation of illness, and his arrival at the place, while the fees to be paid were also on a regular scale. These were paid according to the rank of a person and were often given in kind. If he attends on a priest, the only coin he receives is of the nature of prayers and blessings; if on the chiefs of households, or villages, or lands, or provinces, he receives from them respectively, an ass, horse, camel, a yoke of four horses. In the case of attendance on the females, corresponding female animals are paid. From the earliest times the position of doctor carried with it the care and treatment of animals and the Vendidad states that regular fees were ordained by the Avesta for his labour in this department.

We find in the later literature of Persia the system of medicine comprises five divisions, medicine, (herbs) formulæ, fire, acid and the knife. These divisions are given in the book treating of Iranian medicine, the *Dinhart*, and thus vary somewhat from the original three of the Avesta. The chapter of this great work which deals with medicine treats the subject under four heads (1) medicine, (2) the medical man, (3) diseases, (4) remedies. The need for prophylactic measure is recognized and the "master of health" is supposed to devote himself largely to the preventive branch of the work. The healer (*bijishak*) is expected to concentrate his energies on the healing art. Such a physician is described by the writer. "He should know the limbs of the body, their articulations, remedies for the disease; should possess his own cattisage and an assistant; should be amiable, without jealousy, gentle in word, free from haughtiness; an enemy to disease, but the friend of the sick; respecting modesty, free from crime, from injury, from violence; expeditions; the right hand of the window; noble in action, protecting good reputation; not acting for gain, but for a spiritual reward; ready to listen; skilled to prepare health giving plants medically in order to deliver the body from disease, to expel corruption and impurity; to further peace and multiply the delights of life."

In this book the writer declares that all diseases are the result of the actions of the Evil Spirit. In the soul he causes every kind of vice and evil passion and in the body he causes cold, dryness, evil odour, corruptions, hunger, thirst, old age and pain and all other diseases which result in death. There are two kinds of health, of the body and the health of the soul. The physician is trained to recognize these two divisions and to provide the suitable remedies for them. In the last section of the book, the action of the blood, food is explained, also the necessary interdependence of spiritual and corporal medicine. The physician of the body and the physician of the soul worked hand in hand for the Persian always believed strongly in the close relation of the two. "The matter on which the physician exercises his art is defined to be, for the spiritual body; for the corporal physician the human body endowed with a soul." With respect to the latter the king or sovereign was the recognized head, while the high priest was the head of the spiritual faculty.

Anarkali

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

POMEGRANATE blossom ! A beautiful name and it belonged to a beautiful woman. The walled and unwall'd city of Lahore is a city of many memories. Round about this city must have been established the first colonies of the ancient Aryan settlers and colonists, and somewhere near Lahore must have been the metropolis of Aryavarta. Within historical times Lahore was a famous seat of Moghul power and the fort at Lahore is a Moghul citadel. Still later, it was the capital of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, and his ashes are deposited in a *samadhi* facing the fort. The Emperor Jehangir lies buried near the bank of the Ravi, while the Empress Nur-Jehan, his famous consort, was buried in an unpretentious tomb near by.

Poets and poetasters have composed verses about the bazaars of several Indian cities and towns. The biggest bazaar in the walled city of Lahore is the Dubbi Bazaar and I still remember a quaint distich about it that was frequently heard thirty or forty years ago :—

शौकीन बुदिया नानखतार्ई ।
डब्बीबजार जाके नाक कटार्ई ॥

*Shaukin buriah nankhatai,
Dubbi bazaar ja ke nak katai.*

"The fashionable old woman wanted to eat the sweetmeat called *nankhatai* ; she went to Dubbi bazaar and her nose was cut off (she was put to shame)."

The most famous bazaar, however, of Lahore is the Anarkali bazaar, which runs along a straight road just outside the Lohari Gate. Formerly it had an unsavoury reputation, for the women of the town congregated in this quarter. When Lala Lajpat Rai was a member of the Lahore Municipal Committee he rendered an important social service by carrying a resolution for the evacuation of Anarkali bazaar by these unfortunate women, who have now shifted elsewhere. Off the Lower Mall, which used at one time to be the fashionable residential quarter of Lahore, stands the tomb of Anarkali, which is treated

as a protected monument under Lord Curzon's Act and part of which is utilized for the Financial Commissioner's office. On the tomb itself is inscribed the following Persian couplet :

*Ta Kajamat shukr goyum kirdgare kheesh ra,
Ah, gur mun bax becnun ru-e yari kheesh ra.*
"To the day of Judgment will I give thanks to my Creator,
Ah, if I could see the face of my beloved
once more, Salim, son of Akbar."

Who was Anarkali ? The historians of the Moghul period make no mention of her name anywhere, and the story of her life and death is wrapped up in mystery and conjecture. The accounts that have come down through the years by word of mouth are conflicting. According to one she was a slave-girl in the harem of the Emperor Akbar. Prince Salim, afterwards Jehangir, fell in love with her and in his infatuation wanted to marry her. The result was that she was quietly put away. Death in the Imperial harem came silently and swiftly, and Anarkali was buried in a pauper's grave without ceremony. It must be presumed that after Akbar's death Jehangir raised the mausoleum that stands to this day and the inscription was engraved by his orders. It is significant that the name below the inscription is that of Salim, thus showing that it was the memory of an early love that was consecrated. It was the Prince Salim who was the sorrowing lover, but it was the Emperor Jehangir who erected the monument. Another account says that Anarkali belonged to the class of fallen women and she was buried alive because she had presumed to entangle the son and heir of the Emperor in her siren's wiles. The truth about Anarkali will never be known and it lies buried in her tomb. Any way, the pomegranate blossom withered early and a deep tragedy is associated with her memory.

I witnessed a private performance of a film of Anarkali by the Great Eastern Corporation Ltd., Delhi, at the residence of a friend. The scenario-writer has

represented Anarkali as the daughter of a Persian trader, who met with some misfortune and left his country with his family. The party was captured by brigands on the borders of India. Anarkali, who was then known as Nadira, and was very beautiful, was seized by the bandit-chief as his prize, but her father and others were killed. Nadira was soon afterwards rescued by the troopers of Raja Mansingh, Governor of Kabul, who sent her to the court of the Emperor Akbar, who was then residing at Lahore. She was much admired for her beauty, was renamed Anarkali and sent into the Imperial harem.

At that time another slave-girl was the favourite of Salim, but she was completely eclipsed by the new arrival with whom the prince fell head over ears in love. This in itself was nothing very serious, but Salim went so far as to propose to marry the girl. The discarded favourite spied upon the lovers and roused the suspicion of Akbar. Anarkali was arrested and cast into prison. Salim passionately entreated his mother, the Empress Mariam Zamani Jodhabai, to save Anarkali, but she was powerless to help him. Salim next bribed the guards and he and Anarkali escaped in a boat down the Ravi, but their freedom was of short duration. They were soon captured and Anarkali was buried alive.

The film shows vivid and living photographs of Anarkali Bazaar, bright moonlight scenes of Shalimar with the lovers strolling in the gardens, large caravans of camels passing through wild and dusty regions, and the last tragic scene in which a living tomb is built over the despairing Anarkali. And watching the screen my memory went back to the many tragedies that Lahore has witnessed in the years that have passed, to say nothing of tragedies enacted before our own eyes. When Salim rebelled against his father and took refuge in the Lahore fort the Imperial army seized him and his followers. He was pardoned but seven hundred of the latter were impaled on the bank of the Ravi and perished of thirst within sight of the river. Close to Lahore is the *samadhi* of the boy-martyr Hakikat Rai, who surrendered his life rather than renounce his faith.

Naunehal Singh, the young Sikh prince, was crushed to death on his elephant by part of the brickwork of one of the gates falling upon him.

Yet the sharpest tragedy that occurred to me at the moment was that which followed the loves of Salim, the prince, and Jehangir, the Emperor. The Moghuls had many loves, but Jehangir was an ardent and a tempestuous lover. Of the women he loved two names have come down to modern times, one in history and the other in popular tradition. Salim saw and loved Meher-un-nisa while he was a boy. She became another man's wife but he never forgot her and when he reigned in his father's stead he had the husband slain in battle and the young widow brought to his seraglio. Jehangir made her his wife and as his love for her grew with the years she became for him the Light of the Palace, Nur Mahal, and afterwards the Light of the World, Nur Jehan. She was as gifted as she was beautiful and she ruled not only over the Emperor's heart but over the empire. Anarkali, on the other hand, was merely an episode in the love-strewn career of Salim and her tragic story was a very brief one.

The irony of time has changed the positions of these two fair women. After Jehangir's death Nur Jehan was banished from the Moghul court and she passed the remaining years of her life in obscurity in a village in the Punjab. After her death the body was not permitted to be deposited near the tomb of Jehangir and she was buried in a small grave at some distance. In Lord Curzon's time the tomb was repaired and it is now kept in a decent condition. But even now the tomb of the Empress Nur Jehan cannot be identified for she lies buried side by side with her daughter and there is nothing to show which of the two is her tomb. She lives in history but no one mentions her name in Lahore, nor is her tomb a conspicuous sight of Lahore. History makes no mention of Anarkali and she might have been a slave-girl or a hetaera, but the best-known bazaar of Lahore is named after her and her remains lie buried in an imposing mausoleum.

Tagore and Gandhi

By G. RAMACHANDRAN

WORDS can be more than a mere combination of letters bearing a particular meaning. Words can be things of power. Our scriptures talk of a time when words had magic, the magic of some dynamic potency. The ancient *mantrams* were just words, but words with this magic—the magic known in our philosophy as *Prana*. Men perfected through discipline, through realization, uttered these *mantrams*. It was the ancient Wisdom. The *Rishis* opened their mouths and spoke, and in the world of our ancient scriptures, the elements obeyed; the tempest ceased; the seas calmed; the very dead awoke. From the *tapovanas* hid in the heart of forests, words just words leapt forth, words of flame, words of light.

To us of to-day, this might sound as so much nonsense. But let us pause a little and ask ourselves seriously—can words be things of power?

How often have we heard even village-folk say, "A mother's curse! that must tell," or "A good man's blessing! that is potent." Dare we say this is nonsense? The words that come out of the burning heart of a mother, do not the hardest quail before them? Indian philosophy recognizes a force, the most irresistible, the force of *Prana* and whenever words come charged with *Prana* they are things of power indeed.

Let us come to a familiar example—an audience listening to a great speech. As the words pour forth, rising and falling, the listeners sometimes gasp for breath or are lulled into dumb fascination. The speaker becomes the master of the moment, the potent charmer, and his words become symbols of power. When a people are in despair great words spoken greatly can put new life into hearts that droop, and mould into dynamic forces of action, weaklings and cowards. But all these are done by words, words cast in a particular mould. It might be argued that not the words, but the thoughts they convey possess the power. That is but part of the truth and a small part too at that. Any Jack or Jim can climb a platform and express the same thoughts and for all

we know the listeners might be left as cold as stone. But when the orator opens his mouth, chooses his words, and wings them with the flame which inherently belongs to them, hearts are flung about and dead and drooping things leap into life. Words thus become more than a means, a conveyance, and become in a sense an end in themselves. But the oratorical word with its particular mould and the magic that belongs to that mould, are rather passing things. They are quickly put out and when the voice becomes hushed they cease to burn, though in the moment of glow great movements of emotion might be started. But a sense of temporariness is somehow mixed up with the oratorical word. They pass like a summer storm.

But there are words which find another mould, a different rhythm and a deeper and permanent music. These words while they lack a purely tempestuous element of power, possess by virtue of an intrinsic genius a profound and eternal energy. These constitute the poetic-word. The poetic-word when it is truest is the Soul-Word.

The poetic-word like the oratorical word seeks its own rhythm, mould, and music. The poetic-word which has its birth in particular moods and moments of vision in the human soul, tends inevitably towards its own mould. The poetic-word is generally the vessel holding for time everlasting, some aspect of reality glimpsed during fleeting moments of vision by the vibrant soul of a poet. But when the poetic word is true, when it comes out of the truly poetic mood of a soul which has the gift of poetic vision, it becomes more than a vessel holding a precious substance and giving it shape. The vessel becomes then a thing of radiance, not borrowed but its very own, perfecting what it holds. It is like a coloured crystal bowl that holds fresh water. The liquid borrows the colour of the bowl and assumes a new beauty, and the bowl without the liquid should have had to endure the cold dignity of emptiness. So with the poetic word which holds a vision. It gives form, adds colour,

and moulds into beauty the vision which otherwise would often be but a barren thing. The vision gives in turn, fulness to the poetic word.

A. E. has written : "In poetry is found the highest and sincerest utterances of the human spirit. All poetry is written on the Mount of Transfiguration and there is revelation in it and the mingling of Heaven and Earth." Why is the poetic word the highest and sincerest utterance of the human spirit? In a word because the poet becomes in the moment of creation an instrument for the expression of the highest and noblest visions. To arrive at truth the seeker must become in a sense profoundly impersonal. None can become absolutely detached, but more than any mood, the poetic mood is perhaps the most so. When a reformer of social or political morals speaks, since he is intimately tied down to the objective world by virtue of his particular insight into actuality, it is well-nigh impossible for him to be impersonal. It has been given only to a very few social and moral reformers to be unpoised by their bondage to the objective world of actuality. But to the poet the objective world acts merely as a stimulus and not as a bondage—bondage in the sense that the actuality monopolizes all his attention and demands the concentration of all his energies. If the objective world assumes undue importance and proportion, and becomes more than a stimulus, the fountain of the poetic-word begins to dry up and harden into certain courses of conduct and action. The poetic mood which when true refuses to be drawn into the bondage of the objective world has its supreme offering to the highest needs of the human spirit. And the *highest needs* need not be the *primary needs*. This offering is what I venture to term the Soul-word.

The Soul-word energizes into eternal life the visions of Reality which pass before the eyes of a poet. And the poet is he who can sing "Our hearts were drunk with a Beauty our eyes could never see." Others too might see kindred visions but if their mood is not the mood of the poet then they let them go, and are not vitally affected, or are affected in a manner that drives them to immediate action. But the poet does neither. His genius tends in a different manner altogether. He weaves around the vision the exquisite web of his art. He seeks to hold the vision in this web. *He puts the vision into the*

vessel of the Soul-word and makes it live for ever and live in such a manner that all men in knowing the Soul-word may know and throb to the vision. The Soul-word is a perpetual spring of inspiration.

Here are some poetic lines which we might study from the standpoint of the Soul-word.

"Here is Thy footstool, and there rest Thy
feet
Where live the poorest, the lowliest, and
the lost,
When I try to bow to Thee, my obeisance
cannot
Reach down to the depth, where rest Thy
feet
Among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost.
Pride can never approach to where Thou
walkest

In the clothes of the humble,
Among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost.
My heart can never find its way to where
Thou keepest

Company with the companionless,
Among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost."
Something in the objective world has become the stimulus. The utter misery of the poor, their tragic loneliness and resignation, these touch the exquisitely sensitive mind of the poet into life, the life of the poetic mood. The poet loses himself in his contemplation. He broods upon this tragedy and his mind becomes a burning thing. He asks himself the question : where then is justice and where do these poor come in for God's love and compassion? And then slowly there dawns in his mind a vision. God himself, the God of his passionate imagination is there, among these despised ones clothed as one of them, their friend, their guide, their comrade. The heart of the poet rejoices. God is great. An irresistible impulse of adoration takes hold of him. He must needs bow and touch God's feet. But lo ! his obeisance cannot reach down to the depth "Where rest his feet among the poorest the lowliest and the lost". This is the vision. It is held in the exquisite web of the Soul-word and is immortalized. We who know the Soul-word can thrill with the poet and throb to his vision. We become the inheritors of his precious experience. And look too, at the words, these mere words "The poorest, the lowliest, and the lost". How complete is the picture these simple words evoke ?

Now let us imagine a man with the genius of action in the poet's place ; for it

is possible for a *Karmayogin* too to have as great a vision. He too with a burning heart can contemplate on these "Sad ones discrowned in the night" but as he so contemplates, the objective reality which becomes the subject of his contemplation, assumes overwhelming importance for him. He moves directly towards action, in this case *identification* with "the poorest the lowliest and the lost." He has not what I call the attitude of poetic detachment. In his contemplation also, there is present detachment, but of a different kind. It is more the philosophic detachment which expresses itself in indifference towards the consequences of his action—an indifference which is the vital corollary to his genius. But poetic detachment is essentially different. The objective world which faces the hero of action demands "Let me take hold of you and use you to set myself right". It is the privilege of the *Karmayogin* to surrender himself and become the instrument of supreme service. But the world of objective reality cannot catch the poet so easily. The poet just eludes its grip. He flings in its face the poetic-word—his only response. But the *Karmayogin* surrenders himself, passes through fire and flood, and the path of his expression becomes what I shall call the Soul-deed.

The Soul-word and the Soul-deed are fruits of the same spiritual mood. How then does the same mood express itself in these two different ways? Because there is a fundamental difference between the mind of the poet and the mind of the *Karmayogin*. Hence the same spiritual experience strikes different notes on their minds. The note on the one produces the harmony of the Soul-word and on the other, the heroism of the Soul-deed. But I claim that the difference is not that while the one acts the other lives in a state of poetic inaction; I claim that the Soul-word of the poet-seer, who gazing at the face of reality makes eternal his visions, is as much an action, as the concrete labour of the *Karmayogin*. Only, the poet acts in a finer and more exquisite plane of human emotions.

Rabindranath stands for the Soul-word. Gandhi stands for the Soul-deed. This does not mean that either of them is hopelessly bound down to his own sphere of action. But the genius of the one does not seek its ultimate fulfilment in the sphere which belongs to the other. Tagore is not

merely the Poet Laureate of Asia but the great thinker who has offered to awakening India some of the most concrete ideals of national reconstruction. He has surrendered many good things of life to realize his ideals. He is the servant of humanity who claims his place in the ranks of the toilers of the earth. Sriniketan with its concrete endeavours to reconstruct the shattered life of the villager is the creation of the very mind from which have flowed the melodies of the Gitanjali. Mahatma Gandhi is great not merely in the field of action. He has his place in the realm of thought and imagination. He too has dreamt a great white dream of love, compassion, and beauty. He has created ideals that stir us to the depths of our being, ideals that call us out of our little narrow lives into the vast world of promise and adventure. But primarily and vitally the one stands for the Soul-word and the other for the Soul-deed.

The master of the Soul-word when he tries to step into the domain of the Soul-deed is necessarily on weak ground. So with the *Karmayogin* when he crosses over to the sphere of the Soul-word. Each then finds himself in a world where the things that abound there look queer and strange and sometimes meaningless. When Tagore enters the world of Gandhi and sees spinning wheels and carding bows, the one humming and the other thrumming, as he watches the austere and disciplined workers, clothed in raiment looking suspiciously like gunny bags, their feet covered with dust, and their brows sweating with labour, even though he intellectually grasps the fact that all these are inspired by love and compassion, he yet asks himself in bewildered anxiety whether this world with its discipline, and its monotonous round of labour, can compare with his own radiant world of movement, colours, music, and fragrance, where God daily paints the skies with silver and gold, and where the very leaves murmur love-songs. So too Gandhi, who has disciplined his senses and brought his volcanic impulses under the control of a searching intellect and an iron will, as he enters the world of Tagore, cannot help asking what possibly could be the meaning of this riot of colours, and song, and dance, when out in the wide world men are dying of hunger, and penury, where darkness more and more intense is creeping into the cottages of the poor, and even into their souls, and when the primary duty of

every one is to minister unto the poor and the needy.

The poetic mind is not often analytical. It is more in its nature to be synthetic. On the other hand, the ethical idealism, which, dominates the mind of Gandhi, does not give free scope for the aesthetic impulses, the impulses that wander after the lotus-feet of Beauty.

Every one that seeks perfection in the unfolding of one part of his nature must find that perfection, but must lose the ultimate perfection which I conceive as a perfection of harmony.

Bergson has said that the best way to understand a thing is not to look at it from without going round and round, but to get right into the heart of the thing by a movement of sympathy, or of what he calls intuition, and then just to open our eyes and see. The best way to understand a thing is this direct movement of sympathy of the mind. The intellect can at best have only a view of the object from a particular point of view. But intuition by virtue of its own illumination reveals the essence of a problem. Now the poet, the great creative artist, can possess this power of pure intuition only when he is in his own world. The *Karmayogin* too sees his way in his world by the light of his intuition. As long as both are in the spheres which belong to them by virtue of their genius, this intuition guides them, for intuition is the luminous quality of the movement of personality. The movement of the poet's personality is towards creation in the realm of the Soul-word. In the *Karmayogin*, the movement of personality is towards the Soul-deed. But when either of them interferes with this dominating movement of personality, then their intuitions get dim. The poet might, out of compassion, get into a struggle with concrete reality. But because this intuition then fails him, since he has interfered with the ultimate movement of his personality, he has to fall back on his intellect to guide him and the intellect cannot grasp reality. This is why when Tagore writes on the *charka* he wanders into forests of similes and metaphors, which confuse the issues involved and which have as little or as much to do with the problems of the *charka*, as the fair lily in the cool pool with the hard pebble on the footpath.

So too with Gandhi. In an article written in answer to the poet's criticism of the

charka, Gandhi wrote referring obviously to the poet, or to creations of art generally,

"The world easily finds a place of honour for the magician who produces new and dazzling things."

We dare not accept the implications of this assertion. The creations of art are not merely dazzling or glittering. There can be precious gold too in it. In fact, every great creation of art has a vital message to the human spirit. Just consider Rabindranath's songs in Santiniketan. When dawn is yet a lisping infant in the far East, and the sal-trees hold the diamond stars in their shadowy foliage, the girls slowly pass flooding the *Ashram* sunk in morning peace, with a song, just as a song only, and as I listen my heart leaps up and is as deeply moved as when I discover some new beauty in the heroism of Gandhi. These songs the fair blossoms of a poet's creation, have a vital value and are as much a part of truth as acts of compassion and service. These songs too are in a sense acts of compassion; only it is a compassion subtler and more elusive. Not that Gandhi is unmoved by beauty. As with Kant he has gone into raptures over the starry heavens. At Delhi he asked me with kindling eyes: "What art can give me this starry sky, with its many millions of stars, vast, beautiful, great?" But beauty is only a minister to his soul. It enables him as a friend, to go forward on his ceaseless search. But to the poet, Beauty becomes enthroned in Heaven. Gandhi who places emphasis on restraint, who has brought his own impulses under the control of a searching intellect and an iron will, therefore holds that art merely dazzles. He once said to me, "the skeletons of Orissa haunt my dreams and waking hours. What will save them is beautiful to my eyes". Here we have the foundation of even his aesthetics.

And then Gandhi has also said: "The world easily finds a place of honour for the 'magician who creates' what he considers dazzling things". Has the world so easily found a place for the creators of art?

Romain Rolland! Did the world easily find a place of honour for this magician, probably the greatest in Europe? No, even to-day he is an exile on the lakes of Switzerland. Keats died of a broken heart. And Rabindranath with all his genius! Was it an easy path for him too? What heart-burns were his? With what bitter mockeries did not the upholders of traditions mock

him? Even to-day when the world of man has accepted him does not Bengal, nay India, itself, nurse one bitterness or other against him? No, the world is not an easy place for the creators of new things. Every great artist who creates anew must also face his Golgotha. But is the end of our story to say that Tagore is Tagore and Gandhi is Gandhi? In a sense emphatically yes, and perhaps it is best so. But is it not possible to discover some ultimate ideal which might be for us a criterion.

To me the ideal of ultimate perfection is a perfection in harmony—a harmony in which everything that is vital in life will have its legitimate place. Life is complex. There are in it many and conflicting elements. To grasp and mould into a synthetic harmony all the manifold elements of life in a way that takes us to the state which in the Gita, Sri Krishna describes as :—

"Like the ocean
Day by day receiving
Floods from all lands,
Which never overflows
The boundary line,
Not leaping, not leaving,
Fed by the rivers,
But unswelled by those,
Such is the perfect one,
To his soul's ocean,
The world of sense pours
Streams of witchery ;
They leave him as they find,
Without commotion,
*Taking their tribute,
But remaining the sea*".

To harmonize, to find the synthesis of the different elements which constitute the complex structure of life, seems to me to be the very highest possible and the most alluring of ideals. None might ever have achieved; nor found this ultimate harmony. Perhaps none ever will. But it certainly is given unto us to make our lives a dedication to that ideal. Christ has said, "Be ye perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect." It is for us to project for our guiding star, the very highest aspiration, or ideal, that is possible for us to conceive of. The problem of practicality need not at all perturb us.

But here we come upon a yet new

problem. The moods of arriving at this harmony or ultimate synthesis will differ and yet the synthesis can be achieved. The synthesis might be reached, either through the path of a gradual movement along a direct line of constant endeavour, or by the sudden intuitive movements of the mind.

I do not claim that either Gandhi or Tagore has reached this ultimate synthesis. But both are slowly coming to it; and probably bound to attain it. The mode of movement is not the same. Gandhi moves along the straight narrow path of incessant endeavour, every endeavour leaving a transforming touch on his personality and completing it slowly. It is a slow and toilsome march but along a path that all can tread. But in the case of Rabindranath, the poet seer, the progress is by rapid, and what seems wayward, movements. His poetic soul breaks out into echoes of laughter at the straight and narrow path. He must feed along the bye-paths. He dare not pass by anything. He goes a certain way and then vanishes in quick wayward movements, leaving behind only the echo of his laughter which may be exquisite songs; but in another mood of the soul he rises on wings of lightning and in a moment of time, of vision, he is one with the heart of Reality.

For the generality of mankind, for the millions, the slow and steady movement of the Gandhian path is the only path. It is difficult and thorny but certain. But only to a few is possible the radiant flight of the poet. The approach of Gandhi is more intellectual, and ethical; that of Tagore more emotional and aesthetic. None dare judge which is the better way. We accept the one or the other as our own nature dictates. Who dare say that the call of the one is more spiritual than the other or nobler? The call of a little flower, dew-laden in the infant morn, the call of suns and moons and stars, the call of the light that is in the eyes of Beauty, the call of the music that is in Beauty's footfalls—are not all these as imperious, as urgent, as the call of justice and compassion? So too shall not the creative interpreter of Beauty keep away from the bleeding tragedies of the "Sad ones discrowned in the night" if he seeks to comprehend the entirety of Truth?

Fascism and the Problem of Labour and Capital

By SUKUMAR ROY

TO those who judge Fascism by the Fiume incident or the Matteotti affair and regard Mussolini as 'the vicar of an invisible tyrant,' no better reply could be given than a review of the Fascist policy with regard to the problem of labour and capital. These people are as bad observers of historic movements as those impatient critics of the French Revolution, who confused it with the 'Reign of Terror.' Let them, for a moment, forget the black-shirts, the bludgeon and the castor-oil, and they shall discover that Fascism means much more than 'Fasci,' there are in it sound principles too. Fascism believes in violence, but violence as a 'surgical need' not as a system. Fascism has its destructive aspects. It has killed Socialism in Italy; it has thrown out the liberal parliamentary state; in short, it has destroyed the old order. But not only does it know how to destroy; it also knows how to build up. On the ruins of Socialism in Italy it has raised, in a somewhat enthusiastic phrase, "a new world to redress the balance of the old." It is reshaping the whole theory of state and government. It is building up a new social and economic order. Nowhere is this constructive aspect of Fascism more illustrated than in the system by which the problem of labour and capital is being dealt with. One should not prejudice such a study by a too facile conception of democracy and liberty.

In order to have a clear view of the Fascist policy towards the problem of labour and capital, one should have a knowledge of the Fascist conception of production because Fascism regards capital and labour not from a class point of view, but from the point of view of production as a whole. The Fascist conception of production is again closely related to the Fascist conception of the nation and the state. The whole theory of Fascism is based on the essential community of interest of all classes of people, the nation forming a single moral, economic and social unity. Herein lies the fundamental difference between Fascism and Bolshevism. Bolshevism is a class movement whose ideal is the

dictatorship of a class—the proletariat. According to the Fascist doctrine, the nation is the sole motive-force, the supreme ideal and the supreme reality. It is an organism whose life, ends and means of action are superior to those of the individuals and classes of which it is formed.* It supersedes all class, group and individual interests; classes and individuals should all subordinate themselves to the nation. Unlike the Liberal-Democratic theory Fascism holds that the individual exists for society and not society for the individual. The individual has duties before rights. The nation which is the supreme reality, realizes itself in the state, that is, the state is the expression and synthesis of the nation.

The Fascist conception of production is in conformity with these principles. It is interesting and somewhat novel, though not entirely original. In the Fascist doctrine, production in all forms, whether material or intellectual, is a social duty because it benefits the individual and develops the strength of the nation. The whole body of production is a single unit from the national point of view. It is for this reason that production and all that concerns production should be under the guardianship of the state.† But Fascism does not annul the individual in the state. Article 9 of the Carta del Lavoro definitely declares that it "considers private initiative in the field of production as the most useful and efficacious instrument for the interests of the Nation." Fascism regards labour as an organic function of society, as the foundation of human welfare and progress. It interprets the term 'labour' in a broader sense so as to include the head as well as the hand—the exertion of the mind as well as the use of the spade or the wheel. But unlike Socialism or Bolshevism, Fascism does recognise the supreme importance of capital in the field of production. And because it recognises the importance of capital, it also recognises

* Art 1. La Carta del Lavoro. Dec. 3, 1928.

† Art 2. *Ibid.*

private property. For the abolition of private property means the suppression of capital and the suppression of capital is the ruin of all production. But Fascism has a conception of its own regarding property—which lies between the liberal theory and the Bolshevist doctrine. According to Bolshevism the State is the sole proprietor and individuals have only the right of enjoyment. The liberal theory, on the other hand, regards individuals as absolute owners of it. Fascism recognises the right to ownership, but on condition that its exercise serves national ends. It regards property not merely as a personal possession but also as a social function. Unlike Bolshevism, Fascism does not believe that there is any inherent antagonism between the man who has work to give and the man who does the work, between the capitalist and the worker. It does not believe that the aggregate of forces, which in industry, in agriculture, in commerce, is called by the familiar name of Capitalism is, as Marx would have it, nearing its collapse. Fascism regards capitalists, experts, and labourers as necessary parts of the great productive machine. But it condemns the Capitalist system as regards its unjust treatment of the employed, just as it condemns the Socialist system because of its odious hatred against the capitalists. People often speak of the Capitalist tyranny, and they are justified. But they should not forget in their enthusiasm the fact of the labour tyranny that is fast growing. Fascism is a revolt against the democratic tyranny of the trade unions as well as against the irresponsible autocracy of a worn-out capitalist regime both of which undermine national production. It is Mazzinian in its ideal of co-operation between the different classes and anti-Marxist in its repudiation of the hostility between capital and labour. Fascism strives to harmonize their conflicting claims. It subordinates the interests of the classes to the higher interests of production. Production is its motto. Fascism adopts, in the words of Signor Cucini,

"A national labour policy, *viz.*, that all the forces of production and labour should be disciplined and directed towards a single aim, that not only the forces of the various categories of workers, but also and above all, those of the employers should subordinate their own particular interests to that supreme reality, the Nation."

Fascism declares the international solidarity of the working classes to be a myth. * It

* "Experience proves to us," declared Signor

considers the fate of the worker as bound up with that of the nation. It attempts to bring labour organisations from what has been termed "vapid internationalism" within the orbit of the nation.

Fascism is not a bourgeois plot against labour or a mere capitalist move. It is not anti-proletariat, as is the prevailing notion. Fascism, indeed, dealt a deathblow to Socialism. But it is against Socialistic anarchy rather than against Socialism. It is against its doctrines of class-warfare and the abolition of private property. It is a champion of "sane individualism" against Socialism as "a mechanical equalizer of human values". But Fascism is not against its noble mission of doing justice to the working classes. It never resisted their legitimate rights. We need only quote a few lines from the speeches of Signor Mussolini on various occasions: (a) "We are not against Labour, but against the Socialist Party in so far as it remains anti-Italian. (May, 1920 at Milan), (b) "The Fascist Government cannot and does not wish to be anti-proletariat. The workmen are a vital part of the nation (Dec. 1922 at Milan), (c) "You can rest assured that in this Italy the workmen—all labourers both of the brains and of the hands, will take, as is right, the first place." (Jan. 1923) † Mussolini regards the working classes as "sacredly necessary" to the nation. The Fascist programme of Nov. 8, 1921, had in it social legislation such as the eight-hours' day, obligatory insurance against accidents, old age pensions etc. Indeed, Fascism strenuously attempts to better the moral and material condition of the working classes so much so that Dr. Gorgolini utters no paradox when he says that there exists most truly a Socialistic Fascism or a Fascist Socialism.

As regards the organisation of the forces of production, Fascism adopts Syndicalism which it regards as "a necessary aspect of modern life." Mussolini has a great predilection for syndicates and other co-operative undertakings, whether of employers or of

Rocco, "that there exists an intimate sense of solidarity within the Nation, and that this solidarity greatly exceeds any motives of solidarity which might unite the working classes of different nations, especially the working classes of a nation like Italy, which lacks raw materials and colonial possessions."

† Mussolini as Revealed in his Political Speeches by Barone Bernardo Quaranta di San Severino.

workers. He attaches great importance to Syndicalism and goes so far as to call Fascism "a syndicalist movement." But Fascist Syndicalism is different from Sorelian Syndicalism. The latter set the syndicate against the State while in the former the syndicate is subordinated to the State. Fascist Syndicalism opposes the idea of a conquest of power on the part of the proletariat by means of revolution. Its idea is the constitutional acquisition of power on the part of the working classes in cordial co-operation with other classes of society. Fascist Syndicalism differs from Sorelian Syndicalism in three fundamental points. Unlike the latter it accepts the patriotic idea, recognises the importance of capital, and considers the fate of the worker as bound up with that of the nation.

According to the "considered opinion" of the Whitley Committee or the British Committee on the Relations between Employers and Employed, "an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and the employed is that there should be adequate organisation on the part of both." It is for this purpose that Fascism has re-organised the whole Italian nation on the basis of occupational associations. By the Act of April 3, 1926 * syndicates of employers, workers, professional men and of experts may be legally recognised provided that, among other things, they protect the economic and moral interests of their members and also provide for their relief, instruction, and moral and civic training. (Art 1) † Federations of several syndicates or associations and confederations of several federations may be legally recognised. The State will confer upon one syndicate only, among all those which may exist for a single category of employers, employees, artists or professional men, the legal representation of the category as a whole in the district it covers. No association shall be recognised which, without authorization by the government, is affiliated with or dependent on international association (Art 6). Legally recognised associations have the right to represent legally all the

employers, employees, artists or professional men of the category for which they are constituted, whether members of the association or not, in the territorial area of the association. They have accordingly the power to stipulate collective contracts for work which are binding upon all persons belonging to the category, to protect their interests before the State and against other associations, to levy compulsory contributions on them and to perform, on their behalf, delegated functions of public interest. There shall be no mixed syndicates. Associations must comprise either only employers or only employees. Associations of employers and those of employees may, however, be united by means of co-ordinating bodies, but always maintaining the separate representation of employers and employees (Art III).

The formation of this co-ordinating body between employers' and the workers' associations, contemplated in Art III of the Act of April 3, 1926, was completed by the Regulations of July 1, of the same year.

Art 42 of the Regulations stipulate that "the co-ordinating bodies provided for in section 3 of the Act of April 3, 1926, shall be national in character. They shall unite the national syndical organisations of the various factors of production, employers, intellectual workers, and manual workers for a specified branch of production or for one or more specified categories of undertakings. The organisation thus united shall constitute a corporation". The corporation shall not possess legal personality, but shall constitute an administrative organ of the State.* It shall be constituted by a decree of the Minister of Corporations.† Art 44 deals with the functions of the corporations. They are (a) to conciliate the controversies which may arise between the organisations co-ordinated, (b) to promote, encourage, and sustain all measures to co-ordinate production and improve its organisation. Every corporation shall have a council consisting of delegates of the organisations which it co-ordinates. The representation of employers in the Council must be equal to that of the intellectual and manual workers together. (Art 46).

Syndicates of employers and employees,

* International Labour Office (Legislative Series, 1926.)

† Some exceptions are specified in the Act *viz.*, associations of civil servants, private soldiers of the Royal Army, the Royal Navy, the Royal Air Force and other armed forces of the State, magistrates, teachers etc. They, however, may exist as mutual benefit and cultural societies.

* Art VI of the Carta del Lavoro affirms the position of the Corporation. By it the Corporations are recognised as State organs because they form the sole organisation of the forces of production.

† Created on July 2, 1926.

federations of syndicates, confederation of federations with separate co-ordinating bodies called corporations, each in a province—this is in brief the Fascist organisation of the forces of production. It develops in twofold direction, one vertical and the other horizontal. The syndicates of each category grouped into higher organisations, federations or confederations, represent the vertical organisation; they are outside the State though under the control of the State, representing either the employers or the employed. The horizontal organisation is represented by the corporation which is within the state organism, comprising all the factors of production, and representing all interests. Thus the horizontal organisation has to deal with two great vertical organisations capital and labour. The following charges were made against Fascist Syndicalism by labour delegates of several countries at Geneva in June, 1927: that (i) workers should have a right to join such unions as best suit their needs and aspirations; (ii) that all such associations should possess equal rights; (iii) and that they should be totally separate, and independent of state interference. Signor Matteotti * attacked the Fascist syndicates because they are constituted on an anti-democratic basis and they are dependent on the Fascist political party. Fascism, however, does not establish the system of "compulsory association" or "Union-monopoly." No person is required to become a member of a union. The contribution that he pays to the recognised union is the price which it deserves, because it represents his interests. The system of according recognition to a single syndicate for each category has this merit that it results in the complete uniformity of employment contracts in any commune, a condition which could not have been attained had recognition been given to several associations. Side by side with the recognised syndicates, other unions may exist. Of course, Mussolini's Hegelian conception of the state allows no real liberty to the non-recognised unions. Unlike the old liberal state, "the agnostic and cowardly state", as Mussolini calls it, Fascism thinks that the organisation of production is not merely a question of private interests, but a national concern, and therefore, of the

State. As regards the charge that syndicates are dependent on the political party, we may say that it is simply a part of the general policy of Fascism, "which aims at bringing all forms of the nation's activities within the sphere of Fascist action under the supreme guidance of the State." The singularity of Fascist syndicalism lies in the fact—that in it "the workers, the technicians and the work-givers constitute a harmonious whole with a common discipline" † That is the main strength and *raison d'être* of the institution.

So much for the organisation of production. Let us now turn to the policy of the Fascist Government as regards the adjustment of relations between the conflicting interests of labour and capital. The Fascist programme of November 8, 1921, declared: "Fascism is determined to set up a system of discipline over class struggles; no strikes will be tolerated and all conflicts concerning them shall be submitted to the arbitral courts." The Syndical Law of April 3, 1926 is an important landmark from this point of view. It declared the illegality of strikes and lock-outs and established compulsory arbitration by entrusting the task of settling the disputes between labour and capital to the judicial authorities. According to Art. XIII of the Act,

All disputes arising out of the rules of governing collective labour relations, which concern either the application of group-contracts or other rules in force, or else an application for new conditions of work, are within the jurisdiction of the Courts of Appeal functioning as Labour Courts.

The Labour Court is, therefore, a special section of the Court of Appeal created for the purpose. There are sixteen Labour Courts connected with the sixteen Courts of Appeal. The interpretation of labour contracts being too complicated a matter for the ordinary judicial authorities, article 14 provides that the Magistrates called upon to judge in a labour dispute should be assisted by two experts in questions concerning production and labour. The Labour Court, however, will not make unnecessary interference in industrial affairs. Art. 17 definitely mentions that federations or confederations of employers and employees must attempt a conciliation before bringing cases involving their dependent associations before the Court. The Labour Court will issue

* The Fascisti Exposed by Giacomo Matteotti. Independent Labour Party Publication Department London, 1924.

† Mussolini in the Fascist Grand Council, March 14, 1923. Quoted by Matteotti. *op. cit.*

decisions in cases of the application of existing labour contracts according to the usual rules of law with regard to the interpretation and execution of contracts; and in cases of the formulation of new conditions of labour, according to equity, adjusting the interests of the employers to those of the employees and in every case having regard to the superior interests of production (Art 16). Individual disputes concerning the interpretation and application of labour contracts are to be decided by ordinary magistrates, together with the assessors nominated by the interested professional associations. The latter, however, have a right to intervene for conciliation.* Art. XVIII of the Syndical Act of April 3, 1926, prohibits strikes and lock-outs. It provides that employers who suspend work in their factories, establishments or offices merely for obtaining from their employees a modification of existing labour contracts, are to be punished with a fine ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 liras. Similarly employees who, to the number of three or more, after previous agreement, cease work or in any way disturb its regular course in order to enforce from their employers different contracts, are liable to a fine of 100 to 1,000 liras.

Such is the famous Syndical Law of April 3, 1926. The establishment of compulsory arbitration and the abolition of legal strikes make it one of the boldest legislations of the century. The German Order of October 30, 1923, does not bear comparison to it.† By it only in certain instances, when the public welfare requires, the parties may be forced to the awards of conciliation committees. But in fact, these awards, as Prof. Gino Arias § has pointed out, are merely proposals in accordance with which the disputing parties can draft an agreement if they see fit. In New Zealand arbitration is compulsory only in name. It is compulsory only for those unions which are registered under the Arbitration Act of 1894, and not for those registered under the Trade Union Act of 1908. The unions may be registered under any of these two Acts they like. Besides, in New Zealand a strike or lock-out becomes

a criminal offence only if one of the parties has applied to the arbitration court. If both parties prefer to settle their disputes by a strike, the law permits them to do this. It is only in Australia that the Italian system exists.

§ This important legislation is neither anti-proletariat nor anti-capitalist. It is a law of social equilibrium. It aims to give the producing classes, whether employers or employees, their due position according to their importance in the national economy. Fascism prohibits strikes because they effect great loss for the producing classes which ultimately mean loss for the national wealth. Within the period of five years, 1922-26 some 200,000,000 days of work have been lost owing to industrial disputes. "The slogan that accompanies all this agitation," argue the Fascists, "however soothing it may be, will never restore to us the prodigious waste and want that such a sacrifice of working hours implies."*

The Fascist State, unlike the Liberal State, does not give capital and labour the right of violent self-help. According to Fascism the self-defence of classes, like the self-defence of individuals, is peculiar to primitive ages, inasmuch as it is a source of disorder and civil war. Just as the state put an end to private war between individuals, so must it mete out justice to social classes by the establishment of law-courts giving decisions on the basis of legal principles.†

Such are mainly the Fascist arguments in favour of the establishment of compulsory arbitration and the prohibition of strikes. No one can deny that there is an abundant measure of truth in them. Yet much can be shown on the obverse of the medal. Fascism considers strikes as the expression of militant labour. The non-Fascist who form the vast majority of men and women of the earth, regard it as an instrument of liberty in the hands of the toiling masses. A labour member of the House of Commons even said that the right to strike is all that differentiates to-day the free labourer from the serf. That may be an exaggeration; but that reflects the thoughts of the average workman. The prohibition of strikes is a necessary consequence of the establishment of compul-

* Art. 10, La Carta del Lavoro; Dec. 3, 1928.

† International Labour Review, October, 1925. The Compulsory Adjustment of Industrial Disputes in Germany by Dr. Fritz Sitzler.

§ International Labour Review, September, 1926. Trade Union Reform in Italy by Gino Arias, Professor in the University of Florence.

* Benito Mussolini by Spencer Jones, London, 1927.

† Vide the Speech of Prof. Rocco, Minister of Justice, at Perugia on August 31, 1925.

sory arbitration. The system of compulsory arbitration is not so simple in practice as it is in theory. Its success depends on the impartiality of the courts; they should be free from political and class bias as the ordinary law courts are. There will be further practical difficulties, inherent in the very system of compulsory arbitration. The majority of disputes between employers and the employed relate to the terms upon which workers will undertake employment—the wages of labour. Even when hours and other conditions are the causes of dispute, they mean to the employer 'cost of production.' The division of the produce *i.e.* what proportion shall go to wages and what proportion shall go to profits is the fundamental issue. Therefore, the State or its organ will have to decide what are fair wages and what are fair profits? The great difficulty in determining these is that no body of principles which can be regarded as practical as well as scientific, has been put into operation on a considerable scale. Secondly, all business is so permeated by the notion that wages, interest and profits are to be fixed by the relative bargaining strength of sellers and purchasers and that every buyer and seller has full liberty to refuse to sell or buy if he does not find price acceptable, that the producer, whether employer or worker, considers it an encroachment upon personal liberty when it is enacted that the sale of labour must be conducted by the State. It supplants, in their opinion, free competition and it virtually involves the settlement by the State of the distribution of wealth. Thirdly, the exercise of compulsion *i.e.* the question of enforcement is a task bristling with difficulties. In case of disputes the purchaser might have to be compelled to buy even when the proposed terms of purchase are unacceptable, workers dissatisfied with wages or other terms of employment compelled to work, or employers who hold that their business cannot bear the proposed wages might have to be forced to pay them. Nor is it easy to force the parties to put the dispute to arbitration. The practical difficulty of compulsion is grave; it is the weakest point in the system of compulsory arbitration, because coercion has its limit. What will occur exactly in future, it would be premature to prophesy. The system of compulsory arbitration exists in Australia only. The fate of this bold and novel experiment in that country and in Italy will

be awaited with interest by all students of social and economic problems.

The Carta del Lavoro * which became a legislative Act on Dec. 3, 1928, deserves special mention here, as reflecting the most recent policy of the Fascist Government concerning the problem of labour and capital. Its object, declared Solmi, is to settle the rights and duties of the forces of production. It is, in the eyes of all impartial critics, a supremely important document, an industrial Locarno in Italy. "It is a significant effort towards the achievement of class demands along with the elimination of class rivalry."† An Italian writer in the *Critica Fascista* compares it to the Proclamation of the Rights of Man of 1789. "The French Revolution," argues the writer, "has proclaimed equality among all men, whilst the Black Revolution has now proclaimed the equality of all citizens as producers and as workers." However that may be, in spite of all its imperfections, that document may justly be called the Magna Carta of Italian labour. It affords solid guarantees for their economic and social rights.

Several articles of the charter deal with the rights and duties of the syndicates. They are to guarantee legal equality to the employer and the employee, maintain discipline in production and labour and promote their perfection. Syndicates of employers are specially duty-bound to promote production in all possible ways and to reduce its cost. Associations of those who follow a liberal profession or an art are to look after the interests of art, science and letters. Syndicates are duty-bound to regulate, through collective contracts, the labour relations among the categories of employers and employees, whom they represent. It is their duty to assist the representatives of the profession for which they have been constituted, whether or not they are members, and to give them education and training. They must support the Dopolavoro movement which is a state organisation to provide recreation, education and general beneficial assistance to the labourers after working hours.

A few articles of the Carta del Lavoro

* I am indebted to my friend, Mr. P. Amathanath Roy M. A., of Jagannath Hall for the English translation of the Carta del Lavoro.

† M. D. Petre in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. CII No. DCVIII.

deal with the determination of wages. By article XI every collective contract for work must contain definite rules regarding the disciplinary relations, the period of apprenticeship, the amount and payment of wages, and the hours of labour. The wages are not to be determined in accordance with a general law but by mutual agreement of the parties to the contract. The action of the Syndicate, the conciliatory work of the Corporations and decisions of the Labour tribunal guarantee the correspondence of the wages to the normal necessities of life, to the capacity of production and to the actual output of labour (Art. 12). A very great difficulty regarding the determination of wages and profits arises out of the factor of the recurrent shortage of markets, with its attendant phenomenon of unemployment. Art. 13 stipulates that the consequences of crises in production and monetary crises should be equally divided among all the factors of production. The data of the conditions of production and labour, of the situation in the money market and of the variations in the circumstances of the worker's life, shall be collected by the public administrative bodies, the Central Institute of Statistics and the recognised Syndicates, and shall be co-ordinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations. But these clauses do not and cannot give any satisfactory reply to those complicated problems which we have pointed out, and which may arise in the practical field as a result of the determination of wages by public authority.*

Of special interest are the provisions regarding the rights granted to the working classes. Night work, when not in the regular

periodical turn of the employee is to be paid at a higher rate than day work (Art. 14). The employee shall be entitled to a weekly rest on Sunday. Other civil and religious holidays will be ensured, according to the traditions of the locality (Art. 15). In the case of enterprises requiring continuous work, the employee shall, after a year of uninterrupted service, be entitled to an annual period of leave with the usual pay (Art. 16). Such an employee shall, in case he is discharged from service for no fault of his own, be entitled to an indemnity proportionate to the years of service. Such indemnity is to be paid even in case of the employee's death (Art. 17). When an employee falls ill and the period of his absence does not exceed a specified time-limit, the contract for work continues (Art. 18). When an undertaking requiring continual work changes hand, the contract for work is not dissolved thereby and the staff continues to enjoy the rights under the new master (*ibid*).

Various obligations are also imposed on the employee. Violation of discipline and such other acts, committed by the employee, as tend to disturb the normal course of the concern, shall be punished, according to the gravity of the crime, by a fine or suspension from service, and in the gravest cases, by immediate dismissal without indemnity (Art. 19). The time-table for work must be strictly and earnestly followed by the employee (Art. 15).

Several articles deal with facilities and privileges conferred. By Art. 27 the Fascist State intends to bring to perfection (a) the system of insurance for accidents, (b) the system of insurance for maternity, (c) the system of insurance for diseases peculiar to a profession and tuberculosis, as the first step towards general insurance for all diseases, (d) the system of insurance for involuntary unemployment, (e) and to adopt special forms of marriage insurance for young employees.* In collective contracts for work, mutual funds for the sick will be established with contributions from employers and employees and

* It will not be out of place to mention here that two disputes regarding wages have been decided by the Labour Court. The first was between the representatives of the cultivators of rice fields and the officers of the National Federation of Agricultural Unions over the reduction of wages which the employers demanded as the price of rice had fallen 25 per cent, though the contract had already been made. The Court admitted the right of the employer to revise the wages contract in view of the fall in prices, but not to "let the consequences of the new state of things fall only on the labourers." (14th July, 1927) Another dispute which arose in December, 1927 between ship-owners and sea-men, the former demanding reduction in wages because their receipts had gone down as a result of the re-valuation of the lira. The Court in this instance decided according to the proposals of the National Federation of Seamen.

* Some of the Insurance Laws have been actually passed. The Decree Law of February 11, 1923 revised and improved the Agricultural Accident Insurance. The Decrees of February 11, and March 8 rendered obligatory insurance against accidents for state employees. The Decree of December 30, 1923 co-ordinated and modified old age pensions and obligatory insurance against invalidity.

Government representatives. These funds are to be administered by representatives of each under the care of the corporative organs (Art. 28). The employer and the employee must agree to bear the burden proportionately for the establishment of Provident Funds. The State shall try to co-ordinate and unify the system and the laws of providence (Art. 26).

The problem of production is indissolubly united with that of the employment of labour. The State, therefore, shall investigate and control the phenomenon of employment and unemployment. Employment bureaux organised on the basis of equality are placed under the control of the corporative organs of the State. Employers are to take workers through these bureaux (Art. 22, 23).

Lest these reforms should be misunderstood as illustrating the undue interference of the State in the private concerns of the people, the charter assures that the State will intervene only in cases where the activity of the individual is inadequate. Art. 9 definitely lays down that the State will interfere in economic production only when private initiative is lacking or insufficient. Further, article 10 stipulates that in controversies relating to collective bodies, legal action is to be taken by the State only after the corporative organ has attempted conciliation. The Fascist State is, thus, neither callously indifferent like the nineteenth century *laissez-faire* state nor is it unduly interfering like the twentieth century Communist state.

It is as yet too early to predict about the practical success of these social reforms and the Fascist policy concerning the forces of production as a whole. Difficulties there are many. It is one thing to frame resolutions, to pass them through the legislature and make them statutes. It is a far different thing to effect their practical application and to have their influence felt in every-day-life of the society. One might naturally ask whether these reforms represent the voice of the community, or simply mean enforcement from above. "No reform can produce real good unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative," so warns Buckle. Do the employers and the employed understand the real spirit of these laws? If they do not, they have little prospect of success. Laws certainly bring about the betterment of the people, but laws alone

are not sufficient. The people must be prepared to apply them. Strikes, lock-outs, stoppages etc., are symptoms of a disease, not the disease itself. The disease is the industrial unrest. The suppression of the symptom does not mean the cure of the disease. What is really wanted is not mere machinery with its coercive power but a change of heart—the discarding of the war mentality of the instinctive combativeness of human nature. That is the psychological aspect of the problem. Coercion has never made and can never make a reform movement successful. Each class should realize that it has duties and not mere rights. What is supremely essential and at the same time so supremely wanting, is a spirit of co-operation between capital and labour. Can Fascism infuse this spirit among Italians as it has infused the spirit of nationalism among the millions of men and women of Italy? It is this spirit of co-operation which inspired the appeals of Carlyle, Ruskin, Mazzini and the Christian Socialists. If Fascism can do this, it will have solved one of the great problems of history.

Meanwhile, though we cannot tell whether these reforms will lead to far-reaching consequences, benefiting the individual and the nation or whether these will prove mere theories—one thing we cannot deny—that Fascism has thoroughly grasped the problem; it understands the conflict that exists between capital and labour on the thorny question of production and attempts to harmonize their conflicting elements. No one, who is not a partisan, can now condemn Fascism as another name for 'reactionary capitalism' or as 'the cry of a moribund bourgeoisie.' We meet with so many contradictory statements regarding Fascism that we are bewildered to find the truth about it. Let anyone most casually go through the pages of the *Observer* and the *Spectator* on the one hand, and *The Foreign Affairs* and *The Review of Reviews* on the other, he is sure to be puzzled. In March 1926, Sir Felix Schuster, Chairman of the British-Italian Banking Corporation, spoke: "The understanding of the close interdependence of the two main factors of production, seems to be one of the happiest characteristics of the new spirit which governs the destinies of the country." Mr. Yeats Brown gives in the *Spectator* an optimistic description of the condition of labour:

At the Fiat Works, the workmen have the

following facilities provided for them without cost : (i) Gymnasium (ii) a boating club (iii) a bicycling club, (iv) a foot-ball club, (v) an Alpine club, (vi) a bowling club, (vii) also a library of 15,000 volumes, reading rooms, rest centres, (viii) a dramatic society, (ix) a musical society, (x) a thrift and insurance association, (xi) and a free cinema.”*

After these enthusiastic remarks, one is surprised to learn from a statement, made in an article in the *Foreign Affairs* of June, 1927 that the Fascist Syndicalist system “has for its object the suppression of liberty for workmen,” while Prof. Salvemini† considers that the labourers are suffering from injustice under the Corporative State. Another writer‡ in the *Round Table* condemns it as favouring the labourers at the cost of the employers. Thus opinions clash with opinions. But they are

* *The Spectator*, October 16, 1926.

† *The Nation and Athenaeum*, April 7, 1928
The Corporative State in Fascist Italy.

‡ *The Round Table*, Dec. 1928. Italy in 1928.

not of much importance, because the time for judging the success of the reforms which we have been discussing has not yet come. The fundamental problem of modern society, remarked Louis Blanc, is the relation between capital and labour. That Fascism is strenuously attempting to solve it, goes to its credit. Liberalism and democracy have failed to give men industrial peace. Fascism strives to give it and it should not be condemned as incompetent simply because it is not liberal and democratic. Liberalism and Democracy are not ends in themselves; they are means to an end, which is peace and prosperity of men. The first Rome—pagan Rome solved the problem of Empire; the second Rome—Papal Rome ruled Christendom, the third Rome—Mazzini’s Rome solved the problem of Italian nationality. Let the fourth Rome—the Rome of Mussolini—solve the greatest and the most complicated problem of our day—the problem of capital and labour.

A Book On Non-Indian “Moslem Mentality”*

A review by “*Politicus*”

THE author is an Armenian Christian, well-read in Turkish, Arabic and Persian literature. Born in the near East, he served as professor of Turkish literature for fourteen years in one of the colleges of Asia Minor, and taught in a Moslem government high school where all the other tutors and pupils were Moslems, and was in close touch with missionary organizations. The book is thus the result of personal experience and observation, and is packed with material drawn from present-day Turkish writers. Though an Armenian, the author is singularly free from racial bias, his religious views are more liberal than those of most who, like him, seriously believe in Christianity, and his observations on missionary methods have a close bearing on

Christian missions in India, whereas the main theme of the book,—the Moslem mentality old and new, the Moslem attitude towards religion, the new spirit, and the real issues arising out of the situation,—has been presented before the reader in a way at once thoughtful, dispassionate, and discriminating, so as to offer a fascinating and at the same time reliable study to Moslem and non-Moslem alike, in and outside the Republic of Turkey, with which the author mainly deals.

The old Turkish mentality which is fast vanishing is the mentality which still prevails in India. Much of it on the doctrinal and ritualistic side, is common to Hindu and Mahomedan alike. Certain other matters relating to cultural and racial aspects of character though freely, and in our opinion, justly handled by the author, are too delicate for the consumption of the average Indian Moslem. We shall, therefore, refer the reader to the book itself for a discussion of the

* MOSLEM MENTALITY : by L. Levonian, B. A., M. R. A. S., Dean of the School of Religion at Athens; formerly of Constantinople; Fellow of Woodbrooke, England. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 5 shillings net. 1929.

Moslem claim that Islam is a religion of compassion and love (pp. 23-25, and particularly the extract from a Turkish writer on p. 120).

The author observes that human life in the non-Indian Moslem lands of which he has experience has no value, cruelty and ferocity are universal, murder, robbery, indecent dealing are rife, the use of filthy and obscene language in domestic circles is far too common there, the moral life in those lands is very loose, the law of love, such as Christ preached, is the most foreign thing to the Moslem mind there, 'sensual life is central in' what they believe in and follow as their religion. In those countries, "the Moslem home atmosphere is full of it (p. 143). The old attitude towards women and family life has been illustrated, among other things, by extracts from a Turkish book printed at Constantinople in 1906 and sanctioned by the department of the Sheikh-ul-Islam and approved by the Ministry of Education.

Every Moslem of ability may take into concubinage as many women as he likes and may marry four wives in taking women into concubinage there is no need for marriage. Marriage is a contract by which a man possesses the use of woman to enjoy her.

Such passages, indicative of woman's position in society, are by no means rare in ancient Hindu scriptures, side by side with passages of extreme moral beauty. But in modern Hindu literature such a low view of woman can, we believe, hardly be found.

Happily all this is going to be changed. The author has a word of caution to utter in this respect.

Mentalities which are the inheritance of many generations do not change so easily. Laws may be changed by a stroke of the pen, but habits persist terribly. The greatest thing needed in Moslem lands is a new moral consciousness, a new sense of right and wrong.

As the editor of the *Ijtihad* of Constantinople says :

The value of a religion ought to be judged by the progress and moral qualities which it ensures to its followers. The religion of a nation is the belief which dominates its life and actions. The beliefs which we Moslems have had in our souls and minds have brought us to very low places.

To turn now to the new Moslem mentality. Take the new laws. Article 1 of the constitution reads : "The Turkish state is a Republic." Another article used to read : "The religion of the Turkish Republic is Islam" Quite recently this article has been cancelled. "Thus at last," says the author, "religion and state

have been separated from that close union which has been from the very first a feature of Islamic theory and practice." Art 112 of the new civil code reads : "Marriage shall be void if husband or wife be already married at the time of the marriage ceremony". Art. 129 runs thus : 'Either party (husband or wife) may appeal and demand divorce when one commits adultery.' Art. 75 of the new Turkish Constitution runs : "No one may be molested on account of his religion, his sect, his ritual, or his philosophic convictions."

In *The Book of Mustafa Kemal* (Constantinople, 1926) the modern mentality is contrasted with the old Arab religious mentality of which the main lines are laid down as follows :

(1) Truth cannot be discovered by reason, but by tradition. (2) Life must be administered, not through human principles discovered by the human intellect, but by the divine laws which are unchangeable. (3) This world is passing, the next is everlasting. (4) To ascribe everything to fate and destiny. (5) To reject the national life and to remain bound by religious traditions. (6) To pay absolute homage to a spiritual head. This iron cage has not left any possibility of the salvation of the Asiatic peoples. The communicator of the so-called divine traditions also has brought his traditions through human reason.

Let us take another book written by Djelal Nouri Bey, *The Turkish Revolution*. He says :

Our theologians believed that laws could never be subjected to changes and reforms, and thus they closed practically all doors against development and future progress. Thus Islam has remained in a static condition until the present time. Abu Hanife and all the other four great Imams have always established new laws according to the new exigencies of life, even such laws as may seem contrary to the Koranic commandments. If we had followed the same policy in religion, Islam might have been brought to a condition fitted to the demands of the present age. But the Moslem clergy did not do so. They merely followed the old enactments blindly. They did not realize that these laws of Islam had been written for those ages only, and with the change of times, laws and even some religious beliefs ought to change, otherwise there could be no progress, and a nation living under such static conditions would become a slave to others. To remain chained to an old *fatwa* (religious judgment) checks all movement and progress. It means to be bound with the social, economic, civil and political ideas of those ancient days, and everything that is motionless is bound to decline. This is the general principle of life. Life is the primary thing ; tradition is only a decoration. Some traditions may be sacred, but their sacredness depends upon their usefulness. When traditions seem harmful to life, it is absurd to keep them.

Can we live and make progress, and be strong, yet keep the old outlook and the old traditions ? Can we take only European arts, and

omit 'the European method of reasoning'? Those two cannot be separated from each other. Europe has a scientific method of study based on free reason. A Sheik to-day, in the year 1926, regulates and judges everything according to an old text in an old book. He is bound to that old text or statement, and if he separates himself from it, he becomes an infidel, a Kafir. In Moslem countries politics, civilization, living, clothing, and even, food, are regulated by the laws of religion.... We are dead and drowned in the judgment of the Imams of hundreds of years ago. In Moslem lands religious tradition and customs have been the chief obstacles to progress. By and by, not only the political and social life, but also the spiritual and the moral life, also began to be stagnant. Character, which is the aim of all religion also deteriorated. To-day an illuminated Moslem does not respect his Moslem social environment, whereas an illuminated Christian remains faithful to his Church.

Take, for instance, the problem of polygamy as a social system. Let us not forget that Judaism and Christianity as religious customs do not forbid polygamy. Yet the Christian Church has adapted itself to the social demands of Europe and has forbidden polygamy. Thus Europe instead of conforming to the old laws of the Christian religion, has obliged the Christian Church to conform to its new ideas. On the other hand, the Moslems have never objected or protested against the fanaticism of our jurists. We never see the Moslems adapting themselves to the needs of the time in all the history of Islam. Old traditions have benumbed the Moslems and made them senseless.

The new Civil Code was presented by the Minister of Justice at Angora to the Prime Minister in February 1926, and in doing so he made the following striking statement:

States which have had laws based on religion have been unable after a little to satisfy the requirements of their country and people, because religions express unchangeable judgments. But life is fluid, and needs change constantly; consequently the laws based on religion can have no real value or meaning, but become a mere form of dead words.... Laws based on religion fetter their societies to primitive stages of life, and become the chief obstacles to progress. There is no doubt whatsoever that our laws, which have been inspired by the unchangeable judgments of religion, have been the strongest factor in binding the Turkish nation to the medieval viewpoint. The first characteristic of modern civilization is to separate religion and life; any other course would be to enslave the conscience of those people who do not accept the religious principles of the state. This cannot be allowed in any modern state. Religion must remain in the sphere of consciences only; it must not enter into that of the laws. On the day that this document of the New Civil Law is promulgated, the Turkish nation will be saved from the false beliefs and traditions which have encumbered our nation during the past thirteen centuries. It will close the doors of the old civilization, and our country will enter into the contemporary civilization of life and progress.

The author says that where Turkey was

fifteen years ago, Egypt is to-day. The cult of nationalism has taken hold of both these peoples, with this difference, that Egypt still dreams of making nationalism go hand in hand with the traditional religion, whereas the Turks have adopted the principle of nationalism thoroughly and are trying to apply it to all aspects of life.

In the past, everything has been sacrificed to the feeling of religiosity, now everything must be sacrificed to the spirit of nationalism.

Throughout the last century the aim of Turkey also has been to make a compromise between Islam and Western progress; between Eastern mentality and modern thought; between Mahomedan principles and modern ideas.

The governing principle of their policy of reformation during the last hundred years was that Islamic principles and modern civilization are compatible—that principle of compromise has been found bankrupt by the Turkish Moslems.

The reformers thought that they might leave the people their Moslem mentality, yet Westernize the country. They tried to strike a happy compromise between the two, to make a synthesis between Islam and Western life, but it failed.

We find again and again this belief emphasized that there is nothing in Islam incompatible with Western culture, and Islam and progress can go happily hand in hand.

But the Turks have now ceased to entertain any such hope, and even in Cairo to-day, by the Al Azhar, the oldest and the greatest centre of Moslem scholastic training, the Egyptian Government has created a national university to be developed on modern lines.

The most hopeful sign for the future is the new attitude towards education.

There is a great awakening in Moslem lands with regard to education. People have begun to appreciate the value of education, and there is an intense desire for knowledge everywhere. Moslems have begun to realize that in order to hold an honourable place among the civilized nations, they must be educated. Large sums have been appropriated for this purpose by the Governments, and schools of all grades are being started everywhere. In Turkey the old Madrassahs have been closed, and the educational system has been reorganized on Western lines. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in one of his public addresses, spoke as follows on this subject:

'We desire to hold an honourable place among the civilized nations. How could we keep the education of our children separated by two institutions—one called the school and the other the Madrassah—so fundamentally different from each other? It would be absurd to think of unifying our nation in spirit and in thought unless we

unified our education and teaching.' The department of the Ministry of Education at Angora has shown great activity in erecting new school-buildings, in calling commissions of experts to examine the school programmes and to revise them on new lines, in publishing new text-books, in translating standard books from the European languages, and in reorganizing the whole system on new principles. This movement has spread all over the Moslem lands of the Near East. In Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and Egypt, there is an earnest hunger on the part of the people for modern education...To-day Moslem fathers are making great sacrifices to give their children modern education.

The attitude of modern Turkey with regard to animal sacrifices is also highly instructive. Regarding the Festival of Sacrifices, 'the greatest and the most sacred of all the Moslem festivals, when devout Moslems from all parts of the world come to Mecca to celebrate it with great formalities', Mustafa Kemal's suggestion was not to kill animals at this feast, but give the money to the National Aeroplane Association to buy more aeroplanes. In this connection one of the papers wrote as follows :

A fixed and unchangeable religion is destined to die. To-day all religions have changed their forms of a thousand years ago, and have taken new forms according to the time and need...This custom of killing sacrifices at our Festival has come to us from the earliest stages of primitive man and has been perpetuated till the present time. But to-day we are not in such a low condition as to express our fear or gratitude by offering an animal. This might be a very proper way for the primitive peoples. A civilized man does not need to resort to such means to express his feelings. As all traditions change in time, so it is time that this tradition should also change. Ten centuries ago men prohibited the sacrifice of men as barbarity ; in the same manner men have developed to-day enough to consider such a custom as offering sacrifices as a useless thing also. Our mentalities have changed.

In the chapter on Missionary activities in Moslem lands, the author has something to say which will be appreciated by Indian Christians. He advocates

The cultivation of a more democratic spirit on the part of the missionary for closer co-operation in service with the native peoples. A missionary is very democratic in his home country, but somehow he develops an aristocratic tone in the mission field...By and by he assumes the tone of a commander, rather than a friend. This separates him from the people and does great harm to his work...With the awakening spirit of democracy all over the East, this character of the missionary activity must be changed and a new policy of co-operation and spirit of fellowship must be followed by the missionary agencies. To make a person grow and a community develop, they must be trusted, and responsibility must

be put upon them. The higher must take the lower into his fellowship in order to uplift him ; there is no other way for growth. Yet how few are such missionary institutions where the natives have a real heart in the management, with full power of consultation and vote !...This whole policy must be revised from its basis...This policy of exclusiveness or half co-operation must be changed into one of fellowship and full co-operation.

Regarding the mode of teaching in missionary schools, the author has something equally sound to say. 'Too rigid an adherence to the text-book develops a submissive mentality and it is because of this mentality the writer says that the Oriental does not invent new things. He is satisfied with second-hand knowledge and stops with his text-book. He has not learnt to take the trouble of going further and digging deeper.

If there is to be any real progress among the Oriental peoples, this mentality is one of the most important things that ought to be changed.

The other thing which it is essential for the missionary schools to do is "to cultivate in the student an open-mindedness to truth, intellectual sincerity, an ability to co-ordinate the truth he learns in one department with the ideas in other departments, and to carry the truth to its logical conclusion in its relation to other aspects of life." The power of old traditions and superstitions is so strong that the students cannot accept the truth they learn in the real sense and relate it to all their thinking. It requires the exercise of a good deal of moral courage.

Education must be so conducted that the pupils may develop intellectual sincerity to see the truth and accept it with conviction, and relate it to their whole life.

This is not said by the author from any narrow missionary point of view, which confounds Christianity with truth. Regarding the mode of presentation of the Christian religion by missionaries, the author says :

It has not been difficult for the Moslem critics to find more contradictions and discrepancies in the Bible than in the Koran

and that

We have tried to substitute for one creed another creed, for one ritual another ritual, and for one system of ordinances another system...what has our portrait of Jesus been ? Have we made a worthy representation of his person or have we made almost a caricature of His beautiful character ?

The real issue, in the opinion of the author, is the ethical and moral issue. Take for instance, the doctrine of Revelation.

The main question is, How does God reveal Himself? Is revelation something given magically to a person in ecstasy, or is it something ethical and spiritual, arising out of a spiritual experience of fellowship with God? Is the true test of a revelation its antiquity, its mysteriousness, its language, its grammar, or its spiritual meaning, its appeal to the deepest needs of the human soul, its moral sublimity, and its value for our daily life?—Or take the conception of prophetship. The issue in this problem is the character and message of a true prophet. Is the prophet one who has shown abnormal states of mind and has done some miraculous acts, or is he one who has exhibited the divine character in his life, and has made God real to man? Is the test of true prophetship abnormal power, or moral character and spiritual life? The true prophet is one who can become a real example to others in his character, one who can open new channels for the outpouring of the divine life into the human. The true prophet is not a magician, but one who is perfectly human.

As regards religion,

The main question is, what is religion, and what do we understand by it? Is religion to submit ourselves to the magical influence of some rites or ceremonies, or is it real fellowship with God? Is salvation to try to avoid the wrath of God by the performance of some outward observances; or is it a real and spiritual change in man?—Is religion a thing altogether otherworldly, an assurance of bliss after death, or is it a thing which purifies our outward conduct, and gives us the right attitude to life?—Is religion a problem of life, or is it a problem of mere speculation?—Is religion an intellectual assent to a creed, or is it a Way of Life? These are the main issues between Islam and Christianity, and these ought to be the tests of true religion. It is a pity that in the Christian presentation of Christianity to the Moslems in the past these issues have either altogether been neglected, or have been dealt with merely as secondary matters.

Regarding Moslems and the Oriental Christians, and their mutual dissensions the author admits the faults of his own nation and gives utterance to these noble sentiments:

There was another way which waits still to be tried: the way of goodwill and love. In order to overcome a lower concept there ought to be a higher one... Evil can only be overcome by goodness and brute force by love... Evil ultimately must be overcome in the hearts of men; and that can only be done through spiritual means... We have thought too much of meeting evil by force, and have not thought of the possibility of overcoming it by good... We should start a spiritual crusade to overcome evil by goodness, force by meekness, pride by humility, and hatred by love.

Before closing our somewhat lengthy review, one or two more extracts may be of interest to us in India. The author says:

The true test of a just government is to be found in its attitude to the minorities in its territory, and it is a fact that in no Moslem land have the minorities enjoyed justice and enjoyed safety as to their property, honour, or their life... An

authoritative writer on Islam like Emeer Ali, who has spent much effort to spiritualise Islam and to lift it up to the highest ethical level, in his well-known book, *The Spirit of Islam*, admits at least this much, that Islam has seized the sword in self-defence; and speaking of Islam as opposed to isolation and persecution, he underlines the following words of the Prophet: "Know that all Moslems are brothers of one another." That is true but one may well ask: "What about the non-Moslems? What are they?" Emeer Ali has no answer to give.

Referring to the anti-religious tendency among some Moslems, the writer says that some interpret it as a sign of a friendly approach to Christianity by the Moslems, but this is entirely wrong.

In fact, the greatest protagonists for Western culture among Moslems are the severest opponents of Christianity.

As Ibrahim Hilury Bey observes in his book on *Europeanization*:

To be Europeanized does not mean to be inclined to Christianity. Modern Europe has inherited its civilization from ancient Greece and Rome... [this civilization] has been obliged to fight against Christianity and the Christian church and the clergy, and only by overcoming their resistance has it established itself in Europe... This same idea has been expressed in many books and articles in these last years. The modernist Moslem programme is quite clear. Their aim is to be Westernized. They will refute the domination of Islam in scientific and social, judicial and civil matters. They will refute Christianity as well. They will take only the technical side of Western civilization, and thus organize a civilized and strong nation, and will hold an honourable position among the great Powers of the world.

Summarizing his studies, the author regretfully refers to "the terrible degenerate background of Moslem moral life in the past," but the more important fact to remember according to him is that

Significant changes have secured in recent times in Moslem life, changes which are of a character to revolutionize Moslem thought all over the world. Moslems have begun to be awakened out of a long slumber, and have begun to shake off the old fetters which have kept their mind in slavery for many ages. They are breaking connections with past traditions... The Moslem peoples will never be the same. The change is in their mentality. They have begun to move, and cannot go back to the old. They have begun to see and cannot be satisfied with the old.

All that has been said above by Turkish writers and thinkers about the degrading influence of religious traditions and meaningless formalism on the national mind, and regarding animal sacrifices, mental slavery, and want of progressiveness among the Turkish people, applies equally or in a

greater degree to Hindus and Mahomedans alike in India. The indifference to human life, the sensuality and brutality of which the author speaks, the foul language in which according to the author, the people habitually indulge, are, a Hindu would fain believe, less common among his co-religionists, though it is far from absent. But the main difference between Hindus and Indian Moslems lies, in our opinion, in the fact that while the educated section of the one community admits these faults and reformers are abroad, the same class in the sister community can think of nothing except in communal terms, and far from admitting the defects of his religion and community, is bent upon defending them with fanatical zeal, so much so that one prominent Moslem leader is reported to have noticed but one flaw in the character of Mahatma Gandhi, and that is the fact that he is not a follower of the Prophet. This narrow outlook is surely not the way to national greatness, even if by 'nation' we mean only the Mahomedan section of it. It is the ostrich-like policy

of self-glorification which made the orthodox Hindus so unprogressive, and our Moslem brethren cannot be congratulated on stepping into their shoes. The enlightened Hindus are now preceiving the error of their forefathers and are coming more and more into line with the trend of modern world thought in these matters. The Moslems must do likewise before a strong progressive nation can grow up in India. And till the growth of such a nation there is no hope either for the Moslem or for the Hindu. Both are bound to remain weak, divided, and unprogressive, and while one may acquire a temporary ascendancy over the other in their homeland in regard to insignificant and meaningless trifles, and glory in his foolish triumphs, by the world at large, and even in strong and powerful Islamic countries like Turkey, both will continue to be regarded, as they have hitherto been, as the pariah among nations, and at home they will remain entirely at the mercy of their foreign rulers, and all their loud talk about self-government will be absolutely futile.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

THE college bell had not yet struck. Mukti stood before the desk in which she kept her books and papers, gathering together the books and other things she would need during the college hours. Many of the boarders were engaged likewise. The day scholars walked about at their leisure, gossiping and laughing.

Suddenly everybody stopped. Mukti looked up surprised at this sudden silence and found Miss Dutt advancing upon them with quick strides. All the girls waited in breathless silence.

Miss Dutt reached the desk where Mukti stood and said, "Mukti, please come with me for a few minutes."

Mukti followed her to the common-room. Miss Dutt drew out a letter, saying, "Some Shyamkishor Sharma has called for you. Do you know who he is?"

Mukti recalled to mind another scene like this when Jyoti had called for her. How long ago it seemed! However, she had no time to think about that now.

"I have a great-uncle of that name," she said in answer to Miss Dutt. "He lives in the country. But why should he call for me now? There had been no mention of my going to the village now."

Miss Dutt looked gravely at Mukti and said, "He says your grandmother is very ill. She wants to see you. In that case, you had better start now."

Mukti felt her heart sinking. Only the other day, she had pulled up Shiveswar from the sick-bed. And now her grandmother was ill too!

"But consider first, whether you will go at all," said Miss Dutt. "Your studies would suffer very much. Since you went home

last time you have ceased to care much about them."

"But I must go, since she is ill," said Mukti. "Had father been here, I need not have gone. But now I must, else she would take it very much to heart."

"But I don't know the gentleman," said Miss Dutt. "I wonder whether your father will make me responsible for anything if I let you go with him. What do you think?"

Mukti felt inclined to laugh, though she was feeling far from merry. "I don't think he would object," she said. "The gentleman is really my great-uncle."

"Very well," said Miss Dutt resignedly. "He is in the visitor's room. Go and arrange everything with him." She walked off as quickly as she had come.

Mukti put back the books in the desk and started to meet this great-uncle whom she hardly knew. She had only seen him once in her childhood when she had gone with Mokshada to her father's house.

Upon entering, she found a stout old man sitting on a chair and a youngman dressed in the height of cockney fashion standing by his side.

The latter was a relative of Shyamkishor. He was a resident of Calcutta. Though Shyamkishor was a great man in his village, he was feeling rather helpless in Calcutta. He knew nothing here, least of all did he know the approaches to a girls' school. So he had enlisted the help of this young fellow to see him through.

Mukti bowed down to him upon entering. Shyamkishor accepted it very complacently without making any kind of response and said, "Get ready, quickly. My carriage is waiting."

Mukti felt rather disgusted. She did not like this pompous old man, neither did she like his young relative who was staring rather impertinently at her. So she was to go with this man? She felt a bit nervous too, but she banished all fear from her heart with an effort and went out hurriedly to pack.

Everyone knew by this time that she was going away. Two or three girls came to help her to pack. Mukti's heart was rapidly becoming heavy, so she gladly accepted their proffered assistance and left everything to them. Seeing that her friends were putting in a lot of clothing she asked, "Why are you packing so many things?"

"It is better to have too many than too

few," replied the friend. "You never know how long you would be held up."

Mukti started on her journey with her queer companions with a gloomy face and a heavy heart. Miss Dutt gave Shyamkishor some parting injunctions. The old man hurried to the carriage as he was obviously feeling very much ill at ease in the presence of this advanced female. The youngman got in too.

Shyamkishor was very particular about keeping the women of his house in close, orthodox seclusion. So he drew up all the shutters of the carriage windows. Mukti glanced quickly at the amused countenances of her school-mates, then drew in her head. Both her companions smelt strongly of cheap tobacco, and the youngman continued casting furtive glances at her. So she had small chance of holding up her head and looking about.

When they reached the crowded platform of Howrah station, Shyamkishor began to feel all at sea. The youngman was busy looking after the luggage and getting the tickets. Mukti felt inclined to laugh at the piteous expression on the old man's face. "Come with me," she said, "I shall show you where to get in." She walked forward, without waiting for Shyamkishor's reply. From her childhood upward, she had been accustomed to railway journeys and was quite familiar with everything.

Shyamkishor positively gaped. He had never seen such a girl in his life before. The women he was used to were nothing but animate luggage, whom one had to bundle into carriages somehow. But seeing that Mukti had walked on quite a good distance, he ran after her shouting for his young relative helplessly.

The youngman hurried forward, and found Mukti seated inside the female compartment and Shyamkishor running towards it gasping and spluttering. He cast an admiring look at Mukti, put the luggage in her carriage and the old man in the compartment next to hers.

This turmoil had served to lessen Mukti's apathy and gloom a bit, but her disgust had increased. One of her fellow travellers had been eying her with a good deal of interest all this while. She now leaned forward and asked, "Where are you going, my child?"

"I am going to Shibpur," Mukti replied.

"Oh, does your husband live there? Is that your husband?" she asked.

"No, I am not married," said Mukti in a rough voice.

A wave of surprise ran through the whole compartment. Mukti had not expected this, as she had always travelled first class or second class with her father. Her interrogator leaned forward again and asked, "How old are you?"

Mukti had lost her temper completely by that time. "Eighty," she answered and turned her back most impolitely to her companions. She felt everyone staring at her and discussing her, but she never looked back.

Shyamkishor, after getting inside the carriage, gasped for breath and fanned himself vigorously. "What an awful girl," he thought. "She has become worse than a Christian. I wish to God, I could see her safely married and disposed of."

It was nearly evening when they reached Shibpur. It was a small station, and the train stopped there only for two minutes. Mukti caught sight of the station's name and saw the youngman get down. So she opened the carriage door and got down too.

They had to cross a wide expanse of countryside before coming to the village. Mukti would have liked to walk it, because she felt a severe headache coming on, but Shyamkishor ordered her into a palanquin, which had come to meet the train. So Mukti had no option but to get in. The palanquin swung off with her while Mukti looked out through an aperture in the door. She could see nothing at first except a dense mass of foliage. Then she discerned another mass underneath the trees, which after a while, she could recognise for a crowd.

She did not understand at first that the crowd had gathered to meet her. Suddenly a boy ran to the side of her palanquin and peeped inside to have a look at her. "Oh, here is the lady from Calcutta," he shouted and ran off towards the village. He had been deputed by the crowd to see whether Mukti had really come.

Mukti could not restrain herself any longer. She forgot that her grandmother was sick and that she was travelling with two very unpleasant companions and began to roll with laughter inside the palanquin. When she reached the village, she took off her shoes and put them in her bag.

The crowd rushed to meet her and stopped

the progress of the palanquin very effectively. It was composed mostly of ladies, as the men, though not less curious, had to hold off for fear of Shyamkishor.

The shades of evening had already descended, and under the trees it was quite dark. So the assembled ladies could not see much of Mukti. As they retreated a little, the bearers took the opportunity and rushed through their ranks carrying Mukti safely to Shyamkishor's door.

As Mukti got down, she saw that a small crowd had also collected here to meet her. The yard was full of women, old, young and middle-aged. Two or three hurricane lanterns tried their best to light up the darkness.

As she approached the circle of light, about thirty pairs of curious eyes met her own. A murmur of surprise also greeted her ears, "Good God, she looks like a Mem-Sahib!"

An old lady pushed forward and welcomed her. "Come my dear, come in," she said.

Mukti surmised her to be one of her great aunts, so she bowed down to her feet. The old lady led her to a room. Most of the women followed her there.

Mokshada had not come out to meet Mukti, as Shyamkishor had ordered her to remain lying down. She had no freedom of action here such as she had enjoyed in her heterodox son's house. She felt the deprivation keenly. But Shyamkishor was bringing about the marriage of Mukti with Dhiren, the most cherished object of her life. So she paid him homage by the most implicit obedience. Let the marriage be solemnized once, then she would see about propitiating her son. He might feel furious at first, but such a nice son-in-law as Dhiren would be sure to gladden his heart. Mokshada was sure that he could not remain angry very long.

Mukti entered and sat down on her bed, "How are you, grandma?" she asked.

"I am a bit better now," said Mokshada, "I was very, very sick, so brother got frightened."

"Get well soon," said Mukti, "I have got to be back to Calcutta pretty quick. Between you all, my studies are about to be ruined."

Mokshada had given detailed instruction to the ladies of the family as to how they should behave with Mukti. But they failed to act up to it. They did not ask Mukti

any absurd or impertinent question for fear of Mokshada and Shyamkishor, but they followed her about all the time with curiosity and amazement painted on their countenances. The older ones gave up very soon, but a few girls persisted and stuck to her like leeches.

Mokshada directed Mukti to change her travelling clothes and to wash her hands and face. She did so and sat down to talk to her. But the old lady fell asleep after a time, so having nothing else to do and seeing a bed spread temptingly before her eyes, she went and laid herself down. •

A slight noise made her look up. She found a small girl gazing entranced at her discarded clothing and sometimes touching them experimentally with two fingers.

Mukti was dying for a bit of human company. So she sat up and asked, "What's your name, child?"

The girl gave a violent start, and putting out her tongue in dismay, rushed out of the room.

Mukti got up from the bed and went to Mokshada. "Are all your people dumb, grandma?" she asked.

Mokshada was surprised. "Why do you ask such a question?" she asked. "Certainly, they are not dumb."

"Then do they take me for a lion or a tiger? Why does everyone rush off if I approach? Your village may be all that is beautiful and nice, but I cannot say I find it much to my liking. So I shall return to town to-morrow. You don't appear to be very sick now."

Mokshada laughed. "All right, all right," she said. "There's no hurry, is there?"

Shyamkishor entered Mokshada's room. He had a pair of horn-rimmed spectacles on his nose and an un-addressed envelope in his hand.

"What is your son's address, Mokshada?" he asked. "The wedding is to take place very soon. So, I must send him a letter."

Mokshada got very much flurried. "What, so soon?" she asked. "But can you make adequate preparations, so soon? And is the wedding to be solemnized here or at my father-in-law's house?"

Shyamkishor frowned. "When I undertake a thing," he said, "I can make necessary preparations. I don't think it would be wise to postpone the marriage any longer. Your father-in-law's house is very much in want of repairs. So the ceremony will have to

take place here. Now, what's Shiveswar's address?"

"I don't know," said poor Mokshada. "I never could remember those English names. He has gone to the hills. Don't you know? Last time we went, you wrote to me twice. Don't you remember?"

"Oh yes, I remember," said Shyamkishor and went out. Mokshada did not know the difference between Simla and Darjeeling. Going to the hills was going to Darjeeling. So Shyamkishor wrote a long letter to Shiveswar giving every detail about Mukti's marriage and sent it on to Darjeeling. The letter wandered about for a month and then found a permanent resting place in the dead letter office.

Shyamkrishor had considered the pros and cons of this marriage very thoroughly. He had even considered Mukti's side of the case, which is rare in Hindu marriages. But he could not, try as he might, think of her as an ordinary female of the species. She was so totally different from the women he knew. She did not defy him openly or use insulting language, but he felt, he would not be able to make her obey him by threats or frowns. So after a good deal of deliberation he told Mokshada to keep the marriage a secret to Mukti. He decided to tell her just on the eve of marriage. He could not imagine any woman backing out then. Even men felt helpless in the presence of the august god of unions, so he did not expect any resistance on the part of the girl. •

Next morning Mukti got up as usual, and after wandering about rather aimlessly for a time, she came back to the room assigned to her. People generally feel most cheerful in the morning. Mental gloom departs to a good extent with the gloom of night. So, though the girls still looked curiously at her, Mukti could take a comic view of the situation now. She had sat down with a fat book of history on her lap, determined to continue her studies even here. This had served to astonish the ladies of the household still further. Every one came and peeped in to see a woman reading such a fat English book.

Suddenly, there was a commotion outside and someone called out, "Grandma!" Next moment Dhiren appeared before Mokshada's door. Mukti ran out of her room, crying "Here's a surprise for you. You didn't

expect to see me here, did you? How do you do?"

Dhiren's face turned red for some unknown reason. "This is a very great pleasure," he muttered.

Mukti felt really glad at finding someone she knew in this horrible place. She was sick of the people here and their atrocious behaviour. Dhiren was standing at Mokshada's door, Mukti too went and stood near him. "How do you spend your time here?" she asked. "You indulge in philanthropy to your heart's content, don't you?"

The women of the household had gathered around. A girl and her husband to be, standing face to face and talking! They had never dreamt of such a situation. Such a thing taking place in their orthodox household had scandalised them beyond belief. The horror-struck expression of their faces would have been comic to any beholder.

But Mukti had not exactly grasped the meaning of all this amazement and horror. "Look at the idiots gaping!" She thought. "That's because I am talking to a man I suppose? Let them gape, I don't care. Anyway, I am leaving the day after to-morrow."

Dhiren could not understand from Mukti's words whether she knew of the impending marriage or not. He had come here full of hopes and fears. Still he felt a bit of relief in Mukti's air of ignorance. If she had known everything, there would have been no barrier behind which poor shy Dhiren could take shelter. He would not have known what to say to her.

Mokshada had gone to the tank to have a bath. As she returned with her wet towel and a brass jar, full of water, this sight met her eyes. She blamed herself for not warning Dhiren beforehand. He should not have come here. But her brain had been so confused these last few days that she had forgotten to tell Dhiren. But things must not go any further, so she walked quickly up to the young pair and thrust herself between them, thus screening Mukti from Dhiren's eyes. Mukti could not fail to take this very plain hint and retired smiling to her room.

"Look here, my dear boy," said Mokshada in a low voice, "you know the manners and customs of our village people. They are inveterate scandal-mongers. You should not give them food for gossip. Be patient for a day or two, then you will have her

all your own. Look at the hussies smiling and whispering! They are fools and don't know your town ways."

Dhiren had noticed the pantomime of amazement that was going on around them, but his feet refused to budge from Mukti's side. But now that Mukti had disappeared, he had no longer any desire to stay. So he muttered, "Yes, grandma, I know," and made his escape. All the way home, he went on conjecturing. What would Mukti say, when she heard the news?

The ladies of the household departed in a body for the village tank. They were dying to indulge in a bit of gossip about the town-bred miss and her shameless ways. At home Mokshada prevented any freedom of speech. Mukti had sat down again with her book. She laughed to herself, thinking of Dhiren's hasty escape. "I placed him in an awful fix," she thought.

The day passed on somehow. The girls made one or two advances to get better acquainted with Mukti. They had heard from Mokshada that Mukti possessed a most wonderful wardrobe, so one of them ventured near her with a request to be allowed to see it. But unfortunately, Mukti had brought only a few ordinary clothes with her, so the curious lady had to retire disappointed. Mukti passed the whole day reading. Even Miss Dutt would have admitted that Mukti was paying proper attention to her studies.

But she could understand, even from her secluded corner, that some big preparations were going on outside. The old master of the house came in very frequently, which in itself was ominous. Broken sentences reached her ears from time to time making her very curious.

"Not a pice less than five hundred," she heard Shyamkrishor shout once. "I must maintain the prestige of the family, I have already advanced more than two hundred to various people." There were indistinct murmurs from some unseen persons, then Shyamkrishor's deep bass floated again to her ears. "For the present," he said, "expect about forty servants from their house to-morrow." The sound of his wooden slippers were heard retreating.

Preparations for a Hindu wedding are seldom carried on quietly. It is a most noisy affair. But Shyamkrishor was not feeling quite at ease. For one thing, he was rather afraid of Mukti, though he would not have admitted it to himself. Then

Shiveswar had made no sign so far, even after being written to, which also made the old man nervous. For this reason he had forbidden everybody to make much noise. He regarded himself as the head of the family and quite entitled to arrange affairs according to his own sweet will. Shiveswar was nothing but a minor in his eyes. Since he had neglected to give his daughter in marriage at proper time Shyamkishor thought himself justified in arranging a match. The girl was past the marriageable age and he must hurry matters on. There was no time for much celebration.

The real fact was that Shyamkishor did not want to spend more money than absolutely necessary. Though he was the head of the family, Shiveswar was far richer than himself and it was for the sake of that very money that Dhiren's uncle had consented to the match. Shyamkishor was not a poor man, but he was a wise one too. He could spend thousands, but what if Shiveswar refused to pay back? He did not want to go bankrupt, marrying off another

man's daughter. And there was no urgent necessity either to incur much expense. Mukti was the sole heir of her father's property and Shiveswar was not likely to marry again. The knowledge of these two facts had pleased Dhiren's uncle so much that he had made no demands whatever. So Shyamkishor had curtailed expenses as much as he could on the plea that there was no time to make fuller preparations. A bride could not be given away in marriage without some jewellery, but there too Shyamkishor had been helped by luck. Mokshada had a lot of jewellery lying useless. Mukti was the right person to present them to. Then came the item of the wedding feast. Here he would be obliged to spend some money, but he had hopes of recovering all of it from Mokshada on one pretext or other. He had invited as few people as possible and made the arrangements for the feast with as stingy a hand as he could. He was determined not to spend more than five hundred.

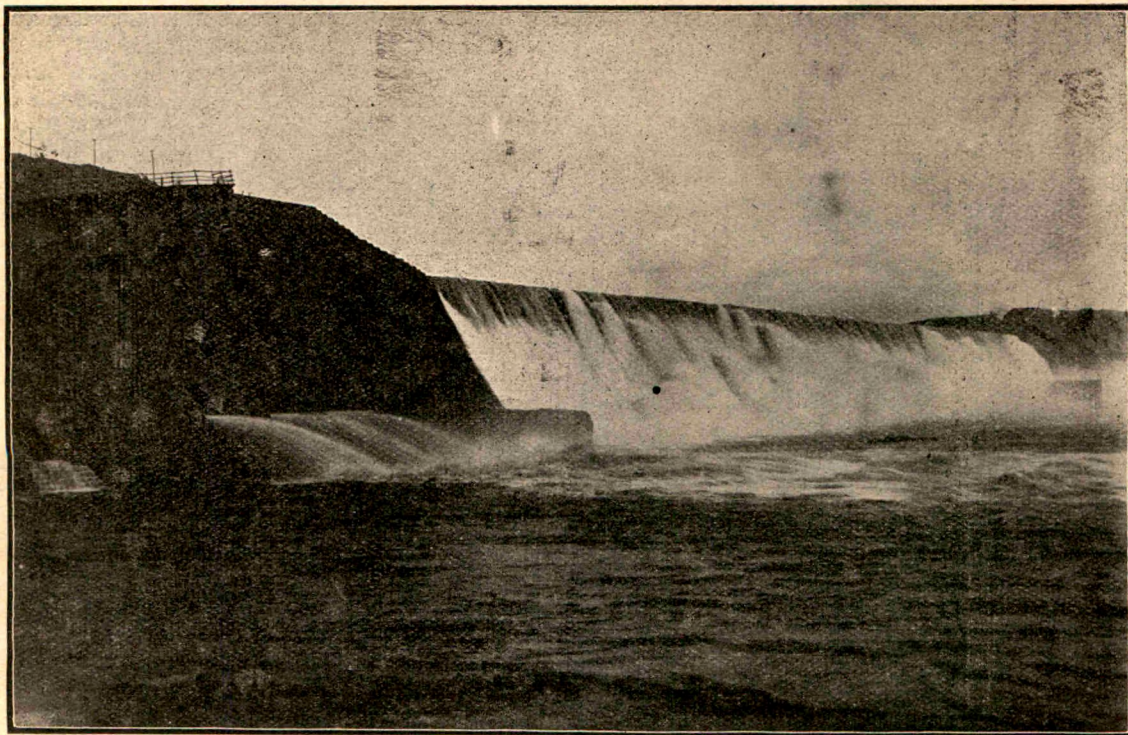
(To be continued)

Two Great Irrigation Projects in the Mysore State

By ARTHUR R. SLATER

THE importance of irrigation schemes to India has always been strongly impressed on the attention of the Government and it is to the credit of those responsible for the Government of the millions of people of this country, dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, that many schemes have been successfully carried out and are to-day proving of the greatest blessing to the district in which they are found. The problem of providing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes to the people in the parts of the Chitaldroog district, in the Mysore State, where the very limited rainfall made agriculture a very precarious business, was frequently before the Government and the favourable situation of the Marikanave gorge naturally came under consideration. The definite proposal for erecting a dam to join the two spurs of

hills was made as early as 1855, from which time till 1873 no less than eight schemes were drawn up and submitted to the Government but it was not till 1894 that there appeared to be any real prospect of any scheme coming to fruition. A careful examination of the rock in the foundation was made, but several experts pronounced against the scheme on the ground that the rock could not carry the weight of such a dam as was proposed. But Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, the Dewan of Mysore, formed a committee of experts consisting of engineers and geologists which reported that the rock was solid and the fears raised by previous experts were unfounded. The work was then put in hand and within a short time the work was in full swing. The object of the dam was to prevent going to waste the waters of the Vedavati river which drains a very considera-

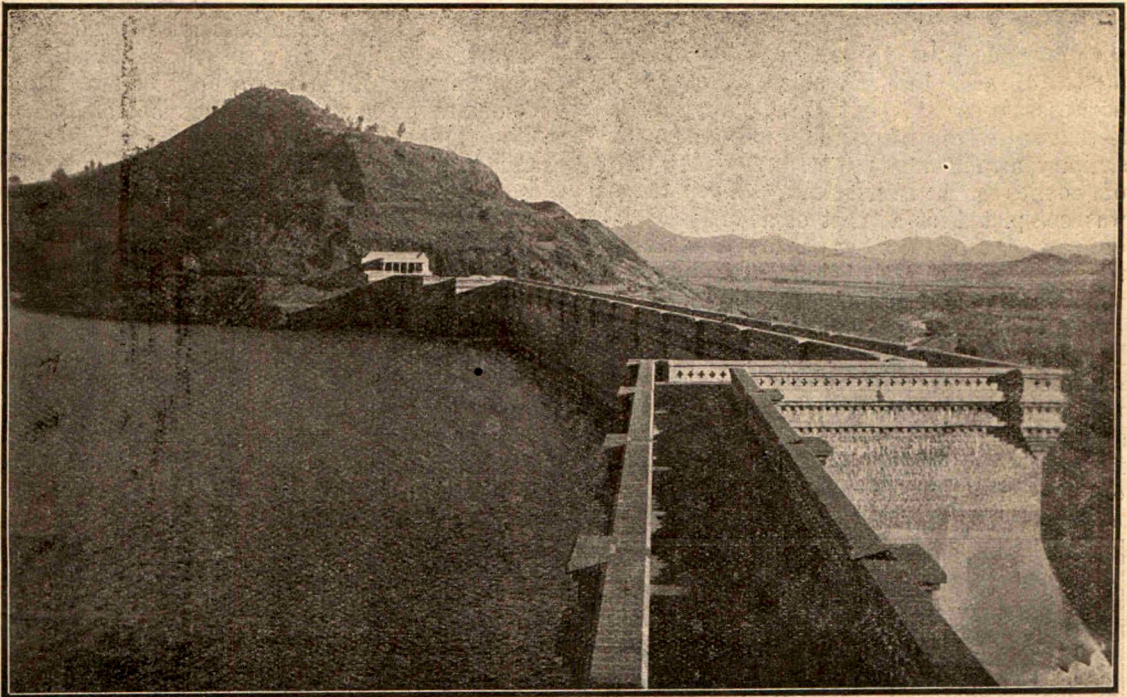


The Middle Portion of the Dam before Completion in Monsoon

able portion of North Mysore. "The catchment area or gathering ground above the Marikanave is 2,075 square miles, and the average rainfall in this drainage area taken for 35 years is 24 inches. Much of this went to waste, and it was particularly unsatisfactory that this great volume of water should pass uselessly through the Chitaldroog district which has an annual rainfall of only 15 inches. So far as it was possible to estimate the discharge of river, it was stated that in a bad year it equalled about 3,000 million cubic feet, while in a very good year it increased to as much as 25,000 million cubic feet. It was decided that it would be more satisfactory to build a dam sufficiently high to store all the water of an exceptionally good year than to make provision for the discharge of the surplus water over the dam itself or at the flanks of a dam lower in height.

The dam was, therefore, designed to be 142 feet high, with 20 feet foundations, or 162 feet in all, to be built of uncoursed rubble in mortar throughout. The weight of the masonry was 150 lbs per cubic foot. The width of the valley was about 240 feet,

but it was necessary to cut well into the hill sides, thus giving a total length on the top of the dam of 1,330 feet. The rock of the gorge consists of alternate layers of haematite-quartzite, chlorite-schist, dipping steeply at an angle of 70 degrees, the chlorite-schist being considerably softer in composition than the haematite. By August 1899, the foundations were ready, the rock having been thoroughly cleansed by a jet of water under high pressure and by scrubbing with wire brushes. A wash of cement was then applied followed by a layer of cement plaster. Now began the work of building. "The stone used was the haematite-quartzite from the adjacent hills, the stones being quarried in sizes varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 cubic feet and run down on the trolley lines to the work. Each stone, after being well cleaned, was firmly embedded in the mortar by gentle blows from a wooden mallet. The joints between the stones were filled with chips and concrete. Very few large stones were used on account of the difficulty in carrying and handling them, nearly all the stones being carried by men. Very large stones, besides, require very careful handling, a bed having to be



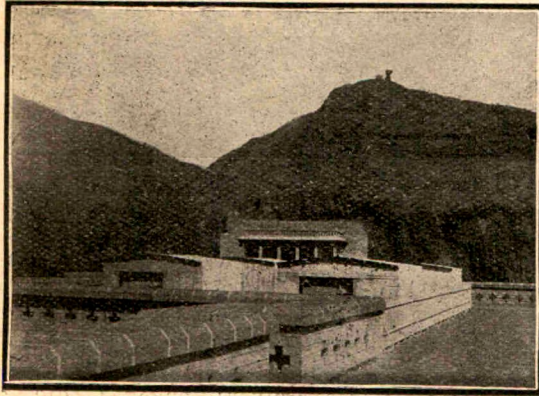
Marikanave—the Dam

preparad to suit the stone. Ninety per cent of the stones used were about three-quarters of a cubic foot in size, this being the most convenient size to handle. The result is a thoroughly homogeneous monolithic mass and a watertight dam."

The stone used was available within a circuit of eight miles—granite, trap and haematite-quartzite being used. The expense involved in the extensive use of the two former forced them to depend on the last, which was however declared to be perfectly sound for building. The mortar used, decided on after many tests, was composed of one part unslaked lime to three of *surki*, though there was later a slight modification in the proportions used. The mortar proved most satisfactory, and was daily tested for seven years while the dam was under construction. It had been originally decided to plaster the front side of the dam with cement, but though the work was begun the engineers decided that, the mortar being so good, there was no danger of water percolating through the dam on the front face. The rear face of the dam was built in three inch steps. Though every care was taken with the building, it

was noticed that there was a distinct percolation at the joint between the old and new work, and it was seen to be necessary to stop the leakage by plastering the front face below water, if suitable means could be adopted. The divers engaged did a certain amount of work, but the attempt was considered ineffective. However, the engineers were relieved of their anxieties by the fact that the leakage, instead of becoming worse as the head of the water rose decreased month by month and has now disappeared. It is interesting to note that for the supply of stone from the quarries an aerial cableway was erected, but this was found to be impracticable after a limited portion of the work had been done. The engineer saw that it was cheaper to deliver the stones on the work by the usual method *i.e.*, by *nowgunnies*. These are professional stone carriers who work in gangs of 16, 12, 8, 4, and 2 and carry from 70 to 150 lbs. per man, working ten hours a day for 8 annas. The stones are suspended on chains attached to bamboos, which are carried on the shoulders of the men. Ninety per cent, of the stones used were carried by *nowgunnies* working four together.

The work steadily progressed, though the engineers were not without their difficulties. On one occasion there was a severe outbreak of cholera and a large number of coolies ran away, but practically all their advances were recovered and when better sanitary arrangements were made, the supply of coolies was satisfactory. When the dam was completed at a cost of about 45 lakhs of rupees, the water was made available for the ryots in the lands below. This supply was regulated by a series of sluices, designed by experts in England, and known as Stoney's Patent Gates. "Each vent is capable of discharging over 1,000 cubic feet per second under a head of 6 feet, and to work satisfactorily under a maximum head of 80 feet. The side walls, the arching and flooring of the sluice tunnels were built of dressed



Marikanave—the Sluices

granite in cement. There are two vents of $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet each, with two gates in each vent. The steel ropes that support the gates suffer from wear and tear and require to be renewed periodically. The sluice gates are worked by powerful winches fixed on the floor of the dam, four men being required to raise a gate. Each gate weighs nearly eight tons. "The water passes through these sluices into the river below, from which it is again picked up by means of an anicut or small dam, lower down from where irrigation channels on both banks start. There is thus a head of water of 60 feet, that is, the difference between the sluice sill and the bed of the river, which is available for a scheme of electrical supply, which has not, however, yet materialized. Many suggestions have been made for using this water

for electrical generation to supply ginning and other mills which it is believed would be erected if power were available. Several channels have been made, each main channel commanding about 12,000 acres of land. On the right channel there are fourteen aqueducts, the total length of which are 9 000 feet, the longest being 2,976 feet. There are also 32 bridges, 60 sluices, 20 distribution cisterns, 25 foot bridges, 10 masonry dams, several relieving weirs. These figures give some idea of the size of the irrigation channels. Respecting the prospects of irrigation the Government report says that "the quality of the soil in the area commanded by the channels is on the whole fair, being mostly gravelly soil, with sandy plots near the river. In a few places the soil contains a considerable amount of salt, regarding the proper treatment of which the local ryots have yet to become acquainted. Although the scheme provides for the cultivation of 25,000 acres of wet crops, many years will elapse before the the whole area comes under paddy and sugercane, many preferring to grow other crops....Water was first let down for irrigation in June 1906, for the first portion of the two channels. Since then the channels were further completed and water was given to the lands further down. By the end of December 1909, water was available for the whole 25,000 acres." Though such a fine supply of water is available, it is regrettable that so few people have taken advantage of the provision, large tracts of lands still being unoccupied. The Government believe that the unappropriated land will be disposed of when the agriculturists realize the benefits of such a perennial supply of water for their wet lands. It was realized from the beginning that the scheme would not be a financial success for a number of years, but we are informed that there is a reasonable prospect of three per cent on the total outlay. The idea of the project was to afford protection to the people of the district against the bad seasons which proved so calamitous to the farmers, and when the whole of the area will be brought under cultivation and the power available for electric generation used for industrial development of the district, the Government may find in the project a source of income to the State. •If, in the future there is need for increasing the supply of water in the reservoir, it will be possible to divert the flood waters of the Yegachi river, a tributary of the Hemavaty. Up to

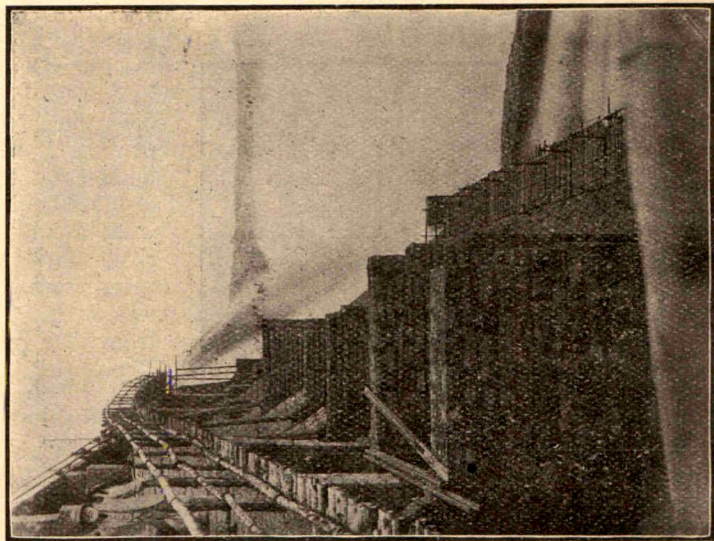
the present the lake has not received its full measure of water, as the seasons have been unfavourable.

A short paragraph must be devoted to the general aspect of the lake, for in some respects this sheet of water is one of the most impressive in India. It is difficult to realize that the damming of this comparatively small river should have made a huge lake no less than sixteen miles in length. Thirty-two villages with their lands, and a portion of land of eighteen others, are submerged in the lake. The villages were small and the land of no great value, but the landowners were compensated in money for the loss of houses and given the option of other land or money compensation for the land submerged.

The villagers not unnaturally did not wish to leave their old homes, and it was found necessary to apply the land acquisition Act. "What was formerly an arid and uninteresting valley is now a picturesque lake surrounded on all sides by conical hills and dotted over with many islands. The scenery is charming for six months in the year, when all the hills are clothed in green, but in the hot weather in spite of the near proximity of the water, the hills present a parched and dusty aspect. The lake abounds with fish of many kinds and has become the home of many varieties of wild fowl. Duck, teal, and geese are to be found in immense numbers from December to March, but owing to the great expanse of water they are difficult to get at. The hills surrounding the lake are covered with small scrub jungle with a few large trees, but the moisture from the large expanse of water will no doubt assist trees to grow, and in years to come a forest may spring up if necessary planting is done." The lake is visited by a considerable number of men in the course of the year for duck shooting etc., and if permission is obtained from the authorities a motor-boat enables one to get glimpses of the picturesque lake scenery many miles distant from the dam. Mr.

Rice of the Mysore service has written an interesting account of this great engineering project and to this the writer is greatly indebted.

The second great irrigation project carried out by the Government of Mysore is that known as the Krishnaraja Sagara project, by means of which the waters of the Cauvery are dammed and made available for the arid areas in the neighbourhood, and for developing the power needed for the hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram. The scheme was sanctioned by the Government in 1911 and was carried out in two stages. In the first stage the dam was to be high enough to store 80 feet of water. The whole dam has now been completed, though there are still further developments contemplated in

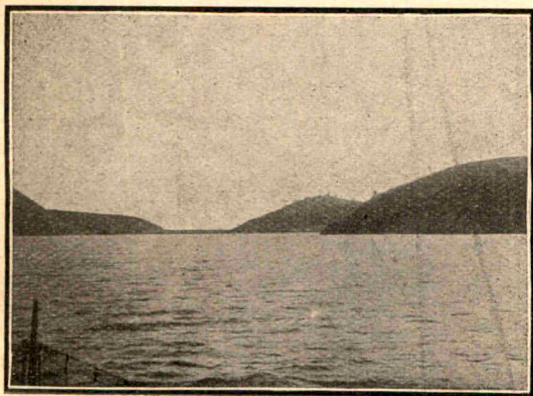


Krishnaraja Sagara—in Process of Building

connection with the irrigation schemes. The completed dam is about 130 feet in height. There was considerable difficulty in carrying out the excavations, but these problems were faced and mastered. The site of the dam is eight miles above the famous fort of Seringapatam so that the waters of the Cauvery, the Hemavati and the Lakshmantirtha rivers are impounded. The drainage of the great reservoir is over four thousand square miles, a good part of this being in the Malnad section. As the dam was raised the area under water increased, and a large number of villages were submerged. The people of these villages had to be

compensated and lands given to them in exchange, and every effort was made to help them in their new lands. A large area of land will be brought under cultivation. Several new villages have been built and an effort is being made to construct these on modern lines, so they ought to serve as model villages for the district. Lands are being opened in the districts below on what is known as the "block system" by means of which land will be available and made suitable for cultivation on the system of crop rotation.

It is proposed to take off a high level canal from the left or the north bank of the river at a level of 60 feet above the river bed. The canal is intended to irrigate about 120,000 acres, of which two-thirds will be under monsoon irrigation and one-third under perennial. The main canal will



The Marikanave Lake and Dam

be approximately 50 miles long and for the present will end in the Shimsha river, and the area commanded by it is 100,000 acres. It is also proposed to take this canal across the Hulikere Karighatta range of hills by means of a tunnel about one and three quarters of a mile long. There has been considerable difficulty in deciding on the best way to circumvent this hill, but the consensus of opinion appears to be in favour of making a tunnel, though the cost will be high. Naturally there will be room for considerable developments in the matter of canals as the project develops. The water will be admitted into these channels by means of a number of sluices. The water required by the people living in the Cauvery valley in the Madras Presidency will also

pass through a series of sluices in the centre of the dam. The question of the regulation of the water for the Madras territory is a most important one, and there is every reason to believe that satisfactory arrangements have been made. Rules have been framed by the Arbitration Committee appointed, and plans have been made for a very careful system of checking, so that difficulties may not arise. In the report of the work issued by the late Dewan, special reference is made to this question. "This is more or less a political question, and the operations should be regulated with scientific exactitude, and checks and counter-checks thoroughly maintained. Government should also arrange to satisfy themselves, by independent checks and quarterly or other periodical reports, that everything connected with gauging and regulation is done in a systematic manner and strict accordance with approved rules."

Reference may now be made to the question of hydraulic-electric power development, which is closely connected with this project. Prior to the year 1915 three installations were at work at Sivasamudram, about 60 miles below the reservoir and these were capable of producing direct from the river flow about 13,000 h. p. A fourth installation, capable of producing 4,000 h. p. was installed in 1915 in response to a demand from the Kolar gold fields for more power. Three further installations have been added. In order to secure a sufficient amount of power for this great scheme it was necessary to hold up a large supply to be available whenever the ordinary supply of the water in the river should fail. The Sivasamudram scheme is therefore assured by the construction of the dam. But it is also intended to produce electric power at the project itself for the purpose of developing local industries. Four pen-stock pipes are now fixed for this purpose in the dam 53 feet above the bed. There can be no doubt as to the value of such a scheme as the Krishnaraja Sagara project, for in addition to the handsome revenue it ought to yield to the State, there will be a steady improvement in the prosperity of a large number of people in the vicinity of the works. The supply of electricity will not only be a source of great gain to the gold fields, but there will be possibilities of industrial development that could not be expected if the industries were dependent on coal supplies. "The present scheme will make large additions to the food

supply, produce raw materials for industries, promote manufactures and quicken industrial life and commercial enterprise among the people." Though the scheme actually received sanction under the orders of the late Mr. T. Ananda Rao. C. I. E., the man upon whom has rested the greatest responsibility was Sir M. Visveswaryya, who has shown the greatest enthusiasm and skill in carrying out the work. The names of Mr. Karpur Srinivasa Rao, and Mr. Cadambi are associated with the very difficult operations which have since been carried on. Mr. K. Krishna Iyengar B. A. L. C. E., Raja-Sabha-Bhushana, Rao Bhadur, has been in charge of the Cauvery Irrigation as Chief Engineer from July 1918, and high testimonies are paid to his advice and assistance in connection with this and other schemes. Mysoreans are proud that this magnificent piece of work has been entirely carried out by Mysoreans. Mr. Subba Rao, Mr. Garuda



Krishnaraja Sagar—the Dam in Process of Building

Charys, and Mr. Sesha Char and others have all rendered most valuable and enthusiastic service in the work.

The Suttee

BY SITA DEVI

A BANI and Surendra were old friends. They belonged to the same village and afterwards had belonged to the same college. But now they lived far apart owing to their work. Surendra had settled in Behar, while Abani still clung to good old Calcutta.

But they had kept up the habit of being together during the Pujah vacation. This time Surendra had come down to Calcutta. His wife had gone home to her father with the children. So he was at liberty to enjoy his friend's company, as long as he liked.

They were having their morning tea. A couple of newspapers lay in front on the table.

Abani took a good sip at the cup and said, "So long as a man does not feel the inner urge to reform, the law can never reform him. They are enacting various laws for making intercaste marriage valid, for raising the age of marriage, etc. Do you

think it will do a bit of good? Nobody will pay heed to these."

"They will have to", said Surendra. "The law may not be of positive use, but it will stop abuse, to a certain extent. You must never expect a whole nation to feel the urge to reform all at once. But the few, who have already felt it, may now give effect to their convictions. The law will make it safe for them. And others may follow their good example. All reforms take place gradually in this manner."

"But child-marriage, etc., were gradually disappearing of themselves," said Abani. "Within a few years, they would have gone completely. Our countrymen need not have made such a row over them, thereby publishing our own disgrace to the whole world. It is we who give the Katharine Mayo's their cues."

"I beg to differ," said Surendra. "These evils are too deep-rooted in our nature, to be easily forsaken. And why should we

wait, even a few years, if we could remove them now? If we could have got the reforms ten years earlier, we would have saved ten thousand girls' needless sufferings thereby. A human life is a priceless thing. You cannot go on sacrificing it endlessly for the sake of a theory."

"Tell you what," said Abani, "I don't like the law interfering in social matters, especially as the making and unmaking of laws lie with foreigners now. We have no political rights and if we allow them to dictate even our social laws, we should be worse than slaves."

Surendra lighted a cigarette and threw away the match. "We must choose the lesser evil", he said. "Slavery is bad, but suicide is worse. Do you mean to say, that we should not enact laws against even Suttee or the sacrifice of children in the name of religion?"

"I would not go so far," said Abani. "Where human life is concerned everything else must be subordinated."

"But is it less horrible to suffer lifelong agony than to burn oneself in a fit of sorrow?" asked Surendra.

Abani remained silent for a few minutes. Then he said, "I don't support Suttee or child sacrifice. But one thing I should like to say regarding them. These things proved how much love and religious fervour can effect. But the law has stopped all that now. Nobody can even think of Suttee or child sacrifice now. Don't you think we have thereby laid a limit to the power of voluntary sacrifice which every human heart possesses?"

"Don't speak like an idiot," said Surendra. "Law can never change human nature. Do you think that none of the women who lose their husbands now-a-days, love them or can sacrifice as much for them as the women of yore did?"

"I have grave doubts," Abani said. "They would not dare to think of what those heroic women did."

"Certainly they can," Surendra said. "If you have leisure, I should like to tell you of an incident of which I have first-hand knowledge."

"I am at your service," said Abani.

"Why don't you call your Mrs. too?" asked Surendra jestingly. "It may teach her a lesson in wifely devotion."

"She had better supervise the cooking."

Abani said, "It is much the better form of devotion."

"As you please," Surendra said; "so here goes—"

"I have altered all the names, as the persons concerned are still living. They may not like it. You may remember that I was in dreadful financial difficulties when I first began to practise here. I made next to nothing and I had no patrimony to fall back upon. So I had no other option than to go away somewhere else.

But where to go? I was nearly at my wit's end, when I received a letter from Manoranjan. You remember him, don't you? He was a few years my senior, but we were good friends once. I had heard that, after passing the law examination, he had gone to Behar, and was doing well there. After that, for a few years, I heard nothing more about him.

I was rather surprised at his writing to me. Why had he remembered me all of a sudden? I went through the letter and found that he had invited me to go there and take up his practice. It had been a good one, but he had fallen ill and was in much trouble. He was too ill to do anything and was deeply in debt. If I went there, I could take up his practice, and I could give him a bit of friendly help too.

I found nothing to object to in the plan. I packed in a hurry, borrowed some money with great difficulty and started. I sent on a wire to Manoranjan. But I did not expect him to meet me at the station, since he was so ill.

After a long and dusty journey in one of the passenger trains of the E. I. R., I arrived at my destination rather sick of my experience. I saw no sign of my friend at the station. I decided to try my luck at finding his residence.

I called a porter and putting all my luggage on his head, walked out of the platform. I was just going to get into a hackney carriage, when a boy ran up to me. I think I was the only Bengali traveller, so he had no hesitation in picking me out. "Are you Surendra Babu?" he asked.

"Yes," I said. "But who may you be, my boy? I don't think I have seen you before."

"No, you have not," he said, "I live near the house of Manoranjan Babu. As he could not come, his wife has sent me."

"Come, get in, then," I said. It took us nearly half an hour to reach Manoranjan's house. He had given up his old house and had removed to a dirty little hole, in a far off quarter of the town. The whole street could not boast of a new or a fair-sized house. The open drains on both sides made one positively sick. I fervently hoped I would not have to remain here long. Even starvation at home was better than this.

The boy ordered the coachman to stop and got down. He knocked at a door which was cracked in many places and shouted, "Auntie!"

The door opened with a grating noise. I could discern a veiled female figure standing within the doorway. I guessed rightly that there were no servants; so I ordered the coachman to take down the luggage and carried them inside with his help. The boy took a rupee from me and went outside and paid off the man.

The lady had retreated inside. I stood hesitating, not knowing exactly what to do, when I heard Manoranjan's voice. "Come right in," he cried out. "I am too weak to go out and welcome you."

I went in. There was only one wooden bedstead in the room and a man was lying on it. I took him one to be Manoranjan. Not that I recognised him but because it could not be anyone else. He bore no resemblance whatever to the Manoranjan I knew. I sat down by his side, as there was nothing else on which I could sit.

"So, you have come after all," he said. "I hope you had a pleasant journey."

"Only so so," I said, "But I am surprised at your condition. How did things become so bad? We always understood that you were doing pretty well here."

"I was," he said. "A year ago I could never have dreamt of such a state of affairs. Then I fell ill. I don't know what's the matter with me, but the fever never leaves me. It may be malaria, or kala-azar or consumption."

"But, are not you being treated by any doctor?" I interrupted.

"As long as I had money," he said, "I called in every doctor, homeopath and kaviaraj the town had. But now I can scarcely pay for food. So I have no money to spare for doctors."

"Why didn't you return home?" I asked. "At least you would never have starved there."

"I had thought of that," he replied. "But who was there to take charge of me? Both my parents are dead, and I have no brother. I have relatives of course, but none so loving on whom I can hang on in this state. My wife's father is living, but her mother is dead. So relations are rather strained in that direction. Besides, they are poor people. So I stayed on where I was."

"But we must arrange for medical treatment," I said. "We cannot leave you like this."

"All right, all right," he said; "there's no hurry. First have some refreshments yourself. I say," he called out to his wife, "where have you gone and hidden yourself? This won't do now. We have not got a dozen servants. Surendra is like a younger brother to me. So you need not veil yourself before him."

Manoranjan's wife came back slowly into the room. She had lifted the veil off her face. I looked at her. It was a wonderful face. Not only was it exquisitely beautiful but it held something indescribable. I tried to think out what it was, but could not.

"This is my wife," said Manoranjan. I got up and bowing down to her took the dust of her feet, though she must have been years younger than myself. But I felt I wanted to show my reverence for her. "Don't be shy to come before me," I said. "Regard me as your younger brother-in-law."

She smiled slightly. "What about breakfast, Saroja?" asked Manoranjan.

"It is nearly ready," she said. "As soon as he has finished bathing, I shall serve it."

"Is there any fish to-day?" he asked. What an ass! He should not have asked her this in my presence. Lest she should feel embarrassed, I put in quickly, "It does not matter a bit, if she has not got fish. I would rather have vegetable dishes than fish or flesh any day."

"But I have got fish," Saroja said; "please go and have your bath."

I took out a change of clothing, a towel and soap and started to have a bath. The house did not boast a bath-room. So, I had to finish my ablutions in the yard.

Manoranjan was an invalid. So, I had to take my breakfast alone in the kitchen. The fare was exceedingly simple, still I don't think I had ever eaten with greater relish. Saroja was serving me. I looked at

her face and seemed to know it. I must have seen her somewhere before. After a few minutes I understood my feeling. I had never seen Saroja before, but I had seen exactly this expression on the face of our goddesses, Annapurna, Lakshmi and others. This girl belonged to the modern age but her appearance, manners, everything about her belonged to the Vedic or the Epic ages. She could easily have been a Savitri or a Damayanti. She never seemed to be fully living this life. Half of her lived in some forgotten past existence. She was a being one could worship, one could reverence, but one dared not love. I wondered how a creature like Manoranjan could think of her as his wife.

After finishing my meal, I began to feel rather drowsy and, spreading a mat in the outer room, I fell fast asleep. I got up after sunset and went out for a stroll. Five minutes, inside that stuffy and dark house made my head reel. Next day I began work. I could not afford to sit idle, but I saw that Manoranjan could afford it still less. The house he used to live in before, was fortunately vacant. I went and rented it trusting to luck. I put a big sign-board in front, and furnished the office-room pretty decently, though the inner apartments remained bare like a desert. Manoranjan had quite a good number of law books getting moth-eaten. I rescued them and put them in my room. He gave me letters of introduction to all his wealthy clients and I went and saw them all.

My luck had turned. So I was not unsuccessful in my efforts. I began to get clients from the very beginning. I don't mean to say that I became a millionaire, but I could pay my way and help Manoranjan too. I called in his old doctor. I would pay for the medicines. I told him for the present. But if my luck held he would be paid in full for his services, I promised him. The doctor was not a bad sort. He agreed.

Everyday I used to go to Manoranjan's house once to see him. I took fruits or rusk, or some such things with me. And I always managed to pay their bazaar money. He felt no scruples about accepting these. He had put me in the way of earning money. So he was entitled to a fair commission. He was too ill besides, to have much sensitiveness left. But Saroja's face expressed her mortification clearly. She hated to be the recipient of charity.

One day she suddenly asked, "Won't you bring over your wife and child here?"

"I am in no hurry," I replied; "they are getting on quite well there. Till I am fairly well established here, I won't send for them."

"Then why did you take such a big house?" she asked. "Most of the rooms are empty, I suppose? Why don't you sub-let half of it to us? We have to pay some rent here, small though it is. If I am there, you won't have to keep that cook of yours."

"If you be kind enough to come," I said warmly, "I cannot say how glad I shall feel. The house is like a desert, it gives me the creeps. But don't talk about paying rent, or you will spoil everything. If I am exempted from tasting the delicacies produced by Maharaj*, I shall deem myself fortunate."

I don't think Saroja found this arrangement much to her liking, but Manoranjan became so enthusiastic over it that she had to remain silent perforce. Two days later they removed to my house.

The house presented a better sight no doubt, and the cooking improved vastly. But I cannot say, that it gained much in the way of cheerfulness. Manoranjan was too ill to be cheerful. He groaned and moaned all the time. And Saroja drudged like a slave the whole day. She scarcely had the time to talk. She seemed even more depressed here, than she had been before. She ceased to smile even.

I could not understand the reason. True, her husband was ill, but that was nothing new. They were far more comfortable here. So why this increase of depression?

The cause, I found out only accidentally, or so I thought then. I paid little attention to my neighbour, who lived in the house next to mine. I sometimes saw him coming out or going in. He was a young man. I did not know who he was, or what he did. There was something peculiar in his appearance and dress. Afterwards I heard that he was an artist and was earning a good deal of money. Nobody knew much about him. He seemed to live alone in that house. He never went into society, perhaps he did not think anyone here good enough to associate with.

Through the window of Manoranjan's bedroom, if he left his window open, we could see a portion of the artist's studio. I had not noticed it to remain open before,

* Brahmin cook.

but now-a-days whenever I went in to see Manoranjan I found the artist's window open. Saroja was too beautiful a woman to pass unnoticed by a man, especially by an artist. So, I could find it in my heart to be lenient to the fellow. More so as I knew Saroja to be the incarnation of virtue and faithfulness. So I never bothered about this perpetually gaping window.

One day, I had returned rather earlier than usual from the court. I had brought a bottle of medicine for Manoranjan. I walked into his bedroom with it. I found Manoranjan sleeping and his wife standing before the open window. The window of the artist's studio was open too, and he was standing there. I don't know whether they were talking, at any rate I heard nothing. But I seemed to turn into stone with surprise.

Saroja stood with her back to me. So the artist chap was the first to catch sight of me. He gave a start and moved off instantly. Saroja too turned round. She became pale as death and hurried out of the room without a single word. Their behaviour served to confirm my suspicion. Looking at a man through the window cannot be considered a sin, even for a Hindu woman. I would not have been much surprised, if I had seen anyone else doing it. But for Saroja, it was rather strange. Besides, if they were not guilty, why did both of them run away like that? They stood self-convicted.

After this incident Saroja ceased to talk to me. I understood the whole affair in a way. But what was I to do? I had no definite proof, so I could not go and accuse the artist. He would be justified in kicking me out. I could not say anything to Saroja out of diffidence. To speak to her husband would mean murder. So I remained dumb.

Manoranjan had collected quite a large number of creditors during the course of his long illness. They were getting restive. First came abusive letters, then Durwans, then the gentlemen themselves began to appear on the scene, one by one. The house now belonged to me, and Manoranjan was too ill to come out. So they could not have it out with him as they desired. But their voices penetrated within and filled the mind of their victims with helpless rage and sorrow.

Lawyer's notices began to arrive. Saroja used to open all their letters, before passing them on to Manoranjan. She opened one of

those letters and seeing that it was written in English, she brought it over to me. "Please see," she said, "who has written it."

This was the first time, she had spoken to me, after that deplorable incident. I felt too uncomfortable even to look at her. I managed to make her acquainted with the contents of the letter. She stood like one turned to stone, with the letter in her hand.

This woman was becoming an enigma to me. I could not mistrust my own eyes. But I could hardly believe her to be guilty, after seeing her whole-hearted devotion to her husband. She nursed him with untiring zeal, day and night. The world struck at Manoranjan, but she received the blows midway, thus shielding him from pain and insult. Could such a wife be faithless? Perhaps she was really innocent. Being a lawyer, I knew that appearance of guilt was not always guilt. I could not convict her even in my own mind, before obtaining further and stronger proofs.

But we are as pawns in the hands of fate. The affair made rapid progress within the next few days and its tragic climax too loomed into sight.

My *chokra** used to come to my rooms in the evening, with a table-lamp. This evening, he came as usual, but instead of going away after depositing the lamp, he remained standing near the door.

"What do you want, Raghua?" I asked.

"Master, I want to tell you something," the boy said with folded hands. "You are like a father to me, and I cannot bear calumny to touch you."

"What on earth are you hinting at?" I asked. "Speak plainly."

"When you go out and the sick gentleman falls asleep, the mistress goes away to the house next to us. She returns after an hour or so," said Raghua.

I felt inclined to clout his head. But I restrained myself. After all the boy was not to blame. He had only reported what he had seen. It was a mercy that others had not done so yet. But could a human being's face bear such false witness? Saroja looked like Sati herself, the spouse of the great god Shiva. Could she be faithless?

"How do you know it?" I asked the boy.

"Every afternoon, the mistress lets me off for an hour to go out. The other day, I had a headache and did not like to go out.

* Boy-servant.

Instead I came out here, and had a good nap. The mistress did not know that. Afterwards, I felt very thirsty and went into the kitchen to have a glass of water. I found the back door open, which rather surprised me. Just as I was going to close it, I saw the mistress coming out of that house, through their back door. Before she could see me, I made my escape."

"Was this the only time you noticed her going there?" I asked.

"No, I noticed her yesterday, and the day before," the boy said. "She goes out at one o'clock and returns at two."

I dismissed him, saying I would look into the matter. I ordered him to keep his mouth shut about this affair. But I could not determine what to do. I had no right over Saroja. I could not go and have it out with her. Her husband was the right person to interfere, but he was near death. To tell him would be to deliver the death-blow. Still I determined to ask Saroja about it. But I must not trust entirely to a servant's words. I was going to catch her myself. Then I shall go and horsewhip that dandy of an artist, even if I could do nothing else.

Next day, I did not go to court, though I went out at ten o'clock as usual. I told the boy to keep the front door unlocked as I was going to come back after an hour. He agreed, saying that he would remain concealed within the house, after he had received permission to go. I felt heartily ashamed of myself for laying this trap, but cruel fate had left me no option.

I returned at about half past one. Raghu met me with the news that Saroja had gone out a little while ago and was due to return very soon. I took up my post at a spot from where I would be able to do my watching undetected.

Very soon after, the back door of the artist's house opened and Saroja came out. She entered the house by the kitchen door. I was about to come out of my hiding place to give her a good piece of my mind, when I stopped amazed at the sight of her face. It expressed such agony as I had never before seen on any human face. Her whole face was distorted.

I was puzzled. What could it mean? After she had gone in, I came out of my hiding place and went to my office-room. I sat thinking and thinking. I decided to go to the artist at last. To-morrow, when Saroja

would go to her tryst I too would follow her and confront the guilty pair. I would make an end of this.

But my plans were all upset. I had thought of returning at one o'clock but got unavoidably detained. Just as I entered the house, I heard a terrible shout from Manoranjan's room. I ran into it and found him holding Saroja by the hand and shrieking like one possessed. The stream of foul abuse pouring out of his lips scared my ears.

I caught hold of him and dragged him back to bed. "What are you doing?" I asked. "Do you want to kill yourself? What do you mean by getting so excited in your present state of health?"

"What's the use of living any longer?" he gasped. "I am better dead now. Do you know where my faithful wife had been this while, leaving me dying? She went to that house to meet her lover. Take her away from before my eyes. Or I will kill her. I have strength enough left for that. My brain is on fire, my heart is full of poison. I trusted that woman more than God."

"Come away," I said to Saroja. "Your presence only excites him. It is fatal for him."

"Get out," screamed the wretched husband. "Get out of the world, if you can. Don't show your face any more before man. Death is the only way out for you now."

Saroja wrapped herself in a heavy sheet and walked out of the room. I followed her, leaving Manoranjan shouting imprecations at her.

I saw that Saroja was really bent on leaving the house. I barred her way saying, "What are you doing? Your husband is mad, you need not mind him so much."

"Let me go, please," she said. "It is useless keeping me now."

My heart ached for her. With what joy had I invited her here, and now she was to be driven out like an unclean creature. "Remain in this room" I told her, pointing to one of the outer rooms. "Your husband need not know. Though appearances are bad, still I cannot believe you guilty."

She smiled rather wanly. "Why cannot you?" she asked. "A woman's guilt is very easily proved and believed in in our country."

"Be that as it may," I said, "I request you not to go now. Let Manoranjan calm

down a bit, then give your explanation. I am sure, you have got a good one."

"I have no explanation to give," was her strange reply. "You have done much for me. Even my own brother could not have done more. Do me this last service. Let me go. I cannot stay here a moment longer."

"At least tell me where you are going," I pleaded. "If by God's grace this terrible muddle is cleared up any time, I shall go and bring you back at once."

"Very well," she said. "You remember the boy who went to meet you at the station? He will know my whereabouts." Slowly she passed out of the front door. I saw her getting into a hackney carriage, which soon drove out of sight.

Manoranjan refused to be pacified. He went on shouting and abusing. I told Raghua to look after him and started for the house next door. One had got away but the other was still there to pay for the affair. I took a stout cane with me.

I found the front door closed. After repeated knockings and blows, an old man opened the door.

"Where is your master?" I asked. The master had gone out. He did not know when the master would return, or if he would return at all. Sometimes he would stay out for days. I asked whether he had taken any luggage with him. Nothing much, the old fellow replied.

So this one too had escaped me. I called myself a fool for having delayed too long. If I had come yesterday, I could have beaten him to jelly for wrecking another's home like this. I could not do anything by staying in the fellow's house, so I returned home.

Manoranjan drove me nearly crazy. He refused to eat, drink or sleep. If I tried to give him medicine, he ran for me with a stick. The boy Raghua was too frightened to go near him. I could not afford to sit at home all day, taking care of a lunatic. I had my practice to think of. So, I had to write to his relatives at home. I lied coolly, and told them that his wife was dead. I told Manoranjan to keep his mouth shut. There was no use publishing one's disgrace. Perhaps time would explain everything. I could not have given up such a wife, even if she had sinned once. She had been a staunch and faithful helpmate all these years, and one slip should be forgiven. But my friend was very orthodox on this point. All the same,

he agreed to remain silent, and a few days later one of his cousins came and took him away.

After I had disposed of Manoranjan, I began my search for Saroja. I went to the boy Saroja had referred me to. But they refused to say anything. They did not know, they pretended. Their faces belied their statement, but I could not compel them to tell the truth. I told them again and again that I was a sincere friend of the poor woman, and all I wanted was to help her to regain her home. But they remained adamant.

I went on searching. I advertised, I employed detectives, all to no purpose. After a while, I gave up in despair. I tried to drown myself in my work, so as to forget everything. But whenever I looked at the now deserted rooms, my heart ached terribly. Within this short space, I had come to look upon Saroja as my own sister.

Nearly a month had gone by. I had begun to forget. Suddenly, a small incident, served to remind me of the whole tragic history. A few letters addressed to Manoranjan arrived by the morning post. I was about to redirect them, when something prompted me to open the letters. He was an invalid and should not be troubled with bills or lawyer's notices.

But imagine my surprise, when I found the envelopes containing no bills, but receipts. Somebody had paid them off on the quiet!

A horrible suspicion stole into my mind. Was it Saroja by any chance? Who else would bother so much about that good-for-nothing Manoranjan? Had she sacrificed herself to pay her husband's debts? Could any honest woman do that? Perhaps she could. I wondered whether to call it sacrifice or sin. Still she should not have sold her honour, even to save her husband. I remembered the agony I had seen depicted on her face. Was that the result of inner conflict? Nobody knew besides God.

Anyway, I redirected the letters. Manoranjan would enjoy some peace of mind now. He, too, would wonder about the generous helper. Perhaps, he would think that I myself had given it. Days passed on. The courts closed for the October holidays. My friends, who lived with their families, stayed at home, enjoying the society of their wives and children. I had no incentive for

staying at home. I wandered about the whole day. Many meetings and conferences were held at this time. So I did not have any trouble about spending my time.

There was also an art exhibition going on. I started for it, one afternoon, with one of my friends. The hall where the exhibition was held stood at a considerable distance from my house. So we got a taxi, and started.

There was not much of a crowd there. So we wandered about at leisure, inspecting the paintings. Gradually we got separated from each other. Suddenly, I heard my friend calling me. I went over to him quickly and asked, "What's up?"

"Look at this painting," he said, pointing to a large canvas, hanging in front. "Didn't you say the other day that Indian artists were no good at oil paintings? Isn't it simply grand? If this had been painted in England, say, there would have been a rush for it."

I scarcely listened to him. I stared thunderstruck at the painting. It was called "The Suttee." A huge funeral pyre, burning, on the desolate and frightful bank of a dried-up river. A woman sat in the midst of the burning pile, clasping the corpse of her husband in her arms. The face of the woman was the face of Saroja! The agony I had seen on her face was painted even more intensely on the canvas. Still she looked divine as if glorying in the torture. The name of the painter, too, was familiar. It was that of my erstwhile neighbour.

"You seem rooted to the spot," my friend remarked. "Is it not just superb? If I had the money, I would buy it. But it has already been sold to some Maharaja for four thousand."

"Yes, it is excellent," I said. "You don't mind, if I leave you now? I am feeling rather unwell." Without waiting for his reply, I left the hall.

I knew the authorities of the Exhibition. With their help, I traced the artist Anukul Mallik very easily. I rehearsed a very sharp speech in my mind and started for his house. The man had just finished his tea and was lighting a cigarette, when the unexpected and unwelcome sight of myself upset him. He forgot his cigarette and remained staring at me.

I bowed to him and asked, "Don't you recognise me? You used to be my neighbour."

He had pulled himself together somehow and replied, "Oh, was that you, who lived in No. 15? To what do I owe this pleasure?"

"I saw your canvass at the exhibition, the 'Suttee'," I said. "It is superb. I could not refrain from giving myself the pleasure of calling on you."

He cast a look of suspicion at me, but remained silent. "But couldn't you secure another model for it?" I asked. "Why did you break up the home of a poor man?"

The artist had regained control of himself. "Yes, I could have got another model, but not for a picture of the 'Suttee,'" he said boldly. "But how did I break up a home? What do you accuse me of? I hope she did not tell you that I have not paid her adequately for her services?"

"Don't pretend to be so innocent," I said angrily. "Money does not make up for lost honour."

"Don't you, on your part, pretend to be silly," he said heatedly. "Because she had to sit before me for an hour, daily, you think she had lost her honour? Did she tell you that?"

"You know very well she cannot tell us anything as she is not with us," I said sarcastically.

The man got fed up. "Look here," he cried, "I have no time to waste listening to nonsense. If you can prove that I had treated her with any lack of respect or that I had not paid her the promised money, then I will listen to you. It is true I had to inflict suffering on her, but she agreed to undergo it."

"Suffering?" I asked rather mystified. "What was the nature of it?"

"Well, if you want to hear it, I have no objection to tell," he said, with forced indifference. "I wanted the expression of intense suffering on her face. So I had to brand her with hot iron on the back."

I nearly fainted with horror. I could not have imagined such cruelty existed amongst civilized men. Poor, martyred Saroja! We were not fit to take the dust of her feet. And we had sat in judgment on her, and condemned her.

I felt too disgusted to stay there any longer. I got up, saying, "The law does not empower me to exact retribution. Otherwise I would have cracked your fine artistic head with this stick. I would do it even if it landed me in jail; only I have far more

urgent business upon my hand. So, goodbye; but don't try this game again."

He essayed a sickly smile. I rushed out of the house."

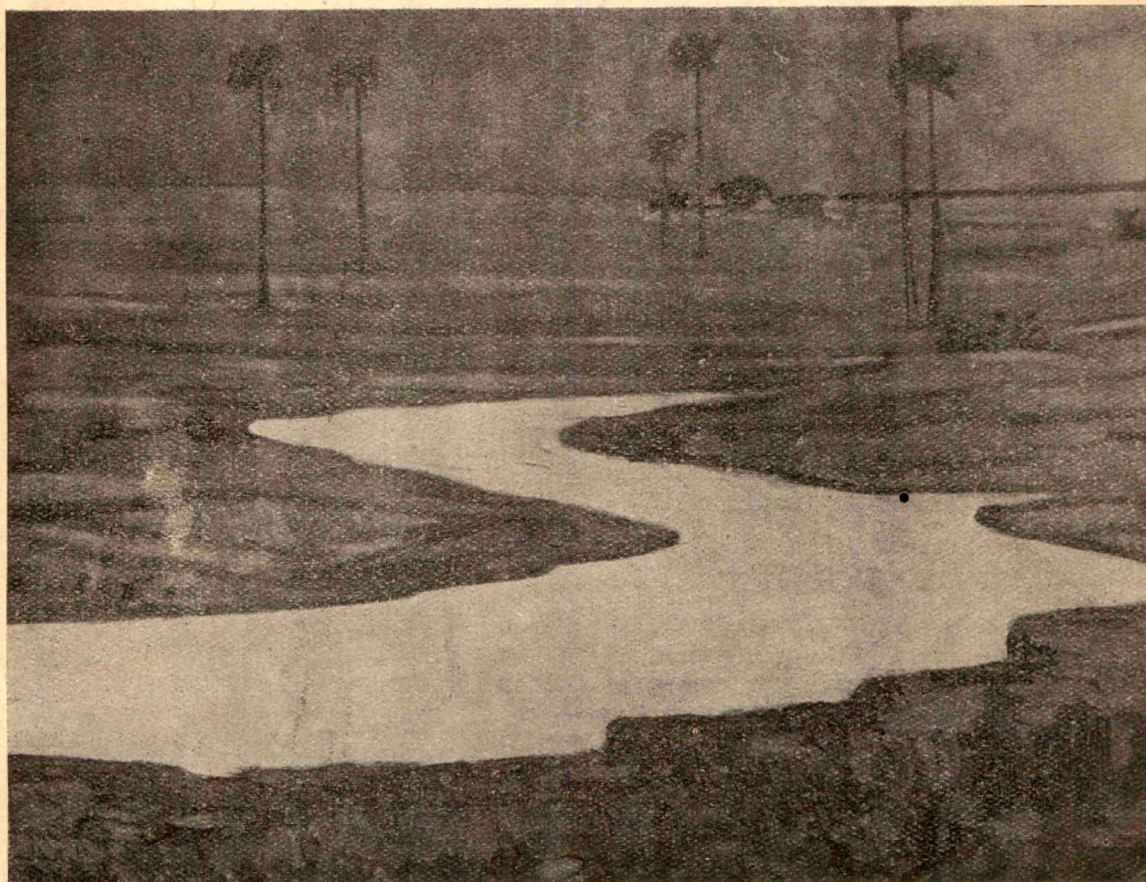
Surendra stopped. After a while, he asked, "Can you say that this girl could not have become a Suttee?"

"No, I cannot", said Abani. "But the tale sounds too strange to be true."

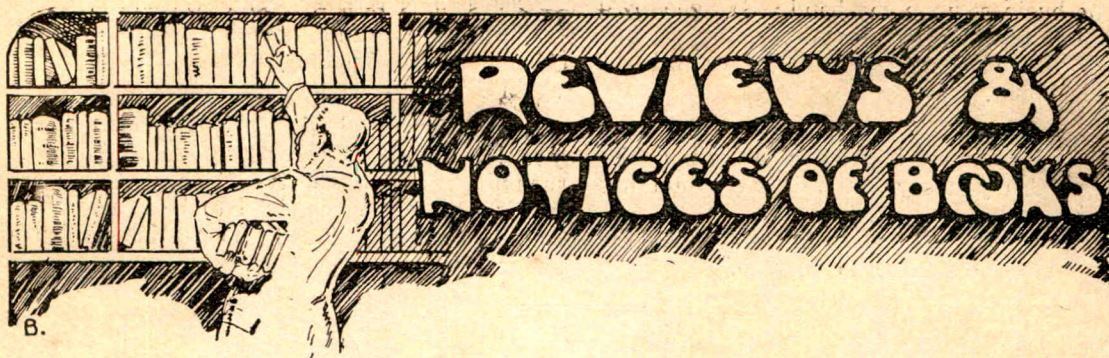
"Yes, it is rather," said Surendra.

"But it is unmitigated tragedy so far," Abani said. "Did you not find her again?"

"You are fond of happy endings, aren't you?" asked Surendra. "A school-girl mentality. Yes, we traced her. There are pearls that are destined to be cast before swine. Not that I call poor Manoranjan a swine."



The Plain—by Andrée Karpelès



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

RAMDAS AND THE RAMDASIS : *By W. S. Deming, Ph. D. (the Religious Life of India series, Y. M. C. A., 1928) Pp. XVI+224. Paper, Rs. 2.*

The American Protestant mission have made Maharashtra a field peculiarly their own, and toiled in this vineyard of the Lord with the energy, intelligence and usefulness characteristic of their great nation. Hume of Ahmadnagar is still remembered as a saint and scholar. Justin Abbott has recently retired. Dr. Deming (posted at Satara) has brought out a standard work on Ramdas, which ought to have been written by some Hindu but has not been : all the energies of our "leaders" and thinkers (if they think at all) being directed to ploughing the sand in other and more noisy fields. Another missionary (of Jalna) is working on the Manbhav sect.

This book is a valuable addition to the *Religious Life of India* series, which we owe to the vision and organizing genius of Dr. J. N. Farquhar, whose recent death we all mourn. It will be the source to which all English-speaking people will resort for information about the life and teaching of Ramdas and the history and practices of the sect that continues his name.

The biographical portion is very full and valuable, especially for the critical study of the question of Ramdas's influence on Shivaji's political ideals which turns on the date of their first meeting (ch. 3). Dr. Deming gives the *pros* and *cons* for each view, and finally draws his own conclusions (pp. 70-72). The theological and ethical teachings of the saint are described lucidly and fully in two chapters (5 and 6), and the *Dasbodh* and other poems of the sect are discussed in a chapter by itself (ch. 8). The history of his followers and the present (often deplorable) condition of the monasteries of his order are dealt with fairly and with fullness of knowledge (ch. 9 and 10). In the final chapter (11) we have the inevitable comparison between Ramdas and Jesus

as teachers ; it is an interesting study though all may not share the author's beliefs.

J. SARKAR

CHINA'S MILLIONS : *By Anna Louise Strong. Coward-McCann, Inc., Publishers. Fully illustrated. Price \$4.00.*

One book that Indians interested in China should read is this one. It is a graphic account by the well-known writer, Dr. Anna Louise Strong, who has been in China a number of times and has made a study of the national movement. This volume is practically a diary of her experiences during the heroic days of the Hankow National Government that set imperialism in China trembling ; of the destruction of that government by the conservative groups now forming the Nanking Government ; and of her journey with many Chinese exiles and one of the Russian advisers, through western China and Mongolia. She was with Madame Sun Yat-sen throughout her study in China, and lived with this lady in her home in Hankow.

If India would study the dangers that await it in any national struggle—the danger of conservative forces gaining sufficient control to make a compromise with imperialism ; if they would study the strength of a people when the peasants and workers form the foundation of its struggle, and of the weakness of a movement when those are driven from it, then they must study the Chinese revolution. This book gives a very clear and dramatic picture of such forces at work in China. The style is such as we have come to associate with certain American writers—terse, simple, forceful. Here you see living men and women in action, talking and arguing, fighting and suffering. Throughout she has taken individual stories to illustrate the forces at work ; one of the most brilliant of them is the study of the Hankow Women's union and of some of the young women revolutionaries in Hunan Province who were cut

to pieces by enemy soldiers. From such accounts you get the first inkling of the courageous women of central China, particularly of the women of Hunan, who are even to-day spoken of with bated breath by the Chinese. After the reaction began and the Nanking Government was established, women of Hunan have been considered so dangerous that many of them have been shot or beheaded along with countless numbers of men.

This is not just a study of political forces; it is a study of social and economic forces that determine political events. As such it is all the more valuable. The sections that are merely daily accounts of the expedition of exiles through western China and Mongolia are colourful and interesting because of the unusual scenes they present and the hardships entailed in them, but they do not have the social value of the first part of the book.

UNDERSTANDING INDIA: By Gertrude Marvin Williams. Coward-McCann, Inc., Publishers, New York. Illustrated. 323 pp. Price \$3.50.

There are student-travellers and student-travellers. What they see and how they understand and interpret depends largely upon what they carry in their own hearts. Katherine Mayo went to India, and what she saw and how she interpreted was due to the fact that she belongs to one of the Anglo-Saxon imperialist groups who use their brains as prostitutes of their emotions and desires. Her book has called into being a number of others, most of them by far inferior to hers, however true the content.

Now a book has been written that one quite naturally thinks of when one thinks of Miss Mayo's. It was written about the same time, also by an American journalist, a student-traveller, a modern woman, sensitive to every injustice to women and children, a woman trained to observe and appraise scientifically. Furthermore, it was written by a woman who broke through the hard frame of western conventions that condemn everything strange or different. The result is a book of charm, interest, and also of uncompromising criticism—but a book that Indians will read without bitterness. They will perhaps study the criticisms with sympathy and will be moved to renewed energy in eradicating any evils here depicted. For, these evils are not pictured by an enemy for political purposes—they are the criticisms of a friend. For this reason they may not cut so deep—a thoughtful study is often less spectacular than a detective story.

From her writing, it is easy to see that Mrs. Williams is not an imperialist. She does not ignore subjects embarrassing to the British—such as opium, the opposition to the Age of Consent Bill, their support of corrupt princes, their caste and arrogance, new Delhi. And while she criticizes social evils amongst Indians, she gives excellent accounts of organizations working against these evils. Yet she does not withhold criticism where it is due—for instance, the attitude that, she says, still prevails in Bengal about *sati*. She says that she could share in the thought that *sati* is beautiful "if it applied to the man as well as the woman." But men have conveniently invented sacrifice for women while inventing every means to make their own lives comfortable and interesting. *Sati* as a virtue was never applied to men.

Mrs. Williams sees the Indian princes as they

really are—degenerate, lustful tools of British imperialism, mill-stones on the neck of modern India. But for some reason or other, in her description of their lustful habits and lives, she hesitates to mention names that have been blazoned across the pages of every Indian and foreign newspaper.

Throughout her book, she is only indirectly political. While Miss Mayo's attempt was to justify everything British and to answer every claim of the nationalists for liberty, Mrs. Williams' was to study both sides of the case in so far as this was possible in the short time she was in India. Since she is not an imperialist herself, she quite naturally is convinced of the justice of the nationalist movement.

I find one objection to the book. Throughout Mrs. Williams constantly compares India to-day with Europe of the Middle Ages—and in this manner she attempts to draw the teeth of western critics. She has also compared evils in India with similar evils in the West. Now all this is good so far as it goes. But she does not ask *why*, conditions in India are mediaeval,—*why*, in this 20th century, and after 150 years of British rule, education, public hygiene, and social conditions are as they are to-day. Human beings are products of their environment, and by changing the environment—which means the economic conditions upon which society is based—you change everything from the soil to man's brain. India is feudal in some respects, because a government has maintained the country in mediaevalism. If the money that has gone to England in all these decades to enrich the industrial, educational and cultural life of the English ruling class—and only as a by-product to other Englishmen; if this money had been spent in altering the foundations of Indian society, in eradicating mediaeval economic conditions, India would be a free and advanced country to-day. The so-called fatalism of India, its so-called spirituality, is a product of despair caused by ages of looking out upon life without hope. Real spirituality does not consist in inactivity or contemplation of a condition in which nobody will have to work. The spiritual leadership of the world to-day is in the hands of the men and women in India and other lands who are aggressively struggling against subjection in any form. Personally, I always object to the use of the word "spiritual" when applied to some *sadhu* who is a parasite. To me, the men who have gone and are going to prison for their ceaseless struggle for liberty are the spiritual leaders of India.

All in all, Gertrude Williams' book is far superior to most general books written about India. In honesty, style, and purpose, it is far superior to Miss Mayo's book. It is, of course, written for purely western consumption—an attempt of a liberal-minded and honest woman, and a very capable journalist, to see and analyse her observations, from a western viewpoint.

Agnes Smedley

THE MYSTERIOUS KUNDALINI: By Vasant G. Rele, F. C. P. S., L. M. & S. with a foreword by Sir John Woodroffe, K. T. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Bombay, 1929. 89 pages: Rs. 3-8.

Dr. Rele explains Yogic phenomena in terms of Western anatomy and physiology. Lieut.-Col.

C. H. L. Meyer, M. D., late Professor of Physiology, Grant Medical College, Bombay, gives his opinion as follows:—"His (Dr. Rele's) views on the physiological explanation of the powers which Yogis attain by their methods have much to be said for them and are of fascinating interest." This is hardly any 'opinion'; we are equally sorry that Sir John Woodroffe writes a foreword to such a book. The author has not been able to prove that the vagus nerve is the 'Kundalini'. The author writes, "Pranayam is a process of bringing under control the vagus nerve. We can understand the importance of this control; when we know that all the vital forces are more or less under the control of the vagus nerve and its centre, and when this is achieved by Yoga, there is said to be nothing in nature that cannot be brought under the control of the performer. All the forces of nature will obey him as his slaves, and when the ignorant see these powers of the Yogi, they call them miracles." How a control over one's own nervous system gives one a control over external natural forces is not explained by the author. It is regrettable that a medical man should have written thus. The author's leaning towards mysticism is evidenced by such expressions as: "It may be that what is abnormal to men living on a lower plane of vibrations, is normal to those who live on a slightly higher plane of vibrations than ours." What is exactly meant by 'plane of vibrations' is not mentioned and when the author tries to define Yoga as "the science which raises the capacity of the human mind to respond to higher vibrations," we are none the wiser for it. The evidence brought forth by the author to co-relate Yogic phenomena with modern physiological conceptions is absolutely unconvincing.

G. Bose

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND INDIA'S HUMILIATION :
By Atul Krishna Ghose. Published by Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta.

This booklet of 44 pages owes its origin to its young author's journey to East Africa and his experiences there. The title of the book is too ambitious for the subjects discussed nor does the author do full justice to the problems. Still it has to be admitted that the author is forceful in his style, has an eye to the reality of the position when he discusses the injurious bearings of the currency policy, land settlement system or the importance of East African trade to India. Especially noteworthy is his observation that money of the Bengali capitalist and energy of the Bengali youths can co-operate to enrich Bengal by establishing ginneries and supplying gunny bags and hessian for Uganda.

G. H.

WAYSIDE BLOSSOMS : -By Raghubir Narayana :
The Literary Book Agency, Bhagalpur or Chapra.
69 Pages.

Mr. Raghubir Narayan's reputation as a poet has spread far and wide. The book under review contains 29 excellent poems. Some of the pieces are incomparable. Others full of thought. In "The Loss of the Titanic" we read :

A liner just sent out from home,
She might have braved the fiercest gale
That ever wrecked the flapping sail
Or lashed the high waves into foam

The dozing air had gone to sleep ;
No seeming danger harboured nigh ;
Sweet starry eyes of love from high
Were gazing on the snoring deep.

He rules the world, its bowers and halls,
But vainly tries to baffle fate,
In vain are all his efforts great—
In vain his wireless tragic calls.

We are glad to see that this is on a par with standard English poems "The Loss of the Birkenhead," "Toll for the Brave" etc. Advance Behar ! Mr. Raghubir Narayan's theme is not woman's love, a notable difference from other poets. His mastery of English is astonishing, his rhyming power natural and his wit brilliant.

THE VISION OF LIFE : By A. H. Jaisinghani :
Ganesh & Co, Madras. 43 pages.

Mr. Jaisinghani writes in prose, discussing "idealism." His 'guide' to the mansion of life says :—"There is no heaven outside life, neither is there hell. Hell and heaven are what you make of your life. Do not live in illusions : know the great reality : worship the great Truth." Those who love literature on mysticism and idealism will peruse the book with pleasure.

PSALMS OF DADU : By Tara Dutt Gairola : The Indian Book Shop : Benares City. 126 pages.

Dadu was a seer of the 15th century. There is an interesting historical introduction. Mr. Gairola has succeeded in translating admirably. Dadu says, "Death is shooting arrows over thy head : conquer death : kill the desires of the heart : repent of thy sins : shake off the load of the world."

VIVEKANAND, THE NATION BUILDER : By Swami Avyaktananda : Ramkrishna Asrama, Bankipore, Patna. One rupee. 139 pages.

In this book the author tries to "stimulate in the reader a genuine desire to study the principles of nation-building as indicated by Swami Vivekananda." There are six chapters. We are told that castes in India were never in equilibrium. A lower caste often became a superior one, and Vivekananda said :—"There are thousands of castes, and some are even getting admission into Brahminhood, for what prevents any caste from declaring that its members are Brahmins ? Thus caste with all its rigour has been created in that manner." The author writes : "Our spiritual scheme of life does not countenance untouchability. The solution of the social problem is not by bringing down the higher, but raising the lower up to the level of the higher... Our object should be not the destruction of the real caste, but the equalization of privileges and removal of the privileges enjoyed by the upper classes. If we can develop our castes properly there is no national loss; in having even thousands of them more, for considering the economic aspect of castes we see that the greater the number of castes, the richer and more prosperous will the country be in arts, crafts and

industries." Religion and economics are discussed in the book in an able manner.

CRITIC

A WOMAN OF INDIA (SAROJNALINI) : By G.S. Dutt, I.C.S., Hogarth Press, London. Available at 45 Benintola Lane, Calcutta. 144 pages, Rs. 1-6.

Mr. Dutt has written his wife's biography in an interesting manner. Sarojnalini was a born philanthropist, and had the innate desire to uplift Indian women ; we also read on page 7 that certain songs acted as a source of inspiration "ringing in her ears urging her to go forward."

The book is an important one in spite of its many defects. It ought to be translated into all the vernaculars so that other Sarojnalinis may arise to make short work of the purdah and other superstitions. The welfare of Indian women seems intimately connected with the circulation of this valuable publication, so we should like to see it shorn of all blemishes of style and grammar in the next edition.

HINDI

BHEDIYA-DHASAN : translated from the Bengali of 'Parasuram' by Dhanyakumar Jain. The Vishal Bharat Pustakalaya, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. pp. 178.

The original of this collection of humorous sketches struck a new note in Bengali literature and at once attracted the attention of the Bengali public. The author is gifted with an uncommon power of seeing and depicting, and his works are in a class by themselves. The 'Vishal Bharat' was well-advised to translate these amusing stories for its pages and also to publish them in book form. Considering the fact that this branch of literature is rather poor in Hindi we hope it will set a standard for its writers. The work of the artist who has contributed the simple but clever black and white sketches will also serve as model for the artists who intend to decorate Hindi books. Both the stories and the pictures come as a great relief to those who are used to uninteresting stories and childish pictures.

The translation has been satisfactorily done, and the speeches of Ganderiram have been rendered in the Marwari dialect. This is a book which everyone will welcome and enjoy.

RAMES BASU

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

1. GRAHA-YAGA-TATTVAM : By Raghunandan Bhattacharji, edited by Satishchandra Shiddhanta-bhusan. Pp. XVIII+36.

2. TIRTA-TATTVAM ; By the same—edited by Bamacharan Kavayatintha. Pp. VI+41.

3. YATRA-TATTVAM : By the same—edited by Dvarikanath Nyaysastri. Pp. II+100

The Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta has done a service to the student of *Smṛiti* literature

by publishing these works by one who is recognised as the chief of the Bengal School. The orthodox section of the Hindu community is still governed by these ritualistic works in matters of worship, festivals, pilgrimage, etc. So their value as a receptacle of materials for social study cannot be underrated.

This literature is generally divided into two parts, one is the citing of the sources, and the other is the procedure of the rites. It is interesting that in no. 2 (p. 19) we have the mention of Mahabodhi in connection with Gaya, and that on no. 3 (pp. 55ff) there is distinct Tantrik influence. All these books have been most carefully edited by collating various MSS. and have been published in the Bengali character. These are sure to be helpful to the scholars as well as to the Hindu public.

RAMES BASU

PERSIAN

MIRAT-I-AHMADI, PART I, Ed. by Prof. Syed Nawab Ali. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 33, Baroda). 1928. Price Rs. 7-8.

The Government of H. H. the Gaekwad has done a very valuable service to students of Indian history by printing the Persian text of this most important history of Gujrat. The work was written by the last Mughal diwan of the province in the middle of the 18th century, and is enriched with copies of imperial rescripts, regulations and official orders as well as minute details of popular risings, riots &c., which make it a mine of information unsurpassed by any other Persian work on Mughal India. For a study of the economic and social conditions of the country and the actual effect of the Mughal administration, this source is invaluable.

The book falls into three parts : the first ending with the reign of Farrukh-siyar (1714) ; the second continuing the narrative to the end of Mughal rule in Gujrat and the establishment of Maratha sway there ; and the third being a supplement giving topographical details about the province, the lives of saints, official rules and procedure &c. Only the first and third parts had hitherto been available in a wretchedly incorrect lithographed edition. (The Palanpur edition of the complete work, issued half a century ago, having been absolutely unprocurable for many years past).

The editor had the advantage of preparing his copy from an autograph manuscript of the author, with corrections and valuable marginal glosses. But the distance of the editor from the printing-press has led to numerous misprints, especially in Hindu names and words. In the second part, *Babaji* is invariably printed as *Papaji* ; in Part I, (to take a few cases only), p. 412, last line, the plural of *purah* is given as *purachat* ; p. 407 *sur-i-Khilafat* is printed as *Sar-bar-Khilafat*, and so on. But most of these can be corrected by any intelligent reader. A corrigenda of the more important misprints ought to be issued.

May we draw the attention of the Baroda Government to the urgent need of printing the Deccan history *Busatin-us-salatim* in a scholarly

edition? The lithographed copies now available are hopelessly bad. S.

MARATHI

KAUTILYIYA ARTHASHASTRA in two vols. *Sanskrit Text and Marathi translation* by J. S. Karandikar B. A. LL. B. and B. R. Hiwargaon Kar. Publisher: G. R. Mule, Karjat Dt. Kolaba, Price Rs. 7.

Twenty years ago when Mr. Shama Shastri of Mysore Oriental Library first discovered a manuscript of the celebrated work on politics of Kautilya or Chanakya, political mentor of Prince Chandragupta of Magadha and made it available to the world, it was hailed with joy by both Indian and Western scholars as a valuable find, and was scrutinized with minuteness characteristic of Western scholars. It has since been translated into several European languages and Indian vernaculars. It is not an easy task to translate with accuracy a scientific work like this, especially when there is a diversity of opinion among scholars with regard to the interpretation of several technical words contained therein. But the Marathi translators, despite all difficulties, have done their work remarkably well. There are a few discrepancies between the accepted versions of the text and their Marathi renderings, but they being rare do not detract from the merit of the book. The first volume under notice has a melancholy interest in that the translator, the late Mr. Hiwargaon Kar who was responsible for it, is no longer with us. His collaborator Mr. Karandi Kar, who has brought the work to completion and has written an exhaustive introduction to the second volume has succeeded remarkably well in dealing with several debatable points such as the identity of Chanakya with the author of the Arthashastra, the scope of the work, Chanakya's comparison with Machiavelli &c. No less than eleven appendices are added to the book for giving a synoptical view of some highly important but intricate subjects dealt with in the work, such as relations between the Sovereign power and feudatory princes, assessment of land and levy of taxes, fortifications, treaties and engagements etc. A vocabulary of technical words given at the end is highly useful as facilitating the work of students. The translators have no doubt bestowed much labour and talent over the work which reflects great credit on them. The book is a work of merit.

V. G. APTE

HINDU LAGNA SAMSTHA : By D. V. Nimkar Publisher : V. G. Devasthali, Ramdas Printing Press, Bombay. Pages 306. Price Rs. 3.

An attempt is made in this book to trace the history of the institution of marriage among Hindus from the earliest to the present time and evaluates its merits and demerits by comparison and contrast with analogous systems prevailing in other communities. The opening chapter on human physiology from the sexual point of view is very loosely knit with the main theme. Succeeding

chapters discuss the subject proper and the author ultimately comes to the conclusion that the Hindu system of marriage is superior to all others. He leans towards orthodox views on the subject and tries to refute the forward tendency of social reformers in this connection. One may not agree with his views which are too antiquated to be of any use in these times, but the author deserves credit for the intelligent, patient and laborious study of the subject both from the Indian and the Western points of view. The language however is faulty and mistakes of orthography are innumerable.

D. N. APTE

GUJARATI

SHRIMAT BHAGVAD GITA : By Vihari. Printed at the Electric Printing Press, Gondal. Cloth-bound, pp. 597. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1928).

This substantial volume of nearly 600 pages is given away for less than its cost price by the author, who is keen on making the studies of the Gita as popular as possible amongst our masses. He has left no stone unturned to make it as easy as possible also. He has given the text, its *Anvaya*, its Gujarati translation, its Hindi translation, and its translation into Gujarati verse, *stoka* by *stoka*. The footnotes explain difficult passages, and there is a vocabulary at the end giving the meaning of technical philosophical words and phrases. It is the result of a lifelong study on the part of the author and will repay perusal.

We have received a parcel of books from the Vidyadhikari of the Gondal State in Kathiawad. It contains seven text books, intended for use of school children, graduated according to their needs. There are hand-books attached showing the timetable and working hours of the school, and the methods of teaching. The key of the whole scheme is found in the latter book. The whole scheme is very thoughtfully and scientifically worked out, and takes note of the most modern methods in respect of the subject of pedagogy. It has been successfully introduced in all the schools of the State, and hence it speaks volumes for the originality and the efficiency with which the Head of the Department is looking after its development. Other educationists have been loud in its praise and long to imitate it. There are three supplementary books adapted for higher studies. They are also well prepared, and very instructive. The price is very moderate.

MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF GUJARAT : By Narmadashankar Vallabhi Trivedi. Published by the Forlus Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 252. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1928).

The Forlus Gujarati Sabha had a mass of materials in its possession bearing on several historical incidents of the province. They required sorting and sifting. Mr. Trivedi has done it and produced a volume, which besides being interesting, even if read for its own sake, furnishes helpful information on the subjects dealt with in its pages.

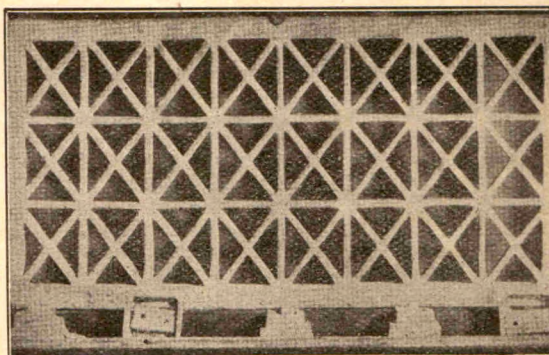
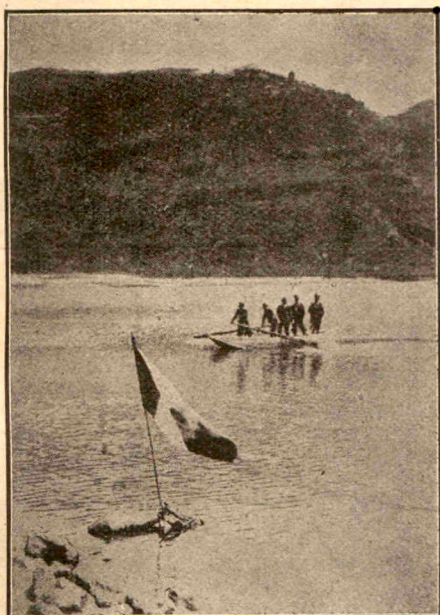
K. M. J.



Pumps Disclose Lake Nemi's Secrets

Nineteen miles south-east of Rome, high in the

Alban mountains, are lakes Albano and Nemi, each drained by ancient Roman tunnels. They are con-



A BRONZE BALUSTRADE

Divers brought up this bronze balustrade in 1905. The 1900-year old galleys gave up much bronze work and the draining of the lake may bring to light important objects

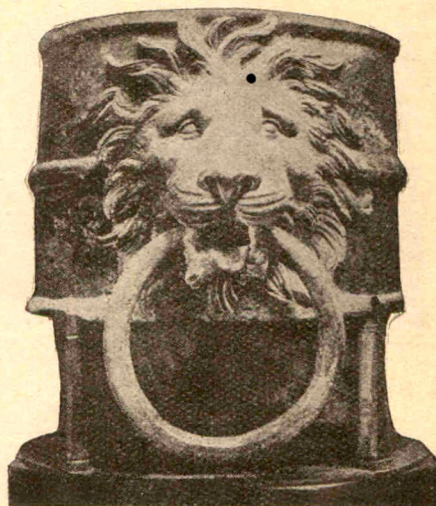
POLICEMEN OF THE LAKE

These soldiers are keeping the curious spectators from coming too close to the bank where important finds are imminent



THE INTAKE PIPES

Huge centrifugal pumps are slowly but surely reducing the level of Lake Nemi



BRONZE LION HEAD

If this was brought up by a diver, what will the harvest be when the lake is drained and the galleys expose to view?

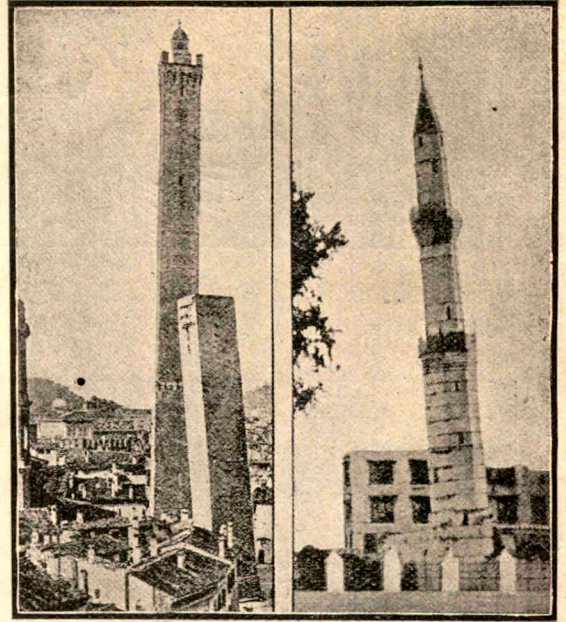
stantly referred to by classical authors. Lake Nemi was called the "Mirror of Diana." This gorgeous little lake is best known as a retreat for the altogether disreputable Emperor Caligula who caused magnificent galleys to be floated near the shore. Lake Nemi is now being drained by electrically-driven centrifugal pumps and the bottom will soon be disclosed. This is the most romantic archeological adventure in the annals of this repository of ancient treasures.

—Scientific American

Leaning Towers

Pisa's Leaning Tower we know, but there are others not so familiar. Six in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland are illustrated in *Popular Science Monthly* (New York), with brief descriptive text. In America, of course, such tilting structures would be promptly condemned by the building inspector, but in Europe they are used to lure the tourist. Efforts are sometimes made to straighten them, however. As we read:

"More than 350 years after its construction, engineers are seeking a way to straighten the famous leaning tower of St. Moritz, Switzerland. They hope to make the foundation as level as it is firm. The tower was originally part of a church, long since pulled down. The leaning tower of Bad Ems, Germany, is said to have been built on the foundation of the watch tower of a fort once occupied by legions from Rome. Not so tall as the others—being but ninety feet—the Butcher's Tower at Ulm, Germany, reminds one of the old saying by standing so straight that it

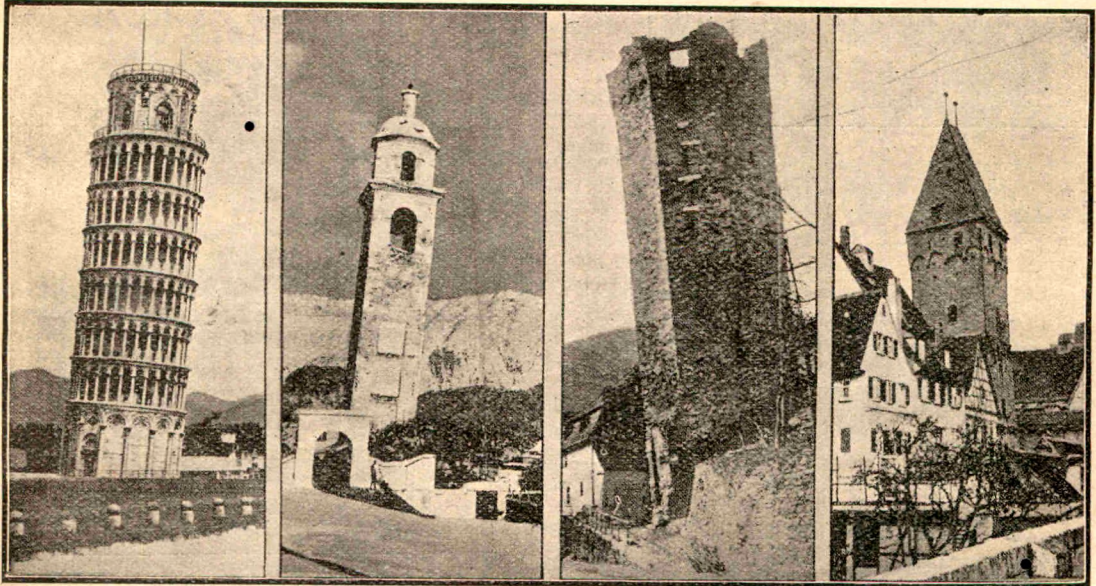


Asinelli Tower

Garisenda Tower

Bologna has two Towers Askew

leans backward, four and one-half feet out of plumb. The leaning tower of Pisa, Italy, started in 1174 on a foundation of wooden piles only



Pisa

Leaning Tower of St. Moritz

Leaning Tower of Ems

Butcher's Tower, Ulm

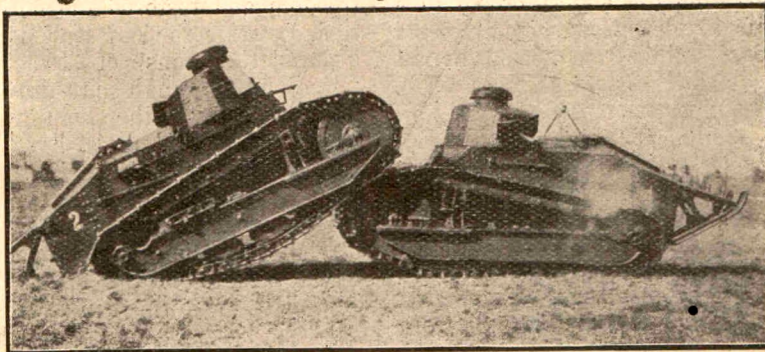
Famous and Little-known Topsy Towers of the old World

ten feet deep in soft ground, and not completed until the middle of the fourteenth century, began to tilt when the third story was built. The 'leaning-tower' in the world, it was $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet out of plumb in 1829 and $16\frac{1}{2}$ in 1910. Its present rate of 'fall' is an inch in twenty-five years. More deserving of leaning-tower fame than Pisa is Bologna, also in Italy, boasting two such towers built, early in the twelfth century from motives of patrician vanity. The 320-foot tower, built by the Asinelli family, has a lean of 4 feet, not increased since the base was strengthened in 1488. The Garisenda tower, 137 feet high, and eight feet two inches out of plumb, was not finished and the upper part was removed, probably to save the rest, in 1358."

—*The Literary Digest*

Army Tanks "Lock Horns" in Butting Battle

With clawing endless treads and panting motors, two army tanks recently fought out a butting contest on the level plain of Miller Field, Staten Island, N. Y. They met in head-on collision during Army manoeuvres, and neither would give way. Steel clashed against steel, treads bit into the earth, motors roared, while the two juggernauts pushed and bumped.



Tanks Fighting

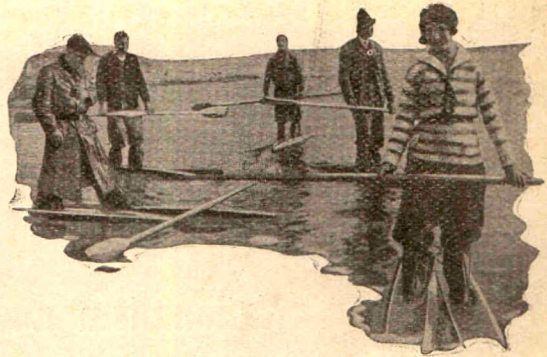
At last one reared in the air, astride the nose of the other, and was pushed backward onto the steel skids at its rear so that its treads no longer dug into the ground and the battle was over. The victorious tank then backed away, lowering its steel antagonist to the ground with a final snort of its powerful motor.

—*Popular Science*

Water Walking is the Latest Austrian Sport

Aided by two-bladed paddles, members of an Austrian club have been enjoying the sport of water walking from town to town along the Danube river. Their boat-like shoes are carefully shaped and balanced to assist the wearers in making

speed with safety. The club has been introducing the sport at various centres and great interest has been aroused.



Members of the Water-Walking Club in Austria ;
They paddle along from Town to Town along
the Surface of the Danube River to
Introduce the Novel Sport

Church is Raised and Moved Across Street



Moving a Church Across a Street in Chicago

Moving a church weighing 16,000 tons across a street, turning it around, cutting it in two and making it thirty feet longer, is the interesting engineering task just finished in Chicago. The big structure, of brick and steel, 185 feet long and 115 feet wide, was safely rolled to its new location without cracking the plaster or breaking a window. The total distance travelled was more than 200 feet and the actual trip across the street, once the church was raised and the timbers in

place, was accomplished in eight hours. Four teams of horses and arrangements of pulleys and cables furnished the motive power and tackle. Less than fifty men were required for the entire work. In the course of the operations, which consumed almost eight months, 50,000 feet of heavy timbers were employed, 4,000 jacks, 3,000 rollers and 400 tons of rails.

—*Popular Mechanics*

Nationalism and Internationalism

BY PROF. UPENDRANATH BALL, M.A.

HUMANITY is divided into a number of groups of distinct types of culture and civilization. One type is marked off from another by physical appearance, by language, manners and customs. A mere superficial observation of a big crowd in a large city tells us that it consists of persons of different groups hailing from various lands. The difference is mainly of the place of birth. Environment has the greatest influence on the features and modes of thinking. Peoples on the sea coast develop characteristics quite distinct from those living on mountains. One group is adventurous, the other hardy. But before people settled down in a particular territory they might have been wandering from place to place. The Aryans living beyond the north of the Hindu Kush have all been lying scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They have mixed with other peoples in different lands.

In India they have mixed with the Dravidians and other older races, in Europe with the Caucasians, in Eastern Asia with the Mongolians and so forth. We have nowhere a pure race coming from a very old stock. They are all mixed. These mixed peoples living in the broad natural divisions of the earth have, in course of time, evolved distinct types of civilization. Their literature is replete with the episodes of their love and bravery, of their struggle and success in pursuing some common object, of their heroic stand against a common foe, of their humiliation or triumph. They delight in singing the songs of common glory, and shed tears at the tales of discomfiture and gather strength in recovering the lost ground.

When the Greeks were scattered by the conquering arms of the peoples of the west and of the east—it was their old language and literature which bound them in the common tie of unity. They recovered their freedom and restored the nationality through their love for the old Hellenic culture. Moses brought the sons of Israel back to their fatherland through multitudes of trials and tribulations with the help of their loyalty to the ten commandments.

The Jews lost their political freedom, they did not possess a common territory, they have been wandering for centuries in foreign countries, but their heart still yearns to go back to the promised land. The new Jewish state formed in Palestine after the late war has roused among them an enthusiasm to recreate the old civilization. A Jewish university has been established and Jews all over the world cherish towards this small territory an affection rarely found elsewhere. These people are generally prosperous and happy in carrying on their commercial business in different parts of the world. They have occupied high positions in many states. But that did not satisfy them. They had a strong sentiment for a re-union in their native land and now they feel that they can resuscitate Hebrew culture and re-organize the Hebrew civilization. The sense of belonging to one common nationality is innate in every homogeneous group. They are not happy till they find sufficient opportunity for the development of their common life and common culture.

"In its most exact and fundamental sense," says H. F. Barnes, "Nationality is the

collective name given to that set of psychological and cultural forms which furnish the cohesive principle uniting a nation." The greatest exponent of the idea of nationality was Mazzini.

To him a nation is not a territory that grows strong by increasing its area, not an agglomeration of men speaking the same language and directed by one head, but an organic whole, united by its aims, and its powers, living by virtue of a faith and a tradition of its own: language, race and government are only the marks of nationality and have little force unless they are all bound together, and they require in any case the support of an historical tradition and of the long development of the collective life.

Mazzini conceived of a nation as a moral unity, not as an association of men, however well organized for material or economic pursuits. Prof. Ramsay Muir says:—

Nationality then is an elusive idea, difficult to define. Its essence is a sentiment, and in the last resort we can only say that a nation is a nation because its members passionately and unanimously believe it to be so. But they can only believe it to be so if there exist among them real and strong affinities; if they are not divided by any artificially maintained separation between the mixed races from which they are sprung; if they share a common basis of fundamental moral ideas, such as are most easily inspired by common religious beliefs; if they can glory in a common inheritance of tradition, and their nationality will be all the stronger if to these sources of unity they add a common language and literature and a common body of law.

Nationalism is a dynamic force urging its adherents to undergo the greatest self-sacrifice. The French Revolution produced the two principles of nationalism and democracy. Before that the number of self-contained states giving full scope to the sentiment of nationalism were not many. England in its insular position was the first to develop into a national state. Then came France, Spain and Portugal.

Before the French Revolution most of the states of Europe were under dynastic rule. Peoples and territories were placed at the disposal of princes without any reference to the question of nationality or the group consciousness of the people. Thus we find Austria having control over the Hungarians, Bohemians, Dutch, etc., Turkey ruling the Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs, Roumanians and others. And again, Italians scattered among a number of states, as were also the Germans. The revolutionary doctrines of democracy and constitutional government kindled new ideas in the minds of the people of the neighbouring countries. The absolute monarchies

in trying to suppress the revolution in France wanted only to make their own position safe. The French people were anxious to see all other peoples emancipated, like themselves, from the tyranny of despots. The French Revolution declared the rights of man and it transcended the bounds of the nation. Napoleon, in the days of his foreign invasions, used to make a declaration in favour of liberty, equality and fraternity. No increase or addition to French territory was made by the French Republic without the consent of the area to be annexed being obtained by plebiscite. But the conquered territories became conscious of the new sense of nationality. The Spaniards, the Germans, the Italians and other nationalities were consolidated by Napoleon in new groups on a distinctly national basis. The work of Napoleon was smashed by the European Powers at the Congress of Vienna. Napoleon swept away a large number of petty princes in Germany and Italy. He paved the way for a reconstruction of Europe. Although the conquered peoples received many boons from the conqueror, they soon realized the misfortune of a military regime. They then passionately longed for freedom. Their spirit of resistance contributed to the growth of the national idea. Each group developed a sense of unity, and tried to maintain it with a religious fervour unknown before. On the fall of Napoleon European states were reconstituted on the principle of legitimacy, that is, the old ruling houses were restored to their power. Italy was divided into seven states, Germany remained split up into thirty-nine. The Emperor of Austria remained supreme in Central Europe and Italy, the Czar of Russia in Eastern Europe. But curiously enough what the Congress of Vienna ignored remained the most important problem in the nineteenth century. The reactionary rulers and ministers were overpowered by the strong current of nationalism. The disunited and backward nations ultimately succeeded in getting their personality fully developed. The dependent countries became free and the scattered peoples became united. One by one free nations emerged in their distinct features out of the turmoil of ages.

Greece, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Bulgaria, Roumania and Serbia shook off the chains round their neck and put on the panoply of new freedom. The nations which could not get their dreams fulfilled in the nineteenth

century found their fruition after the war, in the twentieth. Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia formed themselves into new states. The number of states in Europe has been increased from 25 to 31.

Each state thus organized on the principle of nationality is expected to maintain its existence in a normal condition. The members of a homogeneous group with a large number of affinities of interest like to combine for the promotion of their common welfare. They unite readily for internal management, for social activities and for economic pursuits, and they also easily combine to offer resistance to a common foe. This sense of unity becomes a passion and a religion and it is then known as patriotism. A national government counts upon the willing co-operation of the citizens. Outsiders are rarely given any appointment in the state. Mazzini dreamt that when every nation would be thus organised there would be peace and concord in the world. National autonomy will lead to international brotherhood. Democratic, self-conscious and independent nationalities will be free from old jealousies and they will meet together in the "Parliament of Nations" or the "Federation of Man" as friends and brothers. But history has made us feel that the national ideal has not led to union, but very often to disruption. "The nations that have won their freedom have shown no spontaneous tendency to peace and federation but have given to Europe its fiercest and most destructive wars". (Grant and Temperley), *e. g.*, the wars of 1859, 1866, 1870, 1914. Mill in his *Representative Government* urged:—

It is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of Government should coincide in the main with those of Nationalities.

Thinkers like Hegel and Mazzini believed that the Nation-State was the ultimate unit in human organization and accordingly the ultimate unit in human allegiance. A Nation-State demands complete control of all the instruments of life. It is not answerable to any person outside itself. It claims to settle its own frontiers, its own tariffs, it determines its own form of Government. But nations like individuals, do not live for themselves alone. There are diverse interests in which they are bound with one another. "It is the old truth," Says H. J. Laski, "that no man can live to himself set in the new terms

enforced by scientific discovery. It means that however we may recognise the separateness of those spiritual systems we call nations, there is a "togetherness" in their functioning which involves building the institutions of "togetherness." Those institutions can be built only upon the basis of joint decision upon matters of common interest." In warfare, in commerce and economic pursuits as much as in education, scientific research, moral and religious culture we are not self-sufficient. Our problems are inter-connected and we have to attempt their solution in a spirit of co-operation. The methods of modern warfare are getting so destructive that each State has to maintain armies beyond the expenditure justified by its resources. The total cost of the last great war directly and indirectly was \$338,000,000,000, or a sum equal to the combined wealth of the United States, the British Empire and Italy or approximately of all Europe in 1914. In another form it was about ten times greater than all the gold and silver taken from the earth from the earliest times down to 1923. "Nationalism," says Mr. A. C. Flick, the State historian of New York, "led to new conquests in arts and letters, science and inventions, popular educational and political programmes and social settlement. In these ways it was a blessing to the people of the world. But Nationalism also became an exaggerated form of organised selfishness inflated with egotism and dangerously aggressive. When it stressed not the common good but the things peculiar to itself it too often became a world menace. It encouraged the powerful nation to become still more powerful, and made the weak nation ambitious to develop into a great power. It taught the superiority of its own civilization and the inferiority of that of all foreigners." This chauvinism created misunderstandings, hatreds and led people to organise plots and counterplots. Europe was converted into an arena of friction. Further, nationalism developed into new imperialism. The European powers brought the backward parts of the earth under their economic and political control. Each powerful State rushed to plant its flag in the unexplored and unexploited parts of the Old World and the New World. Even the most democratic government of the United States was not free from this fever of imperialism. Thus we find in 1914 the globe was practically divided among the eight

great powers and four small states. The imperialistic scramble for colonies filled the world with rivalries, jealousies, conflicts and threats of war. As a corollary of this growth of imperialism inspired by nationalism and industrialism was the rapid increase in rival armaments. Germany led the way, and its example was followed by other powers. The greatness of a power was judged by the size of its army and navy. Military service was idealised as the highest service rendered to the nation. Exaggerated nationalism and militarism created a partisan patriotism with all the fervour of an earlier religious intolerance. Men in the civilized countries of Europe looked down upon all foreigners as inferiors. The German Chancellor Von Bethmann Hollweg said, "God has assigned to the people a place in the world, and a rôle in history," and his master William II went further and said, "God has called us to civilize the world." This spirit of arrogance was not confined to Germans alone. "I contend that the British race is the finest which history has yet produced," wrote Cecil Rhodes in his will. "The Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the predominant force in the history and civilization of the world," said Chamberlain. Pride of power, ambition to control the rest of the world, politically, economically and in other ways led to the disaster of the Great War, in which besides the money, 8,000,000 men were killed in action or died of wounds, 19,000,000 were wounded, of whom 6,000,000 became total wrecks, 7,000,000 were reported prisoners or missing. The number of civilian victims was also enormous. Taking everything into account the total loss of human life was, not less than 17,000,000. The loss of money, the loss of manhood, the disorganisation of society, depression in commerce and industries, the increase of financial burden, the upsetting of the banking and monetary systems do not complete the list of damages done to civilization. But the war has opened a new era in the history of the world. A number of autocratic powers have fallen. Germany, Austria, Russia have turned into democratic states. New republics and national states have been organized out of the *débris* of the absolute monarchies. Eight new states have appeared on the map of Europe. But the most significant result of the war was the organization of the machinery for settling future conflicts by peaceful means, known as the League of Nations.

The idea of an international board of arbitration or tribunal was not new. It was made popular by the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. The reference to the Hague Tribunal was optional. Only minor questions were generally referred to it. International disputes had very often been dealt with by occasional conferences. The Concert of Powers tried to maintain the peace of Europe, after the fall of Napoleon in the interests of the absolute monarchs. It, however, crushed the movements for constitutional reforms. The revolutionary nationalistic wave in the middle of the nineteenth century swept away some of the landmarks of the old autocracy. But still the urge of democracy was not sufficiently strong to reduce the force of militarism. The conferences of the Powers at Paris or at Berlin had very little consideration for the welfare of the smaller nationalities, or the greater good of the world. The Powers assembled were more anxious to seek their self-interest. The tangle of diplomacy sometimes ensnared the unwary.

Turkey was tricked out of her possessions, but the nationalist sentiment of the Slavs was not fully satisfied. When the Powers were checkmated on the chessboard of Europe they tried their skill in the undeveloped parts of the world. At the Hague Conferences the suggestion of disarmament was brushed aside. During the war creative minds on the both sides of the Atlantic were busy devising plans for future peace. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States was the most vigorous in making the proposal of a League of Nations popular. He pressed this on the attention of the warring nations, and after the Armistice he came to Europe to get his scheme accepted by the Powers. His labours proved partially successful, and the League Covenant formed part of the Peace Treaty. But the League that has come into existence did not contain the Central Powers, Russia and Turkey as original members. The inequality of the States created a feeling of disgust in America, and the United States did not join the League. Some of the big States, are still outside it. This has reduced the usefulness of the League considerably. Although the League requires the registration of the treaties between the members, and arranges for arbitration on all disputes, the whole thing is still so undeveloped that it would be too much to say that it has ended the

possibility of any war. There is still chance of a powerful group being formed outside the League if any member is not satisfied with its decision. But it cannot be denied that the League is a great experiment and it provides an opportunity to the contending parties to refer their disputes to a third party for settlement. Every precaution has been taken to ensure impartiality and fair-play. But in spite of all that it has done, people of some countries look upon it with an eye of suspicion. They consider that the League is not above the influence of the big powers who enjoy permanent seats on the Council. The subject nations have no place on the League. Although India is an original member its delegates are nominated by the Government and not chosen by the people. In a dispute between the paramount power and the subject nation the former may refuse to refer it to the League. The nationality problem in Egypt, India, Ireland, Korea and the Philippines remained untouched as the problems of nationality had remained untouched by the Holy Alliance. But the former dependencies of the Central Powers and of Russia were accorded sovereign rights. "The League constitution" says Dr. J. W. Hughan in his *Study of International Government*, "has placed the balance of prestige permanently in the hands of the five Great Powers in which there are signs that the spirit of nationality is already yielding to that of Imperialism; and it has reduced to the level of the newly emancipated States those secondary powers in which, if anywhere, nationality is a present and established force. Whether the event will bring a revival or a submergence of nationalism remains to be seen".

The League is really an association of governments rather than of peoples. But it has taken up some work of philanthropy and social welfare to win the sympathies of the latter. It has created an International Labour Office as its auxiliary. It has tried to restore the economic equilibrium of Europe, and has organized relief for the distressed and the diseased.

If the League has failed to make war impossible and to ensure permanent peace the fault is not entirely in its constitution. Nationalism is still the greatest force in the world. Internationalism in government touches the prestige and powers of the sovereign national States.

In other spheres of life people have felt its

need. Adam Smith propounded the doctrine of free trade and in that theory was involved the idea of the free interchange of goods i.e. voluntary adjustment of industries according to natural resources. But then we find that the principle of protection still controls the tariff system. Even England, the champion of free trade, is yielding to the pressure of the national economists. Religion has, to some extent, removed the walls of separation. The Pope and the Caliph tried to set up a universal state on the basis of their respective creeds. They enjoyed their supremacy for centuries. But that supremacy denied the right of a people to develop its distinctive part in civilization. The growth of the national states has reduced the authority of the theocratic heads. The peace move of the Pope during the late war proved futile and the Caliphate has been abolished by the nationalist government of Turkey.

In his treatise on *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant wrote in 1795 that.—

(1) The civil constitution in every state should be republican.

(2) A federation of the free states should be founded rather than a super-state, and

(3) That the national liberty should be subservient to international peace, and subject to international control.

Mazzini tried to organize a Young Europe movement in 1831. The name "International" was adopted by the workers' conference in London in 1864 with the object of uniting the workers of all nations. This First International continued till 1873. Marx and Mazzini were its leading spirits. It was a socialist institution and openly resisted war. The Second International was revived at Paris in 1889, and it held its meetings every three years. It repeatedly passed resolutions against war and militarism. It is significant that the German Socialists supported the motion of Keir Hardie in 1912 at the Copenhagen Congress for the declaration of a general strike in the event of war, but the motion was rejected by a majority, which included the British delegates. The German Socialists in a series of meetings protested against war. The Second International disappeared in the midst of the clash of arms. The war separated the workers of the different lands. Attempts to reorganize the International were blocked by the greater Powers by a general refusal of passports. In 1919 two international meetings were held, the Second at Berlin joined by the pro-war Socialists and the Third at Moscow. The

Moscow organisation is identified with Bolshevism, with which all Socialists have not full sympathy. Another International was held at Vienna known as "Second and Half" to bring all the groups together. The disintegrating effects of the war have influenced all spheres of life. But still the hope for a better future is not dim. The International Labour Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations consists of representatives of the Government, the employers and the workers. These movements are but an attempt to unite men in the golden chain of love and service. That the interests of man all over the world are best promoted by mutual aid is illustrated by the number of international institutions :—

(1) International Postal Union formed in 1878.

(2) Telegraph Union etc.

(3) International Sanitary Commission etc. formed in 1903.

(4) The International Research Council at Brussels in 1919-32; International Science Societies.

(5) International Sugar Commission.

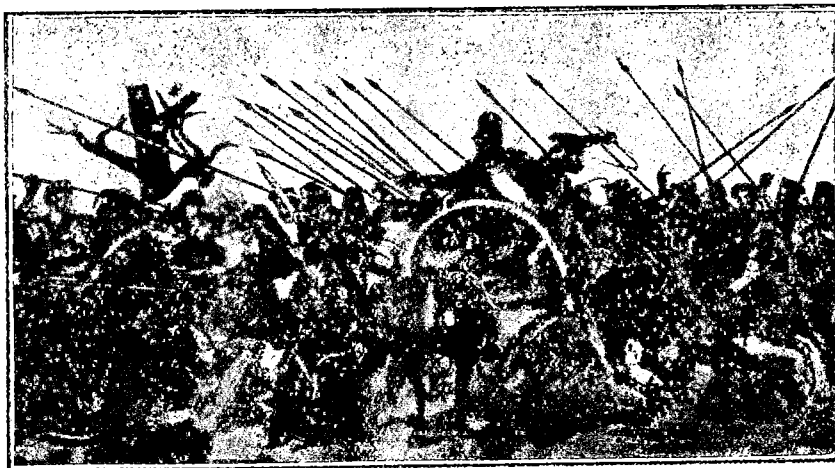
(6) International Labour Organization.

In the midst of the keen national rivalries and of class and industrial competitions in modern society, there was emerging a new watch-word, namely, co-operation. Thousands of agencies were

ministering to the international needs of the new age. Thousands of forward-looking men and women were fostering an international spirit not merely by paying lip-service to catch-words like the brotherhood of men or by seeking to revive the political idealism of Rousseau by beginning practically and prosaically to demonstrate that there are more ties, economic, social and human, which bind nations together, than there are conflicting interests and antagonisms which separate them.

(Flick's *Modern World History*).

Internationalism is not merely a dream or a phantasy of the poet's brain, it is the fullest expression of life. There can be no conflict between true nationalism and internationalism. National life becomes rich and prosperous when it is watered by the ever-flowing stream of international peace. The nations require larger development by the exchange of ideas, by providing for variety of expression, and by conforming to the ideals of a progressive life revealed by scientific experiments and philosophic thinking. The ideals of morality, of spiritual growth, of intellectual endeavours, of economic pursuits are all taking an international orientation. The machinery of government is also gradually moulded and shaped by international needs. But still it is true to say that a nation is an organic growth. It does not lose itself in the international whirlpool, but by coming in contact with the world it becomes fuller and stronger.





Art and Ethics

"Art and literature are not perhaps within our immediate scope. But since art affects life profoundly we have been forced to look into it," writes the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata*.

A political leader of Bengal recently gave out that *Sannyasa* and asceticism meant the denial and extinction of life and he charged them with the decadence of India. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is best people do not talk of things which they do not know. One plain fact would have shown his error. The most glorious period of Hindu history, the Buddhistic period with the Gupta Empire as its sequel, was also the most brilliant age of monasticism. Without the Buddha's monks, where would have been the achievements of that magnificent age? How was the Greater India created?

The attempt of all monks is "to stand on the peak of life and from there visualize the lower strata and find out their proper values and scopes," says the editor, and further he says that this is the attitude of the highest level of thought everywhere.

Whoever wants to realize the true and the highest vision must climb to the summit of life and from there view the plains. Otherwise his vision will be partial and unbalanced, and he will lack the true standard of measurement. In order to have a full and comprehensive vision, all life and activity should be estimated with a detached outlook. Artists, literateurs, poets, novelists, politicians, economists, socialists, philosophers, scientists, all must outgrow their sectional outlooks, and view life as a whole.

This all comprehensive vision has been conspicuous by its absence in this country for some time, regrets the editor and goes on to say that the great minds of this country are responsible in as much as they have over-emphasized their own provinces, thereby throwing the higher provinces in the shade.

As a result, even third-rate artists and writers have been putting forth audacious claims, wanting to regulate the national and individual lives according to their imperfect and unclear ideas. We have noted this with pain and have seen high ideals dragged down and trampled under foot. How can a nation grow without noble ideals? Where will it draw its strength from? We wish our leaders had spoken with a steady and stern voice. But they have not.

With regard to India in general and the

province of Bengal in particular, the situation according to the writer, is as follows.

In Bengal, just now, all sorts of ideas about life and reality are running riot. Some writers are extremely loud in their glorification of the animal in man. Some of them are good penmen, having earned some reputation. Most of them are novelists and poets,—they cannot deal with sterner stuffs. They could be easily ignored and left to the mercy of time, had they not stood forth in the name of art and life. Their conception of art and life could also be ignored, had not the West stood behind them with its secularism and glorification of the animal. The power that they wield is not really their own. They are only the instruments of a mightier thought-force which is sweeping over the world and seeking to defeat the powers of the spirit. The temptations of the flesh are always strong in men. Our *Samskaras* in regard to them are already powerful. The writings of these animal-worshippers are stimulating them to a degree and consequently devitalizing the nation.

This has led to the race becoming more prone to amusement than before with the result that effeminacy is at a premium, indulgence in baser pleasures being excused under the plea of art.

We regret to say that progress in many qualities has not been commensurate with the progress in emotional indulgence. The ideals of manly men are in danger of being swamped by the excrescences of the flesh. In this we are proving but foolish imitators of the West. In an evening party in the West, you can point to scores of people who have achieved nobly in the field of life. Enjoyment suits them. For only the hero can claim to enjoy and indeed truly enjoys. But consider a party of our own. Of how many can we say that they have achieved manlike and nobly? What is their credit? Forsooth, some have written a few poems, others a few short stories or novelettes,—mostly anaemic and obnoxious, others again can sing, dance and act. Are we to stand on these feminine achievements in the face of the world? Are these our credentials before the assembly of nations? We may fool ourselves for a time, we may fool time for some years. But neither our true self nor time will for ever stand this nonsense. We shall be called upon to do better and manlier things in order to live and grow on the face of earth, or we shall be brushed off mercilessly into the abyss of oblivion in spite of all our dance and song.

Then comes the question of art and realism. The editor discusses the question very thoroughly.

Strange that what we feel in our heart of hearts to be wrong and debasing become correct and ennobling in the name of art! Does art possess this alchemy? How far can art replace morality in the life of a nation? What is art?

We may begin by considering the case of those who are claiming that art lies in depicting the realities as they are in disregard of social or moral conventions, if need be, in order to show them off as beautiful and enjoyable. This they call realism. Can art deal with *all* subjects? But is realism really art? In so far as realism depicts the true state of things, ugly or beautiful, low or noble, it is scarcely art. It then only supplies material, and no work of art is merely its material. Even such realism, however, is not without its utility. Sometimes conventions grow so strong and rigid that they cramp life. Life decays, but we hold on to the encrustations. That is extremely unwholesome. Then realism truly helps. It reveals the true state of things, to ignore which is sure death. Literature helps by such revelation. But realists necessarily have a serious responsibility on their shoulders. In order that their labours may be beneficial, they must be very careful to stamp their revelations with the marks of their true value. They must not exaggerate or embellish them or change their value. The balance of judgment must be evenly maintained. Those who ignore these responsibilities are neither artists nor realists in any sense. They are merely craftsmen, employing their craft for a base purpose.

But we must remember one point in this connection. Our experience of reality is not ultimate. It is true that so long as our vision of matter persists, its fixed value also persists. But what we now consider as matter, may reveal a finer content to a purer vision. In fact, the experience and habit of the common man is not ultimate. In knowing the reality as he does, he has not his fulfilment. He requires to experience reality in other lights. These other lights the artist claims to supply. Art, therefore, consists in revealing higher and finer selves in things apparently low and gross. We look around us, but the inherent beauty and nobility of things do not strike us. Most things seem ugly or indifferent. But to the artist they do not appear as such. He finds beauty and joy in them. This beauty and joy he reveals to us in such a form as to make us also see and feel like him. This is art.

From this it apparently follows that to the artist reality has no objective value. Reality changes its value in his hands. To the average man, the flesh may seem evil, but to the superior vision of the artist, it may appear as heavenly, worthy to be glorified. No doubt art can perform this alchemy. But a close scrutiny will reveal that the standard of value does not change the least. If the vision of the artist be true—we shall see later on what true æsthetic vision consists in—flesh must appear transformed. *That is to say, it must not produce the same reactions in the artist's mind as flesh itself. The reaction must be of a higher and finer reality revealed in and through the flesh.* Here is the crucial test. If the appeal is of the flesh alone, only intensified, it is no art, at least no good art. It has not achieved that transformation of reality which is the essence and basis of all true art.

Beauty and joy both may be ennobling

or degrading. The artist is not exempt from ethical rules governing these, when the motive of his art is considered.

But what is this feeling of beauty and joy, which the artist emphasizes so much? Is it so transcendental and ineffable as to be incapable of determination? Is there no standard by which we can judge between joy and joy and beauty and beauty? Yes, there is. *It is life itself.* There are innumerable levels of life and perception. Every man has his normal level. It depends on his *Samskaras* (mental tendencies). These are the forces which give shape and direction to his perceptions, desires and activities. We enjoy what are nearest and most akin to our *Samskaras*. They appear most important, real and delectable to us. All other realities seem distant, shadowy, unattractive. We cannot enjoy them or dwell long on them. We have drawn a circle around us with the *Samskaras* as its radius along which we move and feel. Every man moves within his circle. Those who have strong sensuous tendencies will naturally dwell mainly on the sense-plane, glorying in sense-objects and finding them beautiful and delectable. If they happen to possess artistic powers, they will naturally consider the sensuous vision as the highest and present it as such. The materials they will deal with will be sensuous, and the treatment of those materials will also be sensuous. Higher realities will be beyond their reach and comprehension. But there are others who possess nobler and purer *Samskaras*. They live on the higher planes of life. They will easily find the world of their experience to be beautiful and blissful and not the world of the senses. If they are artists, they will reveal to the world the glory of those higher realities. That is not all. They will take up the lower realities also. But they will treat them in such a way that they will reveal undreamt of beauties in their being, nobler and finer, and react upliftingly on the human mind.

It is these individual worlds in which we live because of our different *Samskaras* that determine our different standards of beauty and joy. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the existence of such different standards. What however, is being disputed is that there cannot be any gradations of those standards. Morality and social conventions speak of gradations. Our pseudo-artists deny them. How to judge what is higher and what is lower? The answer is in our own heart, in our own personality. However loudly we may repudiate the spiritual ideals, human history and experience cannot be gainsaid. It is said one cannot commit fallacy knowingly. The past experience of mankind has deeply impressed its mind with the truth that the higher a man, the intenser and wider is his feeling of reality and the greater is his perception of unity with the world. We feel a deep infinite being in our soul. We feel ourselves as wide as the infinite universe itself. A sense of cosmic power pulsates in our being. The little things of life and world do not affect us. So long as we have fear, so long as we feel awed before the majesty of the universe, we have to admit that the experience of one feeling oneself above the turmoils of the universe and as its master, is infinitely superior to our puny experiences. We may talk high-sounding philosophies in repudiation of this.

fact ; but the knowledge of the superiority of the spiritual experience is indelibly impressed on our mind and we have to bow down our heads before it. Let artists come forward and stand before such an ineffable experience : they will at once know their true place. To-day they may talk loud and defy, but to-morrow they will be nowhere.

Romain Rolland on Art

In this connection two extracts from the same issue of *Prabuddha Bharata* gives us the view of Romain Rolland on the subject. Says he in his article on *Art and Life* (translated by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar).

Yes, the products of true science and true art are the products of sacrifice and not of material advantages. And it is not only in the interests of ethics but in the interests of art itself that the latter should not remain any longer the preserve of any privileged social caste. Artist as I am, I shall be the first to invoke with my prayers the time when art will have gone back to the masses, stripped of its privileges, allowances, decorations and official glory. I demand it in the name of the dignity of art, which has been soiled by thousands of parasites who live disgracefully at its expense. Art should not be a career but should be a vocation. *The vocation could be known and proved only by the sacrifice which the savant and the artist make of his repose and his comfort, in order to pursue his vocation.* Now in the present civilization, the truly great artists alone make real sacrifices ; they are the only ones who knock against rude obstacles, because they alone refuse to sell their thought and to debase themselves for the pleasure of a corrupt *clientele* which remunerates its purveyors of intellectual debauchery. By suppressing the privileges of art and by increasing the difficulties of its accessibility, there is no need, therefore, to fear that the true artists will be put to greater suffering : we shall only be removing the multitude of *faineants* who make themselves intellectuals for keeping aloof from the people and for avoiding more tiresome labour.

The foremost science in the world is the science of living in such wise as to produce the minimum evil and the maximum good possible. The foremost art in the world is the art of knowing how to avoid evil and to produce good with the least effort possible.

Prohibition in India

"Will prohibition come in our time ?" asks Mr. S. G. Warty rather despondingly, in the *Hindustan Review* for July. About the adoption of this policy, he says :

Regarding the principle of prohibition itself, there does not exist any practical difference of opinion. All communities in the country except the Anglo-Indian community would welcome it. Even as regards the Anglo-Indian community, the Christian missionaries are entirely with us and are even prominently fighting the battle for us

in a disinterested manner. So far as Government are concerned, prohibition *if practicable* would be acceptable to them. The disagreement between the Government and the public,—if it should arise and it does arise—is as regards the right meaning of the words "*if practicable*."

Prohibition then being accepted as the goal, one vital question calls for full discussion. Should prohibition be adopted for the country as a whole or should it be allowed to come in slowly province by province ? In other words, should it be left to the Provincial Governments to take action in the matter individually and independently of the Government of India or should the Government of India themselves treat prohibition as a national question, declare their acceptance of the goal and lay down a national policy and programme to be carried out simultaneously in all the provinces and throughout the country ? Which will be the more desirable, the more effective and the easier course to follow ? This is the first and the most outstanding question demanding discussion in prohibition politics. Incidentally another question would also arise, "should prohibition be reached by degrees and stages, by having recourse to various devices such as rationing and local option, or should it be adopted immediately and all at once ?"

On the question as to whether prohibition should be treated as a provincial or national measure, the author holds decided views from the point of view of economy, and he discusses the method of bringing it into action in a open-minded way.

A policy of total prohibition necessarily means the loss of present excise revenue in the provinces, and of customs revenue on imported liquors to the Central exchequer as well as extra cost of preventive staff. So far as the excise and customs revenues are concerned, these will have to be given up in any case ; but the extra cost of preventive staff can be minimised by various means. Now if each province takes action in this matter independently and piece-meal, it will entail much more expenditure in regard to extra cost than if the Government of India took action for the country as a whole. In the latter case, no steps will be required to guard against the smuggling of liquor from one province into another. Therefore, with a view to economize the cost of prohibition and to make its adoption as easily practicable as possible, the Government of India themselves should take the initiative in this matter and bring about prohibition simultaneously in all provinces, instead of leaving the matter to the option of each province.

The question whether prohibition should come by degrees and stages or should be reached immediately and all at once is one of minor importance. Moral enthusiasts demand prohibition immediately, now and here. The practically-minded people consider that it should better come by stages without causing intolerable dislocation to our previous engagements and existing arrangements. In the latter case, the usual methods adopted are rationing and local option and these are effective enough. There is practically a consensus of opinion that 20 years should be the period within which in any case complete prohibition

should be attained. This is an adequately long period for the adjustment of the finances, and for the due discharge of obligations to the various interests concerned.

British India and the Indian States

The future of the Indian States are intimately bound up with that of British India. The more enlightened rulers of these States have already realized it and are attempting to move with the times. Some indeed are ahead of British India in some respects. But there are many who are as yet not quite wide awake and need a timely warning. This matter is discussed from the point of view of the subjects of those States in the article on the "Future of Indian States" in the *Feudatory and Zemindary India* for July:

Viewed from the standpoint of the standard of administration maintained in British India, it cannot be denied even by the Princes themselves that the government of their territories (saving a few honourable exceptions) is far from satisfactory, and falls far short of the requirements of "good Government" in its modern sense. It is now well recognised throughout the world that apart from the question as to the nature and form of the political institutions that a people may have (about which there may be difference of opinion) the essential requirements of a civilized administration are:—

- (1) The separation of the private purse of the ruler from the general revenues of the State, and the fixing of a Civil List.
- (2) A sound system of finance, in which the revenues are assessed and collected not arbitrarily but in accordance with fixed rules and regulations.
- (3) A regular system of annual budget and audit by an officer of independent authority.
- (4) An absolutely independent judiciary and the introduction and maintenance of all arbitrary personal intervention with law and justice on the part of the ruler.
- (5) The securing for all people in the State the ordinary rights of citizenship, such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom of association for lawful purposes, freedom of religious worship, rights of property, freedom of the press, etc.

(6) The training of the people in some sort of responsible Government by the introduction of a system of representative institutions for purposes of legislation and interpellation in all matters of general administration, so that they may feel themselves to be not "subjects" but "citizens" of the State.

Judged by this standard of 'good Government', out of the 561 States in India not half a dozen can be said to come within it. The Princes have long been under the impression that the States were their own personal property in respect of which the maintenance of dynastic rights and privileges

were a matter of far greater consequence than the material and moral progress of the people committed to their charge. Though several of them have travelled widely and frequently in the countries of the west and have had opportunities of enlarging their political outlook, yet when their personal rights stand to be affected they feel that their own autocratic power must in any event be maintained and safeguarded. They fear that the progress of British India towards responsible Government must inevitably work to their prejudice, and hence their hostile attitude towards the political progress of the British Indian people. If they stand on their right of personal rule and plead for the non-intervention of the Paramount Power with their autocratic administration, the consequence will be to jeopardise their own position. As an Indian writer of authority has stated, the tide of democracy which has swept off the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns and the Czars and the Sultans has spared the constitutional monarchs of Europe. Our Princes must certainly be aware of each other's imperfections and failings—and if they are wise in their generation they will by mutual counsel and example address themselves to the task of setting their houses in order. It is foolish for us to imagine that the rulers of States in such varying stages of development will be able to start immediately on the same level as British India, but they have to set before their eyes the same goal as was announced by Parliament in the famous declaration of August, 1917. They must guide the steps of their people along the path of political evolution more or less on the lines on which we have been guided. They will then find that the strongest support of a ruler is that of his own subjects based not upon the antiquated ideas of divine right but upon a rational conviction of the important part played by Sovereigns in any constitutional polity, and upon gratitude for their self-denying labours for the welfare of the people.

Whether the Indian Princes will or no, the progress of British India must inevitably react on the position of the people in the States. In the words of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "the processes at work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character." In the event of disaffection among the people of any State, the Government of India will be in a dilemma. Are they, while supporting and maintaining responsible Government in British India, to help the continuance of autocratic rule in the States? The Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act which provides for the punishment of persons in British India instigating disaffection in the States, will not be of much help to the Princes when the forces of social and political contact are operating. Unless the Princes recognise and adapt themselves to the political progress of the world, and particularly of British India in their neighbourhood, and pledge themselves to some form of constitutional Government, their position must necessarily become insecure, and the Paramount Power, from the very nature of the situation and in view of its own declared policy, cannot be in sympathy with them.

Ideals of Education

The vexed question of education for Indians has as yet arrived nowhere near solution. Vocational training, utility of post-graduate studies, Primary education, secondary education etc., are still exercising our minds. But *what* is education, how to distinguish between the higher and the lower grades? Dr. W. S. Urquhart's opinion on the subject has considerable weight, in view of his experience as a veteran educationalist, although his point of view, as expressed in *The Indian Educational Journal* for July, may seem a bit too academic.

Now, the distinction between lower and higher views of education appears to me just to consist in this—how far the education enables and prepares men to form an ideal thus conditioned and constructed. Education is meant to prepare men for life, but it may have in view either the narrower or the wider life.

The narrower view will be content with training men for a trade or a profession, and this is very necessary. An education which is out of relation to the practical requirements of life, which turns out a multitude of useless citizens, unable to support either themselves or their families, is a very futile thing. And one of the chief problems of education is so to relate education to the economic opportunities that every one may be the better prepared through his education to win for himself an honorable position in society. It is one of the chief defects of many existing systems of education that this is not sufficiently accomplished, that there are so many "misfits" amongst those who are sent out from our colleges into the wider world. But even if this lower ideal were more adequately realized, I question whether we would be any better off in the long run, should the accomplishment of the lower ideal mean the entire sacrifice of the higher. Man must live—that is true—but he must live as a complete man, as one having mind and soul as well as body; and no system of education can be adequate which thinks exclusively of the material aspect of life.

Even academically such exclusive attention to the "curry and rice" motive of education is disastrous. It leads to premature specialization and the sacrifice of the wider culture. It hinders the advancement of learning by encouraging in relation to every branch of study the question as to whether it will be immediately profitable. It produces an academic atmosphere in which no great scholars or scientists could breathe. But it has a more subtle, a wider and a worse consequence. It prevents learning and culture from making their most characteristic contribution, from supplying that salt without which society cannot be saved from corruption.

In very ancient times in India it was recognised that the scholar or the hermit or the contemplative man had a very definite contribution to make, and in one of the ancient systems of taxation it was laid down that he should be taxed at a lower rate than other men just because he was making a contribution of a spiritual rather than a financial

kind. This ancient analogy might, of course, be used as an argument for the exemption in modern days of the staffs of schools and colleges from the incidence of income-tax and municipal rates, but I prefer to take it as symbolic of the duty and privilege of the educated man. He has a special contribution to make at the present day, and he is not properly educated unless he is enabled to make this contribution. His education ought to have so liberated his mind from the tyranny of the past and the pressure of the present that he can form ideals both for himself and his society. In particular he will contribute to this personal and social ideal the power of judging 'righteous judgment,' for the truly educated man is distinguished from the uneducated in nothing more than in this that he is liberated from tradition and the pressure of mere opinion and is furnished with the data on which he may formulate reasonable judgments. If a man does not possess this capacity or if he fails to exercise it, he has either been educated only in name or has become unworthy of the college or university which sends him forth. This ought to be the test or criterion of every educational institution, and those responsible for its management ought to put to themselves the question, "Are we sending out men who can arrive at reasonable judgments?"

The Ethics of Evolution and Progress

• Professor Metalnikoff of the Pasteur Institute, in his article titled "Science and Ethics," in the August number of *Ananda*, gives the basic rules governing progress from both the scientific and the ethical points of view. The correlation is interesting, specially so, since it comes from the pen of a scientist of repute.

As I have said, every movement and manifestation of the organism, however trifling, leaves a well-defined impression. These impressions, accumulating, gradually modify the internal and external structure of the organism itself. Thus its activities may be considered as a creative process.

I say 'creative,' because every manifestation, no less than every creation, represents a completely new fact in universal life. And it is also creative because it continually constructs and creates the individuality which has itself planned the act. So it happens that our individuality goes on incessantly growing, developing and maturing. Every instant of life adds something new to it. Thus we can say in truth that we are continually creating ourselves, that at every moment of our lives we fulfil a creative act. To live and transform oneself incessantly is to eternally create oneself.

This point of view renders evident that extraordinary connection which exists between the activities of the organism and its own form. Lamarck was the first to draw attention to this. No function is a simple mechanical act. As we have already said every function of the organism leaves, so to say, its indelible impression on the living matter. All such impressions of vital activity give rise to the original forms in which the individual life of

plants and animals manifests itself. This explains the infinite variety of forms in nature. Without danger of exaggeration one can say that in nature, two absolutely identical forms do not exist, just as one does not meet with two identical actions or manifestations of the organism. And such individual creation, caused by the infinite variety of forms, only represents a minimum part of that general universal creation which we call evolution. The conception itself of evolution implies the idea of singularity and creativity.

In whatever manner the world may evolve, it must evolve incessantly at every instant of its life. It cannot turn back, nor retrace any pathway already pursued. Its movement is continuously and uninterruptedly ascendant. The past cannot ever repeat itself. Schultz says: "Every development is creation. The reason of being in every organic life is action."

If we asked ourselves what our highest desire was, we should realize it to be creating as greatly and as forcefully as we are able. We love life because it enables us to develop. Creation comes to realization in categories and in ideas, and reaches its maximum exuberance in art.

Our biological conception places the personality as the basis of life, the individuality which incessantly acts, transforms and creates itself. The multiplying of all these transformations confers on every single individual that personal, unique and particular structure which analysis reveals to us in such a luminous way. On examining a great number of animals or plants one clearly perceives the impossibility of finding two individuals exactly identical. The form of the body, colour, dimensions, construction of the limbs and organs, everything in fact is susceptible to great individual transformation. Every blade of grass, every tree, every insect or mammal possesses quiet different individual characteristics, by reason of which it differs from any and every other plant or animal past or present. And these individual characteristics are the result of individual activity and creation.

Thus, the basis of evolution and its principal factor is not chance, nor struggle, but the activity and creativeness of every single individual, guided by experiences accumulated during its individual life, and inherited as natural instincts and tendencies. No result of individual creation and activity is lost or dies with the individual. All is transmitted as an inheritance to progeny and to the entire species. Thus, thanks to particular activity and creation, the entire species, and all the varieties of animals and plants in the world, transform themselves, live and evolve incessantly and uninterruptedly.

This analytical study of ours has suggested considerations to us which cannot but influence all our moral and ethical conceptions, as Darwinism and materialism have done. If, of a truth, evolution and progress are determined, not by strife, not by reciprocal destruction, not by violence, but by intelligent work, by the creative activity of single individuals, we should consider all that promotes activity and the individual creative faculty as advantageous and ethically desirable. Respect and love are compelled, therefore, towards work and activity, and first and foremost towards the creative activity of man. The greater and purer this creative activity of his, the more powerfully it will

contribute to the progress of humanity and of the whole world.

Such a way of considering evolution involves respect and love for every individual as a promoter of evolution, whether it be the simple grass of the field, the insect or the animal. Every individual contributing with its own creative activity to the construction of the universe, and to the evolution of universal life, has the right to live. The only difference between individuals is their greater or lesser creative activity. One will give only a slight impulse to the evolution of the world, while another—scientist, artist, inventor—will contribute to it powerful impulses such as will make it leap forward.

One of the principal conditions for individual creative activity is freedom and the absence of any violence. Only if free can the artist or the scientist find himself and develop his individual creative faculty. We must therefore establish individual liberty; and the liberty of labour constitutes one of the principal laws of ethics.

Whoever uses violence to an individual, whoever limits individual or collective liberty, commits one of the worst crimes; since by so doing he obstructs general progress and retards the evolution of the world.

Under this aspect, not only is any violence inadmissible, but (and with greater reason) also every kind of killing and destruction, especially of individuals of the same species; because each individual contributes in a special way to the evolution of the species to which he belongs.

We should hold this in mind in a special way to-day when so little value is attached to human life. We must always remember, and make others remember, that the greatest of all sins, the worst crime, is violence, and the destruction of the individual.

To recapitulate the law of progress is not the struggle for existence, reciprocal destruction and violence, but social and political order, which ensures individual liberty, and the liberty of creative labour, which is at the basis of progress and evolution.

Will Labour Keep its Promises to India

"It is cheap cynicism to say that the Labour Government is not different from the Conservative Government, and even to express a preference for the latter as 'more frank,'" says Mr. Satyamurti. M. L. C., in the *Indian Review* for July.

The Labour Party, which to-day has assumed the Government of the "Empire", stands committed in the most unambiguous manner, and in the words of its own Premier, to Dominion Status for India, and that at no distant date, but in a very short time. The Labour Government may fail us. But I do not believe in pre-judging them. Thereby, we gain nothing. We may lose something.

I do not accept the excuse that the Labour Government is a minority Government, and cannot keep its promises to India. No decent party should accept the responsibility of government,

unless it can keep its promises. The Labour Government has begun to boldly and independently deal with foreign policy and unemployment. I invite them to deal with the Indian problem with the same boldness and independence.

They have two factors in their favour. It is now increasingly recognised in Great Britain that India's political future should be allowed to automatically develop itself, and that it should not be interfered with by periodical inquiries or commissions. Moreover, it is recognised by all people in Great Britain, except the Jingo newspapers and some retired Indian officials who hate the Labour Party, just as much as they hate the Indian politicians, that there can be no going back, and that the least political progress should be full provincial autonomy, with almost complete responsibility in the Central Government.

Another fact, in favour of the Labour Government dealing fairly with India, is that the boycott of the Simon Commission is now realized by everybody to have been an almost complete success. The sooner that unwanted Commission is asked to wind up its labours and quit the stage, the better for everybody concerned. I must say one thing to the Labour Government and to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. There is no use saying, "that the Simon Commission has created unanimous assent in Britain." The obvious and complete answer is that the Commission has created practically *unanimous dissent* in India. After all, it is only a commission. The moment it has reported, as it will, in January next, it is *functus officio*. The Premier must have been wrongly informed, when he says "Surely, with the experience the Indian leaders have had of the working of that Commission, they might reconsider their position." That Commission has left behind bitter memories. "Let the dead past bury its dead."

The Premier has appealed to us to re-open our minds and to consider whether we may not go to help them "to give a happy and beneficial solution to this very difficult question". May we reciprocate the compliment, and appeal to him and his Government to "re-open their minds", drop all further talk of this Simon Commission, and summon a genuine round table conference to settle the future of India on the basis of immediate and full Dominion Status? If they make the proper gesture, India will not be slow to respond.

What should be our attitude to the Labour Government? Says Mr. Satyamurti:

So far as we, the people of India are concerned, our course is clear. While doing nothing on our part to prevent an amicable settlement of the relations between India and Britain, unless it becomes too late, we must so conduct our national affairs as to strengthen the nation to demand and get what it wants even from unwilling hands.

To the Labour Party and Government, I would like to say this. When a great nation makes up its mind to be free, there is no power on earth, no, not even Great Britain, which can stand in its way. The only question is whether this freedom is to be obtained with, or in spite of, Great Britain. The answer to this question depends, during the next few months, on the Labour Government.

Separation of Burma from India

Burma for the Burmese is the latest cry raised against the Indians. Who are the people responsible for this movement and what are the reasons behind it? We find in the "*Better Business*" for July a quotation from the *Bombay Chronicle* of some months back, giving a short survey of the situation by "Commerce".

Lower Burma came under the Government of India in two stages: Arakan and Tennesserim in 1826 and Pegu and the rest of Lower Burma in 1852. Upper Burma was added in 1886. Till that time, and for the next quarter of a century, Burma was but a drag on the Indian, and not the British exchequer. The poor Indian taxpayers' money and the lives of countless Indian sepoys were poured into this unprofitable adventure. The country, especially the delta region, was then, for the most part an uninhabited swamp until Indian capital and labour were brought on the scene. The Britishers saw that it would to their advantage if the country was opened up and its waste lands brought under the plough.

The indigenous people were not then enterprising enough either to undertake the financing of cultivation or the various other jobs for which the Indians were found pre-eminently suitable. The Indians soon converted what was originally an uninhabited waste into a land of smiling rice fields and prosperous cities.

It is unnecessary now to recount the numerous inducements by which Indians were lured into this land. That was when Burma was but a waste and a drag on the Indian taxpayer. Year after year, Indian money and Indian lives were sacrificed in order to maintain the authority of the Government of India and develop the local administration. The national debt of India was piling up stupendously high, and the consequent burden on the Indian tax-payer amounted to something like a hundred crores till about 1911.

A like amount of India's public debt is sunk in railways and other public work in Burma. It is only recently that Burma has been able to meet her bare provincial needs, and a share of the all-India charges on account of the army, navy and the public debt. Even now, Burma does not contribute her proportionate share of the All-India charges. In 1924-25, for example, the net amount of central revenues from Burma was 7.29 crores, compared with 9.91 crores from Madras, 24.79 crores from Bombay and 28.17 crores from Bengal. The aggregate expenditure of the Central Government on the military, public debt and general administrative services amounted to 80.26 crores in the same year.

If these 80.11 crores were distributed according to the areas of the provinces, Burma should have paid about 16 crores. On the basis of her total revenue (central and provincial) her contribution should be $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores, while on the basis of her population it should be $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores. Taking the mean of the three figures, Burma's contribution should be about $9\frac{1}{4}$ crores, and not 7.29 crores as it nominally was in 1924-25 which includes about 99 lakhs collected as excise duty on kerosine and petrol.



Lord Birkenhead Looks at the Future

What will our world be like, say, a hundred, two hundred or thousand years hence, is a question which haunts every thinking, and for that matter, every dreaming mind, and there are few eminent names in literature and philosophy whose possessors have not indulged in the pastime. Renan did it. Anatole France did it. H. G. Wells has done it, and now comes Lord Birkenhead with an article in *The Century Magazine*, in which he attempts to give a forecast of the every-day life of our descendants in 2029. He starts with those instinctive mental assumptions which are likely to be current among and form the background of the life of normal men and women of a hundred years hence:

They will believe in a very different universe from mine. The full implications of Professor Einstein's theories have yet to be explored, but beyond a doubt they will revolutionize human conception of space, time and the material universe. By 2029 Einsteinian physics will provide the instinctive background to all men's minds. Exactly how the universe will appear to our descendants cannot easily now be predicted; probably it will be as different from our own universe as our own is from a medieval's who firmly regarded the sun as a planet of a flat earth.

Before this revolution is accomplished, there will occur a transitive period, during which Newtonian and Einsteinian conceptions, contradictory though they may be, simultaneously colour men's minds. The possibility of a logical contradiction passing unperceived, even by a powerful intellect, is afforded in "Paradise Lost"; Milton ranks as perhaps the most learned of English poets; yet in his epic, he assumes the truth both of Ptolemaic astronomy which fixed the earth as the immovable centre of the universe and of the then new-fashioned Galilean system which recognised the earth as a planet of the sun.

"The fact," says Lord Birkenhead, "that our descendants will have absorbed Einstein by 2029 presupposes that they will receive a far greater measure of scientific education than is now usual." Science, in fact, will be the basis of the life of men and women of the future.

Our descendants of 2029 will express themselves and their personalities largely through the

channels and machinery of science. An almost blind faith in science distinguishes our lives today. This faith, I suggest, will deepen in intensity throughout the twentieth century; until by 2029 it may well dominate human life as thoroughly as a belief in current Roman Catholic theology dominated the Middle Ages.

We believe in our physicians as firmly as the naked African believes in his witch-doctor. We do their bidding, though the prescribed regimen frequently involves inconvenience, absurdity and little short of actual hardship. We frame laws and modify society in accordance with their instructions. Their grip upon the body politic has grown even firmer than the sway exercised over the minds of former statesmen by such doctrinaire economists as Adam Smith, Ricardo and Bentham. But by 2029 doctors of medicine will not be the only scientific specialists whose decision will modify the life and conduct of the normal citizen.

During the next century biology promises definite and sweeping advances. The secrets of human heredity will undoubtedly receive elucidation; the vague nonsense which now masquerades as "eugenics," will be replaced by an exact science. Its experts will claim, for example, to predict with accuracy the physical and mental nature of the children born of any particular marriage.

These eugenic predictions and many more of a similar nature will be commonplace in 2029. Consequently young people who contemplate marriage, will first be forced to discover what variety of children their union would produce; and the mating of certain types, themselves innocuous, known to be disastrous in its consequences will be sternly prohibited.

Such proposals sound repugnant, but in essence they are reasonable and even romantic. At present by segregating them in prisons during the major portion of their adult life, we place an effective brake upon the fecundity of our incurable criminals. Our descendants will adopt the more effective precaution of preventing the birth of those who must inevitably grow up with anti-social proclivities. Prevention is better than Broadmoor.

Not only eugenics, but psychology, too, now in an inchoate state, will have grown into an exact science in 2029:

Psychology remains in the condition from which the atomic theory raised chemistry. Nevertheless I believe that during the present century a Dalton will illuminate it by postulating a theory to co-ordinate all its data, and to expose the working of the human mind with scientific certainty.

When this psychological theory arrives; when a belief in its truth grows established in the common mind: a prodigious revolution, in every-day life must occur.

At present crude and blundering psychological

methods are employed by all who seek to influence their fellow-men—by propagandists, advertisers, playwrights and, above all, by politicians. On the day when psychology is reduced to an exact science, the advertiser who hopes to attract custom by a speciously coloured poster will be impotent against the scientific expert, able to compound an advertisement which, he can predict, must fascinate every beholder possessed of a certain mentality. The author relying for a living on the sales of novels produced as works of art, will starve when books written so that their appeal is inevitable and irresistible are first issued by astute publishing houses. The playwright whose scenes are salted merely by his own native wit, will not hold the stage against plays whose lines are peppered with verbal felicities guaranteed by psychological theory to bring down the house.

These are perhaps far-fetched examples, but they illustrate the inevitable consequences of the reduction of psychology to an exact science. In sober truth, this event—and it is an event which *will* happen, not one which *may* happen—will transform all our everyday occupations and pleasures.

Most particularly it will revolutionize politics.

Scientific psychology may destroy the possibility of conducting politics any longer on purely party lines. The voters, educated in the light of the new psychology, will be immune from specious appeals to sentiment and illogical reasoning. They will be competent to support this or that project strictly on its merits, unswayed by rhetoric, unhampered by prejudice.

Another among our almost unconscious faiths which will mould the everyday life of 2029 is our belief in the value of education.

In 2029 a greatly modified and extended educational system will influence the life and manners of our descendants. The problem of the ordinary citizen a century hence will not concern his working-hours, but his leisure. During each month, he may spend one week engaged in monotonous but enormously productive toil. In return for this labour he will receive wages sufficient to maintain himself and his family in superb comfort through three following weeks of complete leisure. Unless he is a highly educated individual, so much idleness will hang heavy on his hands, if indeed it is not filled by actively mischievous pursuits. Three consecutive weeks of continuous football-match attendance, cinema-going, betting, crossword solving and newspaper reading would cloy upon even the most determined of uneducated hedonists. Therefore, it will be necessary for the citizen of 2029 to command intellectual amusements with which to occupy his days.

The creation of wealth, however, will have grown so simple by 2029, that the state will be able to afford a complete education for each of her children. Every child, as a matter of course will pass on from school to university; not until he reaches his majority will the youth of 2029 be faced with the task of earning his own living. The training he receives will be far more complete and various than can now be obtained. Educational experts will make a careful study of each pupil who passes through their hands, with the aim of discovering for what activity nature and inclination best equips him. Who shows a bent for scientific inquiry will be trained as a research worker and

enabled to join the ranks of those searchers after truth who will be the governing class. Whose mastery over his fellows is apparent will be qualified for an executive position where he may best employ his gift for handling men. Whose gifts are manual rather than mental will learn the secrets of a craft and devote his life to adorning the lives of his fellows.

All this, idyllic in contemplation, will be rendered practical by the conquest of poverty; and, for reasons which I have previously outlined, I believe that by 2029 this conquest though not complete, will be in sight.

Finally,

A century hence, our descendants will move in a clarified mental atmosphere, as bracing as the Swiss air of midwinter. They will be able to view circumstances in a sharp outline, untroubled by hazes and shadows. But like the mountain air, the atmosphere will be cold as well as tonic. It will be less genial, less charitable, less mellow than the autumn air which has now superseded the romantic fogs of the nineteenth century. A dispassionate lust for scientific inquiry, an impersonal taste for realities at all costs, will surely typify their attitude toward life.

Thus by 2029 men and women will seem, judged by our standards, harsh and unemotional. They will have recaptured and transformed into new fashions, the precision, lucid sense and keen criticism which distinguished the small educated world of the eighteenth century. Wit rather than humour, comedy rather than fear, reason rather than sentiment, polish rather than naivete, ingenuity rather than ingenuousness, will be valued. It will be an age in which Caesar or Voltaire might repeat his famous triumphs; but where Garibaldi would lack his need of glory and Dickens would sob in vain.

So intimately is the history of civilization bound up with the expression of gigantic personalities, that a single individual may arise in Europe or America to reshape the mould of life before 2029. Another and a greater Wesley may call back our grandchildren to fervent emotional Pantheism, and recall the religious wars which racked the seventeenth century. A new and delicious Helen, inflaming the laboratories, may launch a thousand airships and bring to ruin New York's topless towers. A Puritan revulsion, headed by Senussite Comstocks, may sweep over us, quenching the arts and reconstituting the taboos of the nineteenth century. A mad dictator, jealous of Western progress, may precipitate a war, compared with which our recent military experiences will count as child's play, and which will finally burn up and destroy Western civilization, so that coming generations in China and New Zealand will know it for no more than a memory and a name. But against this peril I pin my faith upon the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race.

These prophetic divagations are always irresistible. Lest we might be too prone to take them literally it is worth while remembering the caution that all our anticipations of the future are but expressions of our fears and hopes. Even Lord Birkenhead is no exception to this

Religion and Indian Education

About a year ago the International Christian Council which met in Jerusalem emphatically declared that religion should have a greater place in Indian education and embodied its recommendation in a special report. These recommendations are discussed by Dr. Eleanor McDougall Litt. D. in the *International Review of Missions* :

The sentences which embody this new recommendation can be found in the 'Messages and Recommendations' which are published under the title : *The World Mission of Christianity*, on pages 21, 22, and 23, and run as follows :

"Religion, when worthy of the name, incorporates man's response to the eternal values of life. As such it is essential to education. Without it education will not be merely incomplete : it is almost a contradiction in terms...

"It is a function of governments to see that suitable educational facilities are provided for all their citizens, and we desire to co-operate in the fullest measure with them in the performance of this task. If we are right in insisting upon the essential place of religion in education their provision for education will not be complete if it affords no place or opportunity for the moral and spiritual values of religious education.

"For all national educational systems we covet the influences of the Christian religion ; but except where a religious system can be shown to be morally detrimental in its influence, we believe that it is preferable that education be based upon some religious belief than that it should be based upon none."

To carry out this recommendation in the case of India would mean that missionaries and other Christian people should give every encouragement to the teaching of Hinduism to the children of Hindus in the schools which are under public control. It does not, of course, mean that such teaching should be given in schools which are under the control of missions, churches or other 'private agencies'. But it does mean that in the opinion of those who met and conferred at Jerusalem the teaching of Hinduism to children at school is more profitable for them than the silence about religion which is at present maintained in schools under public management and control.

This view is at variance with the traditional policy in education hitherto followed by the Government of India. That this policy, which excluded religion from the teaching and practice of schools carried on by Government, has had deplorable results few would now deny. It is useless and also it is unjust to blame the Indian and British framers of that policy. It was probably the only policy possible in the middle of the nineteenth century, and it was not so unsuitable to that age as it is to this.

But this irreligious system of education, whether suitable or not to former conditions, is full of evil and danger for the children of our present day. Those concerned with education found themselves in complete accord with those who were preparing the report on the Christian Message, in the conviction that the greatest enemy of the cause of Christ throughout the world is not

Hinduism or any other religion but rather the indifference of men to spiritual things, their immersion in material concerns, and the godless view of life which distorts the whole outlook of the soul. All religions testify to the reality of the Unseen and in so far prepare the way of the Lord. But the education which ignores religion while it claims completeness, and which by implication relegates the spiritual to the class of things unimportant, disparages religion far more effectively than atheistic propaganda could, and insensibly undermines the Indian conceptions of human life as the arena of spiritual forces. It is quite true that such an education frees the soul from many crude superstitions such as terror during an eclipse, but that is a small gain compared with the loss of all interest in the things of the spirit. This danger grows more and more great and subtle as Indian boys and girls enter on the rich and complex life of these days. It is the very success of the school, its provision of many new interests and activities, that result not only in the gradual banishment of vicious and malicious occupations but also, in the banishment of the leisure and solitude in which the things of God, even though not fostered by the school, might yet find entrance. School has now occupied the whole time and filled the whole horizon of the child, and serious is its responsibility if by the silent implication of the unreality and needlessness of anything beyond the material and intellectual interests with which it crowds his days and thoughts it builds up a barrier between the child and God.

Modern Art in Theory and Practice

The China Journal summarizes a lecture by Mr. M. E. C. Smith at the Shanghai Art club on the mysteries of modern art. The subject was certainly worth a frank discussion, for, there is no phenomenon in the modern world in which the genuine and the counterfeit, sincerity and charlatanism is so inextricably mixed up as in the field of modern fine and applied art. The editor stressed that point and began by saying that :

There probably never had been such a profusion of ideas as exist to-day, while in many cases it was difficult to label an artist, since so many were by no means faithful to one definite theory, but were influenced from all sides. To our minds this is only another way of saying that modern art is in the "Dickens of a mess"—it might be said, in the melting pot. What will emerge from this maelstrom of fantastic efforts, imaginings, sanity and insanity it is difficult to say, but the lecturer seemed to see certain definite lines developing. He pointed out that there were a few contemporary painters who were working out their own ideas, and that some of the movements on foot to-day in art circles seemed to be interesting and sensible, sensational and some seemed to have passed beyond the border-line that separates genius from madness. He might have added that there was a very considerable number of people posing as artists, whose chief object was to exploit the imbecility

and ignorance of the general public in matters of art, and were foisting upon the world at large productions without merit, meaning or cognizance of the most elementary principles of art.

What he did say was that all sincere painters with modern tendencies had the notion that the art which was to express the civilization of the 20th century was different from that of the foregoing centuries. There is a feeling amongst them that unless something different can be produced they would rather not produce anything. Does this mean, we would like to ask the artists, that the art of the 20th century is to be all squares and mechanical shapes and that the beauties of nature that 20th century man is rapidly destroying are to be abandoned by the artist as well? Or does it mean that jazz and Bolshevism are to run riot amongst artists, and pictures that will assume the appearance of the patchwork and crazy quilts of our Victorian grandmothers?

He concluded by saying that he had only touched briefly on abnormal modern ideas, but he thought it was a mistake to treat them as a joke. So do we. We think they should be treated as a disease or at least as the outward manifestations of a disordered brain, and would suggest that the perpetrators of these horrors should be carefully watched by the authorities, as we is to know in what other direction they might not break out.

The Quest of God

The Hibbert Journal for July 1929 opens with an article by Professor J. E. Boodin of the University of California on the idea of God:

We cannot hope to comprehend God, but without God we cannot hope to comprehend anything else. Therefore we must in piety endeavour to make the idea of God as clear as our finite limitations permit. As the scientist strives by imaginative pictures to understand the meaning of nature, so we must use our imagination to make clearer our relation to God. We must start where we are in human history to reach out into the beyond, making use of man's efforts in the past, yet not making the past an authority over us. The divine light must break in the here and now upon our souls.

Knowledge at best is a poor and abstract affair compared to the richness of human experience. We live in integral relations with reality. We are part of the dynamic wholeness of things. Knowledge is an after-thought and always trails far behind reality. Nature and man have reacted to light for ages. But we have not yet a satisfactory theory of light. So man has lived in the presence of the divine through the ages. He has felt that his environment is more than what is present to the senses—that there is meaning and plot in the motley events of his experience. But his theories of the supernatural have been various and crude. Those who say that the supernatural is fiction because man's theories are various and conflicting, ought, for the same reason, to deny the reality of life and matter. The action of the great forces of reality is fortunately not dependent upon our knowledge of them. If it were, we could not

live at all. For, we know little of the 'great facts of nature—light, gravitation or even the energies which have to do with the maintenance of our own organisms—and yet they have gone on through the ages. This does not mean that we should not try to understand, for the little we understand helps us to live more intelligently and effectively. To try to grasp the meaning of things and to live in the light of this meaning is the vocation of man.

Have we then an intuition of God? If what is meant is that we have an immediate intuition of one God—omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent as represented in mediæval theology, then the evidence of the history of religion is to the contrary. Our concept of God, like our concept of matter, is the result of a long trial and error process to meet the requirements of experience. But acquaintance with reality must precede our theories of reality. This is true equally in the realm of sense experience—our relation to the external physical world—and in the realm of spiritual experience—our relation to other minds and God. If what is meant is that, in genuine religious experience, we have an immediate experience of the quality of the divine as we have an immediate experience of colour, then I believe it is true. To say that religion starts in a unique immediate experience of the divine does not mean that we immediately understand the divine, any more than our experience of the sunset or the green grass or our fellow-men means that we immediately comprehend these facts as propositions. We live in integral relations, but we comprehend but little what we live. The conviction for a larger reality—the reality of the physical environment, the reality of our fellow-man, the reality of the divine—is immediate. It is born of our inmost needs. It is of the tissue of the life of the race.

The reality of the divine requires no proof—any more than the existence of the external physical world or of our fellow-men—and to the sophisticated it cannot be proved. Nothing of importance can be proved. Life always turns out to be a venture of faith. The question is: Does the conviction illumine the world of which we are a part, does it enable us to live? One does not prove the existence of music or poetry or love to those that have the experience. The quality of the ninth symphony of Beethoven is real to those experience its beauty, though some cannot live it and therefore deny its reality. The quality of divinity is present everywhere to him who is qualified to experience it—as the quality of the artist is present in his work, as the quality of the artist is present in his work, as the quality of the soul is present in the behaviour of the organism. But the immediate experience of reality in any case needs to be informed and cultivated by intelligent analysis for us to enter consciously into its meaning. And this is a long and arduous process. Knowledge does not come as a gift, but the communion with the divine comes as a gift, even as the experience of colour is a gift. We may never in all the ages comprehend God, but the quality of God's life is present everywhere. The soul responds to its influence as the plant turns to the sunlight and as flowers open to the morning dew. As we speak of life being geotropic—orienting itself to gravity—and heliotropic—orienting itself to light—so we should speak of it as theotropic—orienting itself to the divine.

Literature of Germany and England

In its "chronicle of letters and arts," *The Living Age* gives an interesting account of the literature of Germany and England. We are told that:

From the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Manchester Guardian* come two interesting sidelights on contemporary literature in Germany and England. The German paper reports that the national output of books declined during 1928 and the English paper has attempted to prognosticate what living British novelists will be most popular a hundred years from now.

Both before and after the War, Germany consistently led all other nations in book production. In 1919 only 15,876 new volumes appeared, but in 1922 the figure had risen to 22,614. Two years later production dropped to 18,003, but, in 1927, 24,860 new books appeared as against 22,951 in 1928. The total number of all books, new and old, published in Germany during 1927 was 31,026 and in 1928, 27,794. Our own country averages rather less than 10,000 books a year and Great Britain slightly more.

An analysis of last year's German book production reveals that the field of belles-lettres was almost twice as fruitful as any other. Nearly 4,500 books of this type appeared with school books second and mythology and theology running a close third. Over 2,000 social, political, economic studies appeared—more, in fact, than in the previous year. Although the popularity of Roman type is growing, slightly more than half of all German books are still printed in Gothic characters. Translations are in great demand and the number of them increased sixteen per cent last year. More than five hundred books were translated from English, 288 from French, and 176 from Russian.

The literary statistics from England deal with the future rather than the past. The *Manchester Guardian* has been running a competition to discover what modern British novelists will be the most popular in the year 2029. Each competitor submitted the names of the six contemporary novelists who, in his opinion, would be the most widely read a hundred years hence. No list included all of the six names that finally proved most popular, but the first prize was awarded to the man who chose Wells, Bennett, George Moore, Galsworthy, Sheila Kaye-Smith and R. H. Mottram. Here are the first twenty names on the list and the number of votes each one received.

Galsworthy	1,180
Wells	933
Bennett	654
Kipling	455
Barrie	286
Walpole	233
Kaye-Smith	198
George Moore	165
Bernard Shaw	110
Conrad Doyle	101
R. H. Mottram	79
John Buchan	63
D. H. Lawrence	61
Chesterton	60
Aldous Huxley	50

Hall Caine	48
Masefield	46
Locke	46
Rose Macaulay	41
Phillipotts	38

Bernard Shaw's comparatively low place is due to the fact that his reputation rests more on his plays than on his novels, but it is surprising that Aldous Huxley and D. H. Lawrence did not score higher. It is also interesting to find E. M. Forster receiving only 37 votes, Virginia Woolf 21, Compton Mackenzie 16, and James Joyce less than 10. American readers will also be surprised to find Miss Kaye-Smith standing so high, but her popularity is no doubt due to the fact that she has devoted her talents to describing her beloved countryside, a subject which makes an unflinching appeal to English readers. American authors were not included in the competition.

Raymond Poincare and Others

The same paper translates from the *Revue de Geneve* a very interesting article on the statesmen of France by M. Daniel Halevy, the distinguished French writer. President Poincare, says M. Halevy, belongs to the present; since his account was written he has apparently passed into the past. At a critical time for the French nation, the country has no longer the steady guidance of his firm will. M. Poincare first entered the political arena in 1892, but his attack on the older statesmen of France cost him twenty years of his political life:

It was in 1912 that Raymond Poincare suddenly re-appeared. Italy had just declared war on Turkey. Italian troops were landing in Tripolitania, and shipping in the Mediterranean was under close Italian surveillance. From any point of view, the situation was already full of danger. Europe was entering into the shadow of the World War.

At this particular time the old secret army no longer existed. Time had done away with it; it was cut to pieces from within, weakened from without. Therefore, the parliamentarians turned to Poincare and called him out of the retirement into which they had forced him. The worried Assembly, reassured and completely transformed by the sound of his voice, gave him a strong majority. Besides Poincare, there was Millerand, the Socialist who had studied under Waldeck-Rousseau in 1899; and there was Briand, that other Socialist who for six years had been gaining experience, studying, and maturing. Apparently the Socialists are not troubled by the incapacity to produce statesmen that characterizes the Radicals.

With Millerand and Briand as a nucleus, there appeared a new group, a new secret army. The surviving Gambettists (Reinach, Etienne, and Thomson) supported it and entered into it, without really being of it. The new secret army was never to have the cohesion which the old one had gained from the almost tender memory of the beloved and revered founder. It was to have a different kind of cohesion, a cohesion born out

of the stress and strain of a tragic struggle. Those who composed it were to be given a new name after the War: the *Personnages consulaires*, the Consuls. They were rent by the rivalries and even by hatreds whose strength we are still far from knowing. For there is still a good deal of mystery about these people who gave their lives to a task which was necessarily conducted largely in secret. But, in spite of hatred, they were to remain closely bound together in the terrible calling that was theirs, in the grip of the State.

In this rapid glance at the statesmen of France, one name has not yet appeared: Clemenceau. Should he be included among them? Clemenceau is a wandering star. His course is unpredictable and is like no one else's. He never belonged to the Gambettist group. In fact, he never tired of ridiculing them. He never joined any party or any group, not even that group which is above all the others, the State. He is not a statesman; he is a fighter. His whole life has been passed in struggling; slaughtering, biting, destroying. At bottom, Clemenceau is an assassin. He was appointed Prime Minister in 1906 and stayed in power for three years, which is a remarkable record. But it is impossible to point to a single institution or a single reform to which his name is attached. His strength lay in his genius for insolence and in his strong-arm methods. There was one time, it must be admitted, when this strange genius was invaluable to the State. This was at the close of the War. Everyone was tired—tired of killing and of dying. What was needed to bring the tragedy to a close was a man who was not tired of these things. That man was Clemenceau. Afterward, in time of peace, he showed his true self again—a man with very real but limited ability. Then he went into solitary retirement, where alone he is great.

Now let us turn to more recent history. Its teachings are manifold, for in it we see the play of M. Poincaré's brilliant gifts. No one should fail to read in M. Georges Suarez's book, *De Poincaré a Poincaré*, the story of the statesman's return to power in 1926, and of how he succeeded in bringing to his support a majority which two years before had been elected expressly to oppose him. It is a fast-moving story. M. Suarez writes extremely well of the great crisis, the ruin of our credit, which was the work of the Radicals. The whole French political family becomes alive and speaks at the touch of his pen. All the restless parliamentarians: Herr'ot, Painlevé, Caillaux, and Briand, a great parliamentarian, but a mediocre statesman, hovering over all is the strange authority of President Poincaré.

Briand and Poincaré! Two more dissimilar men cannot be imagined. The conversations which took place between them during the ten days of the ministerial crisis, as reported by M. Suarez, indicate the curious contrast. For a long while, possibly even from the very day of the elections at which the Radicals had triumphed, Briand had been working with his cunning perseverance to tire them out, to undermine their position. In June of 1926 he felt that the moment was near when Poincaré should come back. He called upon him.

'Are you willing to help us?'

'Yes,' answered Poincaré. 'When you want me to, I shall become your minister of finance.'

'What should you plan to do?'

'I should demand the immediate passage of a law calling for indirect taxation to yield eight or nine billion francs.'

Briand jumped. He is a negotiator, a conciliator.

He does not like at all to ask a parliamentary body to make an obvious sacrifice, in so many words. That is his weakness, his greatest fault. For this reason he is not the statesman he might be.

'Find some other way,' he said to Poincaré.

'There is no other way.'

Briand closed the interview at this point and sought help elsewhere, although he did not find it. Eight days later, the financial situation having become steadily worse, he called on Poincaré once more.

'Tell me again what you plan to do.'

'My plans have changed,' answered Poincaré.

'Ten days ago I said that I would be your minister of finance. To-day I will accept that post only on condition that at the same time I am given the prime ministry.'

A week later he had both offices and stood once more before the Chamber of Deputies.

'You never appear except in days of misfortune!' a deputy shouted at him. If I am not mistaken, it was the Communist, Cachin.

'That is because you never think of calling me to office when times are good,' answered Poincaré.

Apparently peoples will not submit to the necessities of state or to statesmen except when they are driven to it by anguish—the anguish of war, the anguish of bankruptcy.

Margaret Bondfield; the First Woman Cabinet Minister of England

The Literary Digest publishes a personal appreciation of Miss Margaret Bondfield, the first woman cabinet minister of England:

The City Streets were dark. In the thoroughfares about the railroad station not a light was showing. At the curb holding her heavy bag, stood a poorly dressed, but neat, young woman. She was undecided, almost desperate. She had come to this strange city on business, arriving late at night, and she had no place to go. Not a hotel or a lodging-house had she been able to find since leaving the train. But relief appeared in the solid person of a policeman marching his beat in this English manufacturing city. She appealed to him, "Can you direct me to a cheap, clean lodging-house?"

"There's a hostel for girls down to that way, Miss," he replied, pointing.

She found the hostel, roused the matron, and explained her plight. "I have just arrived. I have no place to go. Can't you let me have a bed?" she begged.

The matron eyed her from head to foot and, apparently judging her poor clothing a matter of suspicion, slammed the door in her face. This incident in the youth of Miss Margaret Bondfield Great Britain's first woman Cabinet Minister, is related by Coralie Van Passen in the New York *Evening World*.

The same story is related by other newspaper correspondents, none of whom tell us where Miss Bondfield, who was then in labour-union work, did spend the night. But C. Patrick Thompson, writing in the New York *Harald Tribune* Magazine, tells us that the incident caused Miss Bondfield, who is known as "Saint Maggie" and "Our Maggie," to work for the establishment of lodging-houses for working-girls.

Now that she is in the Cabinet, the first woman to attain such a place, she is the butt of much good natured humour at the hands of cartoonists, as a writer of the London bureau of the New York *Evening Post* tells us in that journal:

"It will be difficult for cartoonists to resist the gibes that the unprecedented figure of a lady Privy Councillor suggests. Already they are busy suggesting a female uniform which will be in line with the traditional cocked hat, gold-encrusted tailcoat, and knee-breeches of that ancient dignity. What is to be done?"

The road Miss Bondfield traveled to become a figure so important as to intrigue cartoonists in this manner, was long and arduous. To begin with, she was one of a family of eleven children, the daughter of a Somersetshire lacemaker. Mr. Thompson tells us, continuing:

"She was born into a world where the right of every man to do what he liked with his own was asserted to the hilt and beyond it. Conditions for the factory-hand and hired help generally were fierce. The workers were rather worse off under the new rule of the industrial magnates than they had been under the paternalistic rule of the old feudal lords.

After a hard life of work for twelve hours a day from her fourteenth year, Miss Bondfield at last

escaped from clerking by the labour-union organizing route, as Mr. Thompson explains in his *Herald Tribune* article:

"The shop assistant's union came late upon the scene, shop assistants not being of the staff of which labour pioneers are made. Margaret Bondfield no sooner heard about the union than she joined it, and started to form a woman's branch.

She was educated, quick, hard-working, and an organizer. She became prominent in the union very rapidly. At twenty-three she was on the district council of its London branch, and writing in its little journal, *The Shop Assistant*. She had a happy journalistic touch in those days. Later her style became more dry, more concerned with figures and statistics. She was not concerned with appeals to the heart. Her job was to marshal the facts of industrial life, conduct patient researches, evolve concrete arguments backed by mathematically precise statement.

She was kept busy collecting information about housing conditions, and compiling figures and measurements. Then the woman's cooperative movement engaged her in another field of enquiry. So she laid the foundation for her future campaigns for shorter shop hours, trade boards, and national health services.

Her frail, diminutive figure, perched on a wooden kitchen chair, would pop up at street corners. At a moment's notice the young union leader was prepared to take train or bus to a meeting.

She had an enormous capacity for work, and

exercised it to the full, as *The Evening World* tells us:

She was a stout little woman of fifty when, on September 26, 1923, she was elected Chairman of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, a post which made her the acknowledged leader of 8,000,000 working men and women. And when the hundreds of delegates present acclaimed her and uproariously called on her for a speech, she got up and delivered a "speech" of twelve words:

"You men have shown that labour believes in equality of women."

After the meeting, one of the delegates declared, half jokingly, half tenderly, "Labour now has its lay saint—Margaret." And to the multitude she has been "Saint Maggie" ever since.

The Women's Movement in China

At the end of 1927 the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent a delegation with its message of sympathy and goodwill to Chinese women. One of the members of this delegation contributes an article to *The Asiatic Review* on the women's movement in China. She begins with a reference to past conditions:

There is a little Chinese poem by Fu Hsuan of the third century A. D. Mr. Arthur Waley's translation runs:

"How sad it is to be a woman!
Nothing on earth is held so cheap.
Boys standing leaning at the door
Like Gods fallen out of Heaven,
Their hearts brave the Four Oceans,
The wind and dust of a thousand miles.
No one is glad when a girl is born;
By her the family sets no store.
When she grows up she hides in her room,
Afraid to look a man in the face.
No one cries when she leaves her home..."

From what we saw it is perfectly clear that to-day these words no longer apply.

Old residents told us that the change in the last ten years is almost unbelievable, and certainly in watching the groups of women, their hair short, Western fashion, or neatly coiled, but mostly free of the annoyance of a hat, walking together in the street, shopping, gossiping at corners or riding in rickshaws, it is difficult to believe that not so long ago they were never seen out of doors.

To those who have known something of the struggle of Western women to be allowed equal opportunity of education and profession the situation is particularly interesting, for in China the strongest supporters of the Women's Movement are their husbands, sons, and brothers! Now that the women have proved themselves capable of intellectual effort they are being welcomed everywhere as co-workers with the men, and every door has been thrown open to them. We met women doctors, teachers, professors, lawyers, nurses, secretaries, journalists, and even an editor, and one

woman bank manager, whose bank was so successful that it was moving into larger premises at the time we were in Shanghai. Of course, the number is very small in proportion to the whole, but it is growing by leaps and bounds.

This movement is having its effect in every field of national life. The fields in which the influence of women is being increasingly felt in the education and medicine. But the field of politics also, in China as elsewhere, has not remained free from the influx of the fifth estate:

The revolution gave a great impetus to organizations among women for political purposes, and in 1922 the Women's Suffrage Association and Women's Rights League were founded in certain provinces of the South. Hunan was the first province to recognize equal rights for women in its constitution, and to the short-lived parliament in Peking of 1921 returned a woman representative. In Kwantung to-day these two societies have amalgamated under the title of Women's Movement General Alliance, which has a number of groups scattered throughout the province and several thousand members, we were told. Its President, Mrs. Leung, lives in Canton. In May, 1927, this organization sent out a message to "feminist organizations of other lands," in the course of which the members pledged themselves to work for their country, and stated that they were concerning themselves with better international understanding between China and the Powers, so that genuine goodwill shall be achieved."

On the International Woman's Day, March 8, 1928, when we were given copies as we went on to the platform of the great mass meeting of women in Canton, at which we were honoured by being asked to speak. Every foreign woman resident had received a special invitation, and seats were reserved on the open-air platform for all who accepted. The great company of over a thousand women, with their flags and banners, and some hundreds of men, stood listening to speeches from delegates of various women's groups for three hours without apparently any lessening of interest. There were no police visible, order being maintained apparently by girl guides.

At the end of the three hours a series of slogans were shouted by a slender little lady through a megaphone and an answering shout of acceptance greeted each one, with the raising of the right hands of the vast crowd. These are some of the most interesting :

1. Unite all women's movements.
2. Equal education for men and women.
3. Equality of vocational opportunity for men and women.
4. Equality for women under the law.
5. Equal wages for men and women.
6. Protection of motherhood.
7. Protection of child labour.
8. Organize women farmers and labourers.
9. Down with the slavery of etiquette for women.
10. Oppose polygamy.
11. Oppose child betrothal and removal of the girl to her future husband's home.
12. Demand equal moral standard for men and women.

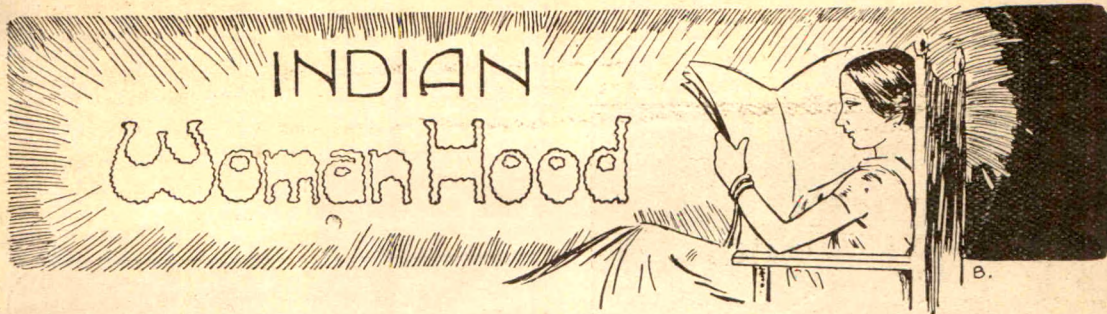
The influx of women in politics will have far-reaching influence in another field, that of international relations. As the writer says :

We found everywhere a real desire for peace, a detestation of war, and a desire to co-operate with other nations in bringing about a better world order. Individual Chinese women were working quietly in Shanghai and Peking together with the foreign women to bring about a better understanding, and they gave us every help, there and in all the other centres, in spreading our message of friendship and goodwill as wide as possible.

In closing I will quote from a letter received lately from a woman professor whose acquaintance I made in Nanking :

"Women as the mothers of nations must demand and command the world to bring that dream of peace into reality. They must do it; nobody else can do it for them. This calls for a need of an intellectual womanhood with spiritual power—women who have vision, who know their mission, and who have tools to make their contribution felt by humanity. Women must know what they want, and then hold on to it, stand for it with firm determination. . . . I only wish that women of all nations, East or West, will unite in the construction of this arc of peace, which is the only means to save humanity from destruction by the flood of war. I believe this arc of peace knows no East, no West. She certainly will serve the humanity which knows no national barriers."

Surely we may feel that the Women's Movement in China, led by such women as these, should strengthen our hopes that the new China which is now emerging will take her place in the family of nations as one of the guardians of the peace of the world.



MRS. SNEHALATA PAGAR, B.S.A.M., (Columbia) Principal of the Female Training College, Baroda, has been nominated as a councillor of the Baroda Municipality.



Mrs. Snehalata Pagar, B. S. A. M.

MISS MARY JOHN, B.A.—Tutor in Science in H. H. The Maharaja's College for Women, Trivandrum, has been awarded Government of Madras Scholarship for higher studies in England. She graduated with first class in Physics from the Madras University. She will leave for England shortly.



Miss Mary John, B. A.

SRIMATHI K. S. PARVATHY AMMAL has been nominated by the Government as a member of the District Education Board, Cuddapah.



Srimathi K. S. Parvathy Ammal

SRIMATHI DAHIGAURI DEVI—has been nominated as a councillor of the Baroda Municipality.



Srimathi Dahigauri Devi

MISS SWARNALATA GHOSH—The daughter of Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Ghosh, District and Sessions Judge of Purnea, after passing the B.A. examination from the Patna Univer-



Miss Swarnalata Ghosh

sity, studied in the Teachers' Training College. She has been awarded a state scholarship by the Bihar and Orissa Government and has sailed for England to complete her training.

SRIMATHI C. KRISHNAMMA—Wife of Mr. C. Sarangapani Naidu, Bench Magistrate, Saidapet, has been nominated as a councillor of the Saidapet Municipality.



Srimathi C. Krishnamma

MISS E. MUTHAMMAH THILLAYAMPALAM, PH.D.—is returning to India on September 1, having received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, New York. She will continue her work as Professor of Biology in Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow.

Miss Thillayampalam was born in Jaffna, Ceylon, and received her education up to the Matriculation in the C. M. S. Girls' School in Jaffna. She studied for the F. Sc. at Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, and for her B. Sc. and M. Sc. at Muir Central College, Allahabad University. She was the only woman who sat for her M. Sc. examinations in 1920 and she stood first in the University. She then took up the post of Teacher of Science at Isabella Thoburn College. In 1922, she received a Scholarship

for study in America. Three years were spent at Columbia University, where she made a brilliant record as a student of Science. On her return she continued her teaching at Isabella Thoburn College, the woman's department of the University of Lucknow. In 1928, the University appointed her Reader in Zoology. At Columbia Miss Thillayampalam had studied under the distinguished specialist, Dr. Wilson, and on her return to India, by special request of the biology staff, delivered a special course of lectures on *Cytology* before the post-graduate students of the men's department of Lucknow University.

In 1928, Miss Thillayampalam published a monograph on *Scoliodon* (The Common Shark of the Indian Seas) as the second volume of the Indian Zoological Memoirs



Miss E. Muthammah Thillayampalam, PH. D.

on "Indian Animal Types," edited by Dr. K. N. Bahl. This work was accepted as her thesis for the Ph. D. degree at Columbia, where her residential requirements had already been fulfilled. This spring Miss Thillayampalam returned to New York to sit for her examinations and in June she received the degree.

Miss Thillayampalam is the first Indian

woman who has contributed a work of original research in science and the first who has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in pure Science. Her distinguished achievements are a striking proof of the latent potentialities of Indian womanhood.

For her earnest and unremitting efforts to obtain just terms for the jute mill operatives, DR. MISS PRABHABATI DAS-GUPTA, PH. D., has come to be known among them as "Mata-ji" or the Honoured Mother.



Miss Prabhavati Das Gupta PH. D.

MISS MANIBAI LILADHAR KARA.—"who returned to Bombay on Friday is amongst the foremost of young social workers. She joined the Social Training Class when it was first started in June 1923, and since then social work has been her chief interest. From the beginning she has been doing work in the chawls amongst the women and children of mill workers, and



Miss Manibai Liladhar Kara

the Sēva Mandir in Tardeo was started by her. For the last fifteen months, Miss Kara studied in Europe. She has lived in social settlements in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, London and Paris, studying and taking part in the work of these institutions. She also visited Germany, Switzerland and Italy, and attended various conferences such as the Workers' Conference in Germany, and in England, the student movement conferences, an Indo-British Conference and a Girls' Auxiliary Conference. In London she attended some of the courses at the School of Economics. While in Birmingham she was a resident at Carey Hall where she attended courses on social, educational and religious work. She did a considerable amount of practical work in the slums of Liverpool and Birmingham. She stayed in many western homes, and while carrying with her the best in Indian tradition and culture, she has entered very fully into life wherever she has been, and leaves behind her a large number of warm friends who understand India better. Not the least of these are the women in one of the poor districts of Birmingham who came to regard her as a friend."

The Bombay Chronicle.

Consent Committee's Recommendations

By JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA

WHILE congratulating the Age of Consent Committee on its progressive outlook may I suggest the following amendments to its recommendations:—

1. The committee has recommended fourteen as the minimum age for marriage of girls and that marital intercourse below fifteen years be made a penal offence styled "marital misbehaviour". I suggest that the minimum age of marriage should be fixed at fifteen. There is much advantage in having one age for marriage and its consummation. In this way the girl may be kept free for one year more for her physical, mental and educational development; the risk of her being a widow during this first

year of her marriage may be avoided; this will also keep the husband out of the temptation of being guilty of the offence of marital misbehaviour. Logically and legally, and perhaps from the point of religion also—marriage is synonymous with the right to the society of the wife. Marriage without the society of the wife is a contradiction in terms. The practice which has grown up in some places of postponing the consummation till some time after the marriage is open to serious objections and we should certainly rather than yield to it and introduce irrational provisions in the laws of the country.

If my suggestion is accepted it will not be necessary at all to add this new offence

of marital intercourse to our penal code. It will also be not necessary to add the many complicated provisions about taking bonds for separate living, custody and maintenance of the girl wife. In its actual working it would, in some cases, be extremely difficult to make suitable arrangements for separate living, custody and maintenance of the girl wife. The courts will be put in extremely difficult and awkward situations in deciding these questions and enforcing its orders.

All laws and more so the marriage laws, should be simple, especially in a country like India, and it will do good to nobody to have laws which may lodge the bridegroom in jail and leave the bride outside, in endless misery during the first year of the marriage.

2. Having regard to the appalling illiteracy and poverty in the country, I suggest that it should not be made obligatory, at least for some years, on the parties or their guardians to report marriage particulars to any local authority. If the ages for marriage and consummation are kept different, then the marriage registers cannot serve much useful purpose. In any view of the matter information by registered post should be considered sufficient. It should not at all be necessary for parties to go personally or through recognised agents. As an alternative, village head-men and the pandits who solemnize the marriages may be put under an obligation to report marriage details.

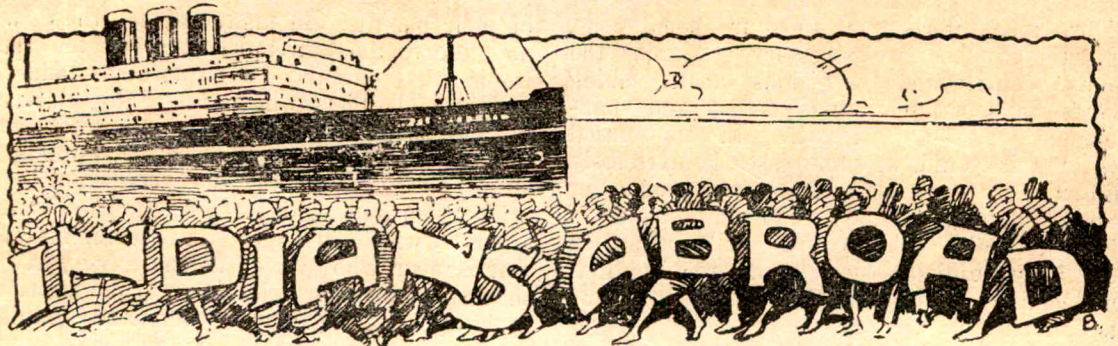
3. The offence should be non-compoundable even if the girl is between 12 and 15 years. The judge can give a nominal punishment if he feels that the circumstances of a case warrant it, but no option should be given to the parties. That would make the penal provision almost nugatory.

4. In cases falling under this class the husbands will invariably be in their teens acting wholly as machines to the wishes

of their parents. In many cases they will not deserve the extreme penalty of the law. It is the parents and guardians and the pandits and others who arrange the marriage that are principally and primarily guilty and punishable. I feel that a special provision should be added making the parents of the bridegroom and the bride, and the pandits and others who arrange and solemnize the marriage or who have taken any part in the arrangements or celebration of the marriage, specially punishable with deterrent punishment. They should be punished more severely than the husband. Even those who join in the marriage functions should be punished.

5. Those of us who have read the report of the League of Nations about traffic in women realize the magnitude and seriousness of this question. Women are sold from one country into another more freely than commodities. To put a stop to this evil the League passed a resolution as early as 1921 calling upon all countries to pass legislation punishing the sale of girls under 21 years. The Indian law at the time punished sale of girls under 16 years only. Consequently, the Government wanted to maintain the age at 16 for offences committed in India but to add a provision making the importing of girls under 21 for immoral purposes an additional offence. The Government of India's representatives at the League made a reservation to that effect and the Indian Government introduced legislation on the lines of the reservation made on its behalf.

The non-official majority, however, succeeded in raising the age to 18 for offences committed in India. Consequently the present law is that sale of girls under 18 in India and importing foreign girls under 21 is an offence. Thus a girl of 18 can be exported for immoral purposes. I suggest that exporting of a girl under 21 should be made an offence.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Repatriation of Indians from South Africa

The Indian opinion of Durban makes the following comments on one of the speeches of Sir K. V. Reddy, the Indian Agent in South Africa:

Sir Kurma spoke on the Assisted Emigration Scheme. He drew a gloomy picture of the labour



Sir. K. V. Reddy

conditions in India and pointed out how difficult it was even for the educated young men to find employment and left to us to infer how difficult it would be for our uneducated brethren who are being repatriated under the assisted emigration scheme to comfortably accommodate themselves

in India. Nevertheless, however, he assured us that the Government of India were doing their best for them and that 80 per cent of the repatriates were being cared for by them. Sir Kurma deprecated the action of some of our brethren who, the Agent said, were conducting a crusade against the repatriation scheme and used every conceivable means to prevent Indians from leaving the Union under the scheme. There was a time when Government touts went about the country giving people false tales about rosy conditions existing in India and thus misled them into accepting the scheme. But that was done under the previous Government and it would be unfair on our part to blame the present Government. When there was such a propaganda a counter-propaganda was necessary. But where there is no such movement and the people are fully aware that the scheme is a purely voluntary one and that no one is compelled to take advantage of it against his will, and when those who do take advantage of it do so fully knowing the conditions in India, there should be no move on our part to deter them by spreading false rumours.

Our people in South Africa are now anxious to know what the Government of India has been doing for these repatriated Indians. As most of these returned emigrants belong to Southern India we on the Northern side cannot say how far the claim of Sir K. V. Reddy that 80 per cent of the repatriates were being cared for by the Government of India can be sustained.

May we request the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee to make a thorough enquiry into this question?

Appointment of Rev. McMillan as Inspector of Schools in Fiji

We are glad to learn from the *Fiji Times* and *Herald* that the Fiji Government has appointed Mr. A. W. McMillan as Inspector of schools in Fiji. The *Fiji Times* and *Herald* writes :

The new inspector's work will not be confined to schools for any particular race but in making the appointment the Fiji Government has evidently had in mind the needs of the Indian population which numbers about 70,000, including nearly

20,000 children of school age. Mr. McMillan was for 23 years a missionary in India under the London Missionary Society, working in the United Provinces near Benares. In 1924 he settled in New Zealand, but almost immediately was appointed representative of the New Zealand Y.M.C.A. among the Indians in Fiji.

WORK IN INDIA

While in India he had much to do with the organization of village mission schools and on account of his wide experience in both India and Fiji the commission which reviewed the education system of Fiji in 1926 invited him to give his views upon the work required to be done among Indians in the group. This he did in a report which the commission printed as an appendix to its findings.

We congratulate the Fiji Government on their excellent choice and hope that Mr. McMillan will receive the fullest possible co-operation from our countrymen in those islands. We shall, however, warn them against expecting too much from him or in fact, from any Government official. Though Mr. Mcmillan can do a good deal of service to the cause of Indian education still he cannot be strong enough to shape the educational policy of the Fiji Government which has shown criminal negligence in the past so far as the education of Indian children is concerned. Mr. McMillan's knowledge of Hindi, the principal vernacular of our people in Fiji, will stand him in good stead and we can rightly hope that the study of Hindi will receive good stimulus during his regime. With a broadminded Director of Education like Mr. J. Caughley at his head Mr. McMillan has got exceptional opportunities of service to the cause of Indian education and we hope that he will utilize them to the utmost.

Report of a Conference of Indian European Students

The National Council of the Y. M. C. A. has kindly lent us their typed copy of the full report of the Dresden Conference and we have read it with considerable interest. The members of the Conference, Indians and Europeans, came from all the centres in Europe where there are groups of Indian students and they discussed several important problems dealing with education and student life. The speech of Dr. S. K. Dutta, the Chairman, was a remarkable one and it breathed sentiments at once noble and patriotic. Dr. Dutta has been well known for his outspokenness and he did not miss this opportunity for putting the case of Indian students before this international gathering in a forcible and convincing way.

Here are some of the subjects discussed at the Conference :—

- I India to-day and her students.
- II The educational crisis in India.
- III The material and social condition of Indian students.
- IV German University and the State.
- V The student self-help enterprise and its significance.
- VI Indian students in Europe.
- VII Indian students in United Kingdom.
- VIII International value of self-help.

The report of speeches and discussions on these subjects contains several thought-provoking ideas and it will be a distinct service to the case of Indian students if this report is printed in a pamphlet form by the National council of the Y. M. C. A.



Dr. S. K. Dutta

News from Fiji

Mr. R. Parmeshwar writes from Suva, Fiji Islands :—

After a hard struggle the Letters Patent by which the Indians in Fiji will get three seats in the local Legislative Council has been promulgated. This is utterly inadequate as against six seats for the Europeans. The Indian Government should bring pressure upon the Government in Fiji to grant equal status to Indians in these islands who number roughly 70,000 while the Europeans are only 7000 including the half-castes. Under the circumstan-

ces, we should have got at least as many seats as have been given to the Europeans. Although the present offer is quite unsatisfactory, but as half a loaf is better than nothing we, after fully considering the situation, have accepted these three seats under protest. In the meantime we hope that the Indian Government will back up our cause strongly so as to get the undertaking already given carried out and justice done to us.

When we came to know that a Secretary for Indian Affairs was about to be appointed we were very pleased that at last we were going to have some one to attend to and voice our needs. Hon. J. R. Pearson, C. I. E. a retired Indian I. C. S. was appointed to this position.

But I am very sorry to say that our hopes have not materialized. Mr. Pearson is an excellent official but he is too old for the work. He is striving to do his best but appears to be utterly hopeless. This is not only due to his age but greatly to the nature of the appointment. What is really needed is an Agent of the Government of India. We hope that our compatriots at home will take up this question and endeavour to bring pressure on the Government to have the original proposal carried out.

There is a good field in Fiji for Indian doctors and barristers. They can not only make a living here but be in a position to render a great deal of service to their fellow countrymen. At present we have two Indian barristers and two doctors but all of them are living on the other side of the Island. One at least would do very well in Suva. The Indians in Fiji would be only too pleased to render any assistance to any professional men who may wish to come to practise their profession here.

Any information desired would be gladly supplied by the Secretary, Arya Samaj, G. P. O. Box 260, Suva, Fiji.

Two Congresses in Fiji

At the time of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Indian settlement in Fiji two Indian National Congresses were established, one at Suva and the other at Lautoka. The former elected Messrs John Grant and H. Sahodar Singh as president and secretary respectively while the latter is presided over by Mr. Ambalal D. Patel Bar-at-Law with Mr. S. A. Raymond as its secretary. Is it really impossible to bring about unity between these two sections of our people? We would suggest a round table conference between the leaders of the different parties for this purpose.

The East African Delegation

We welcome the East African delegates who have arrived in India to put their case before the Indian public and the Indian Government. The Indian question in Kenya and other parts of East Africa has now reached a crisis and we cannot afford to neglect it any longer. The words of Mr. Sastri "If Kenya is lost all is lost" are as true to-day as they were in 1923. Indeed,

the decision by the British Cabinet regarding this question will have a far-reaching effect, because it will finally settle the problem whether Indians are to get common citizenship in the British colonies or a second rate citizenship will be given to them. On account of the policy of exclusion followed by the Dominions and also on account of the inferior status of our countrymen in the British colonies the position of those who favour the idea of India being a member of the British Commonwealth has never been very strong and it will receive a fatal blow if the Labour Government follows the suicidal policy of the Conservatives. How can any one be proud of the British Empire when we are being treated in it as pariahs?

We hope the leaders of public opinion in India will help the East African Deputation in every possible way. So far as their problems are concerned there is practically no difference of opinion between the different political parties and we are all united to secure justice for our compatriots abroad.

A Useful Suggestion by Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru

In concluding his remarkable speech delivered at Allahabad Mr. Kunzru said:—

The present arrangements for dealing with emigration question seem to me to be extremely unsatisfactory. My visit to East Africa has convinced me that if we are to deal with the problems of education in a proper way we must soon devise a new agency. We have hitherto regarded the question of Indians overseas as consisting merely of attempts to prevent fresh disabilities being heaped upon our countrymen, but we must in future take a larger view of it. We must try to promote their welfare and take advantage of such opportunities as offer themselves for advancing their interests in other lands. There are unlimited opportunities for Indians in Tanganyika to-day.

It is a mandated territory where under the terms of the mandate no racial restriction can be placed on Indians. If we had a proper authority to deal with emigration I am sure this question would have received much greater attention by now. I suggest, therefore, that the present arrangements should be improved and we should have an agency whose task ought to be to look at these problems from the national point of view, to find out where there are opportunities for Indian advancement and to bring them to the notice of our countrymen so that they might have room for fair expansion.

We have urged more than once in these columns that the present arrangement of crowding the work of the emigration branch along with law, education and health is very unsatisfactory. The Government of India must have a separate department for this work.

“My Heart Dances”

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

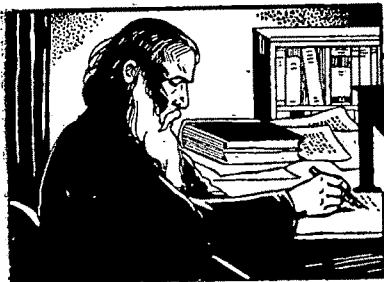
(*Translated from the original Bengali by the author*)

My heart dances, it dances like a peacock,
Spreads its plumes tinged with the
rapturous colours of thoughts,
And in its ecstasy seeks some vision in the sky,
With a longing for one whom it does not know
My heart dances.

The clouds rumble, they rumble from sky to sky—
The shower sweeps rushing from horizon to horizon ;
The doves shiver in silence in their nests,
The frogs croak in the pond
And the clouds rumble.

O who is she on the King's tower that has loosened
The braid of her dark hair,
Has drawn over her breasts the blue veil,
And starts and runs in the sudden flashes of lightning
And lets the dark hair dance on her bosom ?

Ah, my heart dances like a peacock,
The rain patters on the new leaves of summer,
The tremor of the crickets' chirp troubles the shade of the tree,
The river overflows its bank
Washing the village field—
And my heart dances.



NOTES

Oligarchy and Democracy in China and India

Advocates of the continuance of British domination in India for an indefinite period claim that the British people are responsible for the welfare of the Indian masses and cannot give up their "trust" until the masses themselves are ready to manage the affairs of their country. They profess to believe that if the Indian intelligentsia came into possession of political power, that would result in the oppression of the people. That is not our belief. We do not believe that the people would be more miserable under Swaraj than now.

In every country, one of the greatest safeguards against oppression has been the education of the people. In India most of those who are oppressed, some time or other, by officials or non-officials, are illiterate and ignorant. If the people were educated, there would be less oppression. But it is not the representatives of the British people in India who have been most eager to make laws for the universal education of the people. It is the intelligentsia who have shown the greatest zeal in the cause of popular education. This is only one of the reasons why we believe that Swaraj will not and cannot make for oppression of the people. The educated leaders have been also working with zeal to remove untouchability and the state of perennial indebtedness of the ryots. It is they who have successfully led movements to prevent oppressive enhancements of rents.

This, however, is a digression.

In all old independent countries, political power was at first possessed by the few; the many came to have it afterwards. In Great Britain, for example, though the House of Commons has been in existence for centuries, it has become a popular representative body only in recent years. Similarly in other old independent countries democracy has been preceded by a practically oligarchic form of government. Therefore,

there could not have been any valid objection against Indian Swaraj even if it were proposed to give it an oligarchic constitution. But the constitutions hitherto drafted or outlined by Indians provide for either universal adult suffrage or some other kind of franchise on a wide basis. This, among other facts, shows that the Indian intelligentsia do not want to monopolize political power.

In Great Britain and some other countries, what was practically an oligarchy gradually made room for democracy, though this was not in the plan of those who had been all along in possession of power. In China the men in power deliberately intend to hand over the power of government to the people when the latter have been made ready to wield it. That the Kuomintang party really mean what they say appears from an article contributed by Dr. Douglas Gray to the last May number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Dr. Gray is not partial to the men in power in China. For he writes :

"With a high proportion of illiterates in the populace, representative government by votes has been an impossibility, and therefore the republic has never really been a true democracy, but has passed into the hands of an oligarchy, the members of which are demagogues of varying ability and integrity."

Of them he says again :

"It is the oligarchy, with its parasitical army of intriguers and its wish to subjugate provinces that refuse allegiance, that keeps up the condition of unrest."

The members of the oligarchy do not themselves claim that the Chinese Republic is at present a democracy. They say openly and plainly that it is an oligarchy. In October last year, Mr. Sun Fo gave at the Kuomintang headquarters an exposition of what was intended to be done according to the plan of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Said Mr. Sun Fo :

"For the time being, as the people are not yet ready, it devolves upon our comrades, the Party,

and the Government to prepare them to that end, thereby rendering it possible for the Party to hand over the power of government to the people as a whole at a time when the people are thoroughly prepared and the Political Tutelage period will be completed. In so doing, the Party may be said to have well performed the responsibility of the Revolution."

That the Kuomintang Party are sincere in their desire that the Tutelage Period should be followed by the Constitutional Period as quickly as possible is evidenced by what has been already accomplished. Dr. Gray, who is not a friendly witness, admits that—

"The giant has awakened, and the country is now in the melting pot striving for emergence as a modern nation. Mass education has 'caught on'; students eager for knowledge abound in every town. The status of women has very greatly improved. They attend schools and colleges in large numbers, going about unaccompanied and even engaging in business. There are banks run and entirely staffed by women, and young girls serve in shops without causing any more comment than is the case with us. There are now millions who understand what nationalism means and who feel it can only be brought about by unification of the country and complete restoration of China's sovereign rights."

He admits that China has changed more in the past three years than during the previous three thousand.

"The old nationality is gone. Western influence has given birth to the new nationality, with aspirations to see the country take its proper place in the world that its size, its huge population, and the virility of its people demand."

"There is no doubt about it that we are witnessing the rebirth of a nation, and the less resentment we exhibit at foolish impositions and vexatious restraints of trade the sooner will signs of Chauvinist animosity disappear."

That being his attitude, he cannot but conclude, as he does, that Chinese nationalism can assume its normal aspect only when the foreign control in China has disappeared. That is true of India also. But our disinterested "trustees" will not recognize that fact.

"India in Bondage" Case

In connection with the publication of "India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom," the two accused have had to pay fines amounting to rupees two thousand, and copies of the book worth rupees two thousand and five hundred in round numbers have been confiscated.

Mr. Rushbrook-Williams the Propagandist

Mr. L. F. Rushbrook-Williams, "foreign minister of the State of Patiala, India," has

contributed an article on "The Problem of British India and the Indian Native States" to the August number of *Current History*, New York. In introducing the writer to his readers the editor of that magazine writes:

"The writer of this article is a graduate of Oxford and former Professor of History in various parts of the British Empire. He has served the Government of India in a number of important positions and has been Secretary to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. In addition to occupying the position of Foreign Minister of Patiala, he is an adviser to the Princes of India on proposed constitutional changes affecting their relations to the British Crown and to the Government of British India. He recently visited this country."

The last sentence shows that Mr. Rushbrook-Williams has carried his anti-India propagandist activities to America. The article in *Current History* is a part of that propaganda.

In our last issue, pages 222-3, we wrote a note on "How India's Salt is Repaid." Mr. Rushbrook-Williams's activities are a further illustration of how that is done. But we have all along laboured under a mistake, which we have discovered on second thoughts. Non-Indians like Messrs. B. C. Allen, Rushbrook-Williams, etc., do not actually eat India's salt. They eat Liverpool salt, though it is purchased with the money obtained by them from India. Therefore, they cannot be called *namak-haram*, or untrue to the salt they eat. For they are true to the interests of the country—England, whose salt, literally, they eat. It is an insignificant detail that the inhabitants of British-ruled India and the non-Indian dominant party who sojourn here have reason to be proud of the fact that, though India is girt by the ocean on three sides and though it has salt quarries and a salt lake, that commodity has to be brought here from a distant country.

Mr. Rushbrook-Williams was professor of history in Allahabad University;—where else he professed to teach history we do not know or remember. In a sense all history is past politics. That does not, however, mean that politicians should occupy our chairs of history. But Allahabad University enjoys the distinction of having a succession of politicians in its chair of history. Mr. Rushbrook-Williams was the first occupant; the second also has made his mark more as a politician than as an historian.

The description of the former as "an adviser to the Princes of India" is misleading. The majority of these Princes, including:

the rulers of the largest States, have nothing to do with the coterie who profess to speak in the name of all of them, and have not joined them. As to what the Chamber of Princes is like, we shall indicate later on.

Patiala is a small State measuring 5,932 square miles and containing 1,499,739 inhabitants—less than many a district in British India. For it to have a highly paid Foreign Minister, shows how the hard-earned money of its subjects is wasted on high sounding and harmful baubles, while they lag behind even the people of British India in education, civic rights and enterprise.

The reason why in foreign countries there has been for years past propaganda against Indians is that world opinion must be reckoned with as a force even by the mightiest of empires. The reason why it has been recently carried on with great vigour is that a constitutional change in India is due in the near future and British reactionaries want this change to be not in the direction of greater political rights for Indians but that of less, if possible. In any case they want that Indians should not have more power to determine their destiny than they now possess, if they at all possess any such real power.

American opinion is considered very important and, hence, anti-India propaganda in America and by hired Americans of both sexes is the most virulent. The reason why the greatest importance is attached to American opinion lies in America's vast wealth; her being the creditor of Britain, her commerce and industries, her naval power, the fact that she is English-speaking and mainly of Anglo-Saxon stock, and because the Irish had to be given freedom partly because of the pressure of American opinion.

Energetic and unremitting efforts should be made by India to counteract the propaganda against India in America. The agents of the propagandists are always on the alert to thwart our endeavours. One should not, therefore, be surprised if at any time it came to be proved that the insulting treatment accorded to Rabindranath Tagore at the American immigration office was pre-arranged. Not that he is a propagandist or was going to America with any political object. But the mere presence of men like him would have sufficed to dispel some wrong impressions sedulously sought to be created in America against our countrymen.

"The Problem of British India and the Indian States"

From the somewhat enigmatic sentences with which Mr. Rushbrook-Williams begins his article on British problems in India in the August number of *Current History* one might conclude that the British period of Indian history was a pure myth. For he writes :

"Many people seem to think that Britain rules India. This is a mistake. She has never done so in the past ; and it seems pretty certain that she will never do so in the future."

Then, he adds :

"There is, it is true, a large area of India totalling about 900,000 square miles, which is governed by Britain. In this territory live 250,000,000 people who are as much subjects of King George as any native-born Britisher. But there is also a territory totalling nearly 700,000 square miles which Britain does not rule ; and the people who live there, 70,000,000 in number, are subjects of their own sovereigns, who admit King George's protection."

So the writer admits that Britain does govern or rule the major portion of India and more than three-fourths of its inhabitants. If he has recourse to quibbling and says that ruling the major portion of India and of its people is not ruling India, should he not have written, "Britain has never ruled the *whole* of India and *all* its inhabitants in the past," etc. ? And this is what he does in a subsequent part of his article, when he says :

"Until the middle of the nineteenth century Britain ruled only about 40 per cent of India ; and it was until a few years before the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 that the territorial balance was definitely weighed against the States. The annexation of the great kingdoms of the Punjab, of Nagpur and of Oudh gave the predominance to British India, and incidentally were (*sic*) largely the cause of the general uneasiness throughout Northern India of which the Mutiny was only a symptom."

The writer's figures about the area and population of British India and the Indian States are not accurate. The area of the British Provinces is 1,094,300 square miles and that of the States 711,032, not 900,000 and 700,000 respectively as given by him. Their population is 247,003,293 and 71,939,187 respectively, not 250 and 70 millions respectively, as given by him.

Similarly when he writes,

"There are more than 100 important States in this non-British India : and some 450 very much smaller States which are of considerably less political importance both individually and in the aggregate."

he gives wrong figures. The total number of the Indian States is nearly 700, not 550.

Throughout his article the writer has used his pen very cleverly in order to give a roseate picture of the "sovereign" rights of the Princes and their relations with the suzerain power and of the satisfactory condition of their subjects. For instance, he writes :

"Each of the important States stands in a definite relationship to the British Crown, which is regulated by a series of mutually binding treaties and engagements. In their internal affairs the important States are autonomous; possess their own laws and legal machinery; their own police; their own medical and sanitary services; their own educational systems, and their own troops... the States keep so quiet and manage their own affairs so satisfactorily that they very rarely get into the newspapers."

Compare the impression sought to be created by the above passage with that produced by the following extract from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition) article on India written by Sir W. W. Hunter and J. S. Cotton (editor of the Imperial Gazetteer of India), both far greater authorities than Mr. Rushbrook-Williams :—

"The Native States are governed, as a rule, by native princes with the help of a political officer appointed by the British government and residing at their courts. Some of them administer the internal affairs of their States with almost complete independence; others require more assistance or a stricter control. These feudatory rulers possess revenues and armies of their own, and the more important exercise the power of life and death over their subjects; but the authority of each is limited by treaties or engagements or recognized practice by which their subordinate dependence on the British government is determined. That government, as suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to form alliances with each other or with foreign States. * It interferes when any chief misgoverns his people; rebukes, and if needful removes, the oppressor; protects the weak; and firmly imposes peace upon all."

It is not a fact that all oppressors are rebuked or deposed, nor that all who are rebuked or deposed were oppressors. The subjects of the states are "weak," but enjoy little protection in most cases.

What is left hidden in the background by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article will appear from the following extract from Sir Henry Cotton's "New India", p. 34, reproduced in Lala Lajpat Rai's "Young India":

* Mr. Rushbrook-Williams also admits some of these facts when, e. g., he refers to the "determination of the British authorities" "to discourage consultation between the States, even for the promotion of beneficent activities."—Editor, *M. R.*

"It would perhaps be ungenerous to probe too narrowly the dependent position and consequent involuntary action of the feudatory chiefs. They are powerless to protect themselves. There is no judicial authority to which they can appeal. There is no public opinion to watch their interests. Technically independent under the suzerainty of the Empire, they are practically held in complete subjection. Their rank and honours depend on the pleasure of a British Resident at their Court, and on the secret and irresponsible mandates of a Foreign office at Simla."

So Britain rules not only British India, but practically the Indian States also.

The writer's remark that "the States... manage their own affairs so satisfactorily that they very rarely get into the newspapers" will raise a peculiar kind of smile on the lips of the States' subjects and of their well-informed friends in British India. As there are no newspapers in the vast majority of the Indian States; as in most of the few in which there are some, there are more stringent press laws than even in British India; as British-Indian newspapers publishing the naked truth relating to any State are openly or secretly banned by that State; as for obvious reasons in most Indian States note is taken of Indian subscribers to such papers who reside there; and as in the vast majority of States the percentage of literacy is lower than even in British India and the ignorant people are cowed down; no wonder the States' affairs do not get into the newspapers.

Of the medical, sanitary and educational services of most of the States the less said the better. Why, some of the sporting princes lionized in London and elsewhere spend more on their garages than on the education of their subjects.

The writer observes :

"While the States are for the most part modernizing their administration in a satisfactory manner—and here the moral influence of the Chamber of Princes is proving itself very effective—they still retain that ancient and legendary charm and colour which is now fast disappearing in British India itself."

The first clause in this sentence is a deliberate distortion of facts. Most of the States are not modernizing their administration, either satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily, and there is not a single State where the modernization has been carried out to a *satisfactory* extent. In some of the States where there has been some attempt at modernization, it is mostly a superficial veneer or mere window-dressing.

"India, not a Country"

Mr. Rushbrook-Williams writes in the most approved Anglo-Indian and British Tory style :

"India is not a country but a continent, inhabited by diverse races, by contrasting civilizations and by warring creeds. She has perhaps even less claim to unity than Europe."

Sir John Strachey expressed substantially the same opinion in his book, "India", in the last century. As against that opinion let us quote other opinions, not of Indians or pro-Indian non-British foreigners, but of British authors who are greater authorities than Sir John Strachey or Mr. Rushbrook-Williams. We will first cite the opinion of the historian Vincent Smith, of whom Professor H. D. G. Rawlinson writes in his "Indian Historical Studies": "Mr. Vincent Smith is always anxious to deprive India of the credit of all her achievements in art and literature." He says in his "Early History of India":

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and, as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country or rather sub-continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unity in the history of the social, religious and intellectual development of mankind."

In his "Ideals of Indian Art" Mr. E. B. Havell writes :

"We may see, if we have eyes to see, that all India is one in spirit, however diverse in race and in creed."

Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, twice Prime Minister of England, writes in his work, "The Government of India":

"India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has fore-ordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its one-ness; its variety does not hide from view its unity. The Himalayas and their continuing barriers frame off the great peninsula from the rest of Asia. Its long rivers, connecting its extremities and its interior with the sea, knit it together for communication and transport purposes; its varied productions, interchangeable with one another, make it a convenient industrial unit, maintaining contact with the world through the great ports to the east and west.

"Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. This spiritual unity dates from very early times in Indian culture.

"An historical atlas of India shows how again and again the natural unity of India has influenced

conquest and showed itself in empires. The realm of Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka (305-232 B. C.) embraced practically the whole peninsula and ever after, amidst the swaying and falling dynasties, this unity has been the dream of every victor and has never lost its potency."

Lord Acton, as quoted by Mr. C. F. Andrews in the *Hindustan Review* for February, 1911, says :

"Just as Christianity attempted during the Middle Ages to provide a common civilization for Western Europe, on the basis of which the various nations and races might combine in a common State, in the same manner Hinduism provided, during many centuries, a common civilization for India, which has made and still makes the Indian continent a political unity in spite of a thousand disintegrating forces. To Hinduism, with its offshoot, Buddhism belongs this great glory that it was not content with a narrow racial boundary, but included the whole continent in its embrace from the Himalayas to the farthest shores of Ceylon. There are few more imposing spectacles in history than this silent peaceful penetration of Hindu civilization till the farthest bounds of India were reached."

Mr. William Archer, who cannot by any means be called a witness prepossessed in favour of India, has in his book, "India and the Future," a chapter on "Indian Unity," in which he observes that Indian unity is "indisputable".

It has been and may be objected that Muhammadanism is a discordant element. But if one dives beneath the surface, it will be found to have been a unifier in its own way. Within the territories which came under the sway of the Moslem rulers, the type of administration and the land revenue system became substantially the same. Hindustani or Hindi, differing only in script in the main, and owing much to Moslem rule, is even now claimed to be the *lingua franca* of India. It was under Muslim auspices that the court dress and etiquette and the dress and etiquette of the upper classes became substantially of the same kind almost throughout India. Many arts and crafts, including the fine art of music, and also architecture, owed much to Moslem influence over the greater part of India. Some reforms in popular Hinduism and Hindu social polity are due to Islamic influence. On the other hand, the Islamic cult and culture and social polity, as they exist in India, are somewhat different from the same in purely Moslem countries. This difference is due to the influence and interpenetration of the Hindu religion and Hindu manners, customs and culture.

We conclude this Note with a quotation

from only one Indian author—Rabindranath Tagore, who sings :

"We are one all the more because we are many ;
We have made room for a common love,
A common brotherhood, through all our
separatenesses.
Our unlikenesses reveal the beauty of a
common life deeper than all,
Even as mountain peaks in the morning sun
Reveal the unity of the mountain range
from which they all lift up their shining
foreheads."

Great Britain was not One

It has been shown again and again that before the United States of America became one political entity, there were all possible kinds of diversity among the inhabitants thereof, and many of these still persist. Such was and is the case with Canada. Italy was not one for fourteen centuries. Great Britain herself was divided into many warring units in historical times. In the small area known as England there were seven kingdoms, as the word heptarchy shows. Wales and Scotland were separate from England, and have each a home rule movement still. Those Britishers who prate of India not being yet one country and never having been one will do well to read the following extract from Green's *Short History of the English People* :

"Britain had become England in the five hundred years that followed the landing of Hengist, and its conquest had ended in the settlement of its conquerors. . . . But whatever titles kings might assume, or however imposing their rule might appear, Northumbrian remained apart from West Saxon, Dane from Englishman.

"Through the two hundred years that lie between the flight of Aethelred from England to Normandy and that of John from Normandy to England our story is a story of foreign rule. Kings from Denmark were succeeded by kings from Normandy, and these by kings from Anjou. Under Dane, Norman or Angevin, Englishmen were a subject race, conquered and ruled by foreign masters ; and yet it was in these years of subjection that England first became really England."

Are Poverty and Famine in India Caused by Over-population ? No.

In his *Current History* article Mr. Rushbrook-Williams writes :

"During the latter half of the nineteenth century the two Indias followed somewhat divergent lines of development. In British India a great deal was done by British energy and British

capital to secure the economic development of the country.* It is perfectly true that the population proceeded to increase so fast that it still continued for the most part to exist upon the margin of subsistence. But famine, of the old type, which used to blot out thousands, was mastered ;....."

Here India's poverty and famines are definitely, though indirectly, attributed to the population increasing too fast. Let us see if this is true.

First, consider the increase of population in England and Wales. According to *The Statesman's Year-book*, published by Macmillan, London, the population of England and Wales was 22,712,266 in 1871 and 37,886,699 in 1921. Therefore, in 50 (fifty) years there has been an increase there of more than 66 per cent, *without there being any famines or any increase in poverty.*

According to the *Census of India*, 1921, volume I, part II, page 6, the population of India was 206,162,360 in 1872 and 318,942,480 in 1921. These two figures for 1872 and 1921 are not for the same area. In page 5 of the same part and volume of the *Census of India*, "areas newly enumerated at each census with their population" are given. The names of the areas would take up too much space. So we give only the total populations of the areas newly enumerated at each succeeding census after 1872.

Year of Census	Newly enumerated population
1881	33,139,081
1891	5,713,902
1901	2,672,077
1911	1,793,365
1921	86,633
Total	43,405,058

Deducting these 43,405,058 from 318,942,480, we get 275,537,422 as the population in 1921 of the areas which in 1872 contained a population of 206,162,360. Deduction should also have been made for the increase of population in the newly enumerated areas from 1881 to 1921. But the above is all the approximation to accuracy that is possible to obtain. Calculating on the basis of these figures, it is found that in India in 49 (or, say fifty) years there has been an increase of more than 33 per cent in population.

So, in round numbers, in fifty years the population in England and Wales has increased by 66 per cent and that in India

* But who benefited from it most, Britishers or Indians ?—Editor, *M. R.*

by 33 per cent. Thus we have increased at a rate which is half of the English rate. Still England is not a poor or famine-stricken country. But India, whose population has increased only half as fast as the English, is a poor and famine-stricken country, and wiseacres say that this is due to our rapidity in increase!

If no deductions, required for accuracy, were made for the areas newly enumerated in India since 1872, the increase from 206,162,360 in 1872 to 318,942,480 in 1921 would be an increase of more than 54 per cent. But that would still be decidedly less than the English increase of more than 66 per cent. in practically the same period.

In 1921 the density of population per square mile in England and Wales was 649, and in India 177;—in the British provinces 226, in the Indian States 101. And India's natural resources and fertility are not inferior to those of England and Wales.

But whatever the conclusion to which one may be driven by the figures supplied by British officials, foreign wiseacres will continue to ascribe India's famines and poverty to a too rapid increase in population, so long as we are not in a political position to make our view accepted.

As for "famine of the old type" having been "mastered" "during the latter half of the nineteenth century," the figures compiled from official reports and from such books as Mr. W. S. Lilly's "India and its Problems," do not support the writer's statement. According to these there were five famines in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, two during the second, six during the third and eighteen during the fourth. The mortality figures are two harrowing to contemplate. According to Mr. Lilly's "India and its Problems," "during the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, 18,000,000 of the Indian people perished of famine."

"The Growth of the British Empire in India"

According to Mr. Rushbrook-Williams,

"Animated probably by the desire for the security of their trade, the employees of the British [East] India Company entered into relations with the individual Indian States adjacent to the seat of their operations. They secured charters and privileges, often at the cost of paying tribute. Eventually in 1773, the possessions of the British, acquired partly by purchase, partly by cession and partly by conquest, entered into the political arena as an independent State, following the time-

honoured Indian practice of repudiating tribute to an empire which had shown itself powerless.....

"...The Crown of Britain assumed from the old East India Company the governance of British India and the obligation of maintaining the treaties which linked Britain to the Indian States."

It is not our intention here to say how the British Empire in India grew. We say here only incidentally that 'purchase,' 'cession' and 'conquest' were not the only means by which all the different parts of it were won.

What we wish to draw the reader's attention to here is the writer's unconscious admission that originally the States entered into treaties with the East India Company, not with the British Crown, and that the latter inherited the empire from the Company along with the treaties with the States.

It may be added that all along, up to the present, the States have had their dealings with the Government of India or with some provincial governments, not directly with the British Cabinet acting for the British Crown. So it is common sense that, if the Government of India and the provincial governments be reconstituted, the States will continue to deal with them, not directly with the British Crown. Moreover, if the East India Company could transfer to the British Crown their treaty obligations with the States, it does not appear to be against any natural or man-made law for the British Crown to retransfer these treaty obligations to a reconstituted popular government of India. Such a retransfer, of course, the British imperialists do not like. They want that Britain should have a finger in the Indian pie till the crack of doom, so that Indian autonomy may never become a reality, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Federation with the Indian States

Mr. Rushbrook-Williams suggests the following solution of the constitutional problem of British India and the Indian Native States:

"The way out of the difficulty would seem to lie in the direction of federation. The Indian States have no desire to cut themselves apart from the rest of India. When once their peculiar position has been recognized, they will be prepared with those compromises and adjustments which will make possible the general control of federal matters by a government representative of the three parties involved, Britain, British India and themselves. But they are not prepared to indorse the desire of extreme Indian nationalism for independence and for the severance of the ties

between Britain and India. They know that if by some conceivable chance Britain were to depart from India, British India would lie at the mercy of their armies. But they also realize that the partition of British India by the Indian States would be but a preliminary to a period of anarchy which would terminate only with the advent of some great power, whether Eastern or Western. With their experience of centuries behind them, they favour a constructive rather than a destructive policy. They bear no ill-will to British India, and are prepared to co-operate with her."

For the last loftily uttered words of condescending kindness British India is perhaps expected to be humbly grateful.

One must question the right of the writer to speak, as he has done, in the name of all the princes; for the rulers of some of the largest and some of the most advanced States have not joined the Patiala coterie.

The writer speaks as if the national leaders of British India had never heard of or themselves suggested a federation of the provinces and the States, and as if the only desire and demand emanating from British India was for independence outright, which certainly is not an unnatural demand. The most widely supported national demand is, however, for dominion status. What this demand involves is that the Indian Dominion Government is to have the same relations with the Indian States as the Government of India at present has. Indian leaders do not want that official Englishmen posted in the Indian States as residents or political agents should domineer over them there and speak for them. Our leaders know that if British India became a dominion, and had direct relations with the Princes, the latter would occupy a position of greater real dignity and freedom than they do at present under the tutelage and dictation of the British residents and political agents and the foreign office. But many of the princes have either been misled to distrust and suspect the Indian leaders, or, even if they have faith in those countrymen of theirs, they are afraid to speak out.

As nobody, including Mr. Rushbrook-Williams, has suggested any federation with Britain, it is preposterous to propose that "federal matters" should be under the general control of a government representative of three parties, Britain, British India and the Indian States. The body controlling federal matters should be representative of only the members of the federation, namely, the areas now forming British India and the areas known as the Indian States.

Dominion India's Power of Self-defence

The writer calls up the bogey of the Indian princes invading and dividing among themselves the British-ruled provinces, were Britain to leave India. He is libelling at least some of the princes in imputing such a desire to them. But supposing they all had such a desire, would the invasion and conquest of British India be a walk-over? We throw not: British India has a sepoy army superior to the combined armies of the Princes. This army will not be carried away in their pockets by the departing Britishers. If the Indian leaders can succeed in bringing about the departure of the Britishers, which is not a part of the Indian programme, surely they will also succeed in maintaining an army for the defence of their hearths and homes.

In another part of his article Mr. Rushbrook-Williams writes:

"Britain has also some reasons for doubting whether a government of the type which is envisaged by the Left Wing nationalists could maintain peace and order throughout the immense territories and among the varied population of British India."

Britain may doubt—she is interested in doubting, but Indians of both the Right and the Left Wing have few doubts. Throughout his article, why does the writer speak only of the Left Wing nationalists? Why does he not tackle the proposals of the Right Wing?

There are many regions and classes of people in both the Indias from which the sepoy army is recruited. Other regions and classes can also furnish soldiers, if they get a fair opportunity. If *British* India can obtain the services of the sepoys for money for the defence of the country, surely a *Dominion* India will also be able to do so. The intelligentsia, who are supposed to be inherently unable to fight, obtain their gatekeepers and other guards from the same classes and regions from which some of the best sepoys are recruited for the army. The sepoys are as good fighters as the best soldiers in the world, and the World War has shown for the last time that Indians can also lead in war as well as be led. For proof of the fighting qualities of some Indians the following will suffice; other testimonies to the valour of other Indians can also be given. Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton writes in *A Staff Officer's Scrap Book during the Russo-Japanese War*, vol. i, p. 8:

"All this is supposed to be a secret, a thing

to be whispered with baited breath, as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work, and who, in the long run, does the hardest fighting. Nevertheless, these very officers who know will sit and solemnly discuss whether our best native troops would, or would not, be capable of meeting a European enemy! Why—there is material in the north of India and in Nepal sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations if once it dares tamper with that militarism which now alone supplies it with any higher ideal than money and the luxury which that money can purchase."

Sir Ian Hamilton has spoken only of the sepoys of northern India, because his experience was confined to them. Other British generals have praised other sepoys. Sir Ian thinks the sepoys are capable of a certain kind of destructive work even in Europe. But no Indian leader or follower has any sanguinary ambition of that sort. The question is only one of defence of India, and surely, judging by Sir Ian's testimony, our sepoys can do that sort of work. The Skeen Committee recommended that fifty per cent of the commissioned officers should be Indians. Surely a vast country like India can supply the other fifty also.

Our foremost leaders think that, as India has no aggressive and predatory intentions towards any other country and as, from the selfish point of view, her varied natural resources are sufficient for her needs, it would be easy for her to maintain friendly relations with other countries. Moreover, the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact, the Disarmament Conferences, etc., show that there is a world tendency towards world peace. Hence, India's defence need not in the future depend entirely on her preparedness for war. But Mr. Rushbrook-Williams seems to think that all the talk of world peace and all institutions and endeavours for securing it are hollow pretensions. So it has been necessary for us to indicate that under Swaraj India would be able to defend herself.

The Chamber of Princes

Mr. Rushbrook-Williams is interested in glorifying the Chamber of Princes. But the truth has leaked out nevertheless. Says he :

"The direct utility of the Chamber of Princes to the States themselves was largely stultified by officially framed rules which reduced its deliberations to mere formalism; but its inauguration, nevertheless, marked the dawn of a new era."

Of course !

Native States' Interests Sacrificed, for Whom ?

It is one of the real or pretended obsessions of Mr. Rushbrook-Williams that the interests of the Indian Native States have been sacrificed for promoting the interests of British India, though he nowhere says how or in what directions. For example, he writes :

"Those rights which the States believed to be safeguarded beyond the shadow of a doubt by treaties in defence of which their best blood had been shed during the Mutiny, tended to be regarded as mere pieces of antiquarian lumber when they happened to prove inconvenient to the economically progressive administration of British India. Moreover, the association in the administration of British India, in however imperfect a degree, of the Western-educated classes of that part of the country confirmed the British Indian administrators in an inevitable tendency to prefer the interests of British India—their direct responsibility—to the interests of Indian India—a remote and indirect responsibility."

It may be true that the interests of Indian India have been sacrificed to those of some other party. But that party is not the people of British India but the country and race from which its rulers and exploiters come. The only gain to the people of British India has been employment in a few posts in the Indian States. But that has been more than set off by the vast fortunes made by the subjects of some Rajputana and Gujarat and other States in British India.

A Misleading Picture of Indian States

The extravagance of many Indian Princes abroad produces in foreign countries the false impression that the people of the Indian States and of India in general are very prosperous. A similar false impression regarding the material condition of the States' subjects is sought to be produced by the following passage in the *Current History* article :

"Where, indeed, in British India could one find a government treasure house filled with wealth incredible in jewels and bullion, the product of centuries of surplus budgets, of which the only guard was a tribe of aboriginals, whose equipment consists of bows and arrows? And yet, so faithful are these quaint guards that even the Rajput sovereign of the State himself may enter the treasure house but once in the course of his reign, and that on the day when he ascends the throne. Yet, year by year, the jewels and the bullion swell in bulk until they constitute a veritable fortress against the vicissitudes of fortune and a tower of strength in the case of political emergency."

The reference is to Jaipur in Rajputana.

The writer speaks of surplus budgets. As the administration report of this State is a confidential document, the glaring defects of its budget cannot be exposed. It is easy for a State to amass wealth if it does not spend its revenue wisely for the welfare of its people. Jaipur's top-heavy services are the height of unwisdom and absurdity.

"Wealth" may "accumulate" in the Jaipur government treasure house, but "men decay" in that State. We read in the Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara census report for 1921, page 63 :

"Though it might be asserted that Jaipur still holds the foremost position in the eleven towns treated as cities this time, yet the decrease in its population by 12 per cent. since 1911 and nearly 16 per cent. since 1881, predicts a gloomy future, because in the last two decades the decrease in the population has been heavier than the rise in the two decades immediately following the very first regular census in 1881. Its population is 120,207 against 137,098 in the last census. The fall is due mainly to the ravages of Plague and Influenza which swept away a large number of its residents."

Evidently the wonderful Jaipur treasure house proved of no use "against these vicissitudes of fortune."

Hostile Propaganda in America and India's Duty

Compared with the circulation of American journals in America no Indian journal has or can have any appreciable circulation there. Therefore, any criticism in Indian journals of what appears in American journals cannot counteract the mischief done by hostile propaganda in America to any appreciable extent. Contradictions should appear in the American journals themselves which are the vehicle of such propaganda. In the case of the *Current History* article, Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, etc., would be the best men to send such contradictions, as they have been presidents of Indian States' Peoples' Conferences.

How the Poison Spreads

Travellers over the Indian railways will meet with an innovation at all important stations, *viz.*, two separate restaurants and places for drinking water for Hindus and Mahomedans respectively. Formerly there used to be only one restaurant, and we do not remember to have noticed any general complaint on the part of the public on that

score. This newborn sensitiveness of the Railway Board to the religious scruples of the Indian passengers is a significant phenomenon. The next step, we expect, will be to reserve some compartments for Hindus and some for Mahomedans, thus preserving their credal difference intact. As for caste distinctions, many years ago Lieut.-Colonel U.N. Mukerjee set on foot a movement for omitting the entirely superfluous description of caste from the forms of deposition of witnesses, but without success, and a witness in our law-courts must still continue to wear his caste-label. All Indian Government servants are now required to state to what religious persuasion they belong, so that the fact may be noted in the Civil List and there may be no occasion for mistaking a Hindu for a Mahomedan and *vice versa*.

Since the last four or five years the list of public holidays has been revised in Bengal, and Mahomedans have been given some extra holidays; or rather, Hindus and Christians, who formerly enjoyed these holidays along with the Mahomedans, have been deprived of them, with the result that on certain days only the Hindu officers have to attend office but not the Mahomedans, to the great dislocation of current business. The anomaly and the injustice of the arrangement becomes all the more glaring when we consider that Mahomedans enjoy all the Hindu holidays just as much as the Hindus. This is a 'reform' which Mahomedans have certainly no interest in maintaining, for they cannot have the slightest objection to Hindus sharing their holidays and it is certainly more convenient for them if the entire office is closed on those days. In whose interest then, has this glaring disparity of treatment in the matter of holidays been introduced?

Bengal is now divided by some administrative officers into Hindu and Mahomedan districts according to the predominance of one community or the other in the district; and as if this is not enough, another element of discord has been introduced by reserving the largest share of the district appointments for one community only on the ground of its being in the majority in some districts, and its alleged need of special protection as a minority community in other districts! And in making district appointments not only are the inhabitants of the district given the preference as they should, but residents of other districts are treated as rank outsiders and rigidly excluded, and this

feeling of 'local patriotism' has naturally permeated the other professions as well, so that each district has now become virtually isolated from its neighbours in the matter of the professions and the district services, with the result that mutual knowledge, trust and sympathy among the inhabitants of adjoining districts and social alliances due to such knowledge and sympathy and long residence appear to be distinctly on the wane. Thus the current of social life in Bengal as a whole which was being fed and strengthened by many different streams, is beginning to stagnate, and the isolation of the village communities and their insular outlook is once more gaining ascendancy in Mofussil life, and all sorts of false and damaging notions about the people of the neighbouring districts, due to antipathy and mistrust born of ignorance, are beginning to prevail.

There are, in fact, a thousand and one ways in which, slight distinctions of caste and creed, emphasized by an autocratic government, are accentuated and magnified beyond proportion by the unthinking masses, and their manifold ramifications choke up every channel of fruitful national endeavour. As Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., retired member of the Madras Executive Council, says in his book on *Indian Constitutional Problems* (Taraporevala, 1928, page 344):

"The exploitation of differences within modest limits is an easy expedient for the maintenance of the power of a ruler and especially a foreign ruler. The methods adopted for such exploitation are too well-known to need description. Sometimes one community is patted on the back and sometimes another. Differences are dilated upon; the suggestion is made that the interests of one community are in conflict with those of another; and under the pretext of describing the facts, ideas of discord are insidiously sown or cultivated in credulous minds."

The latest instance of this kind is the book perpetrated by that notorious hireling, Miss Mayo, where all the foul lies are heaped upon one community alone. It is a clever move, for while increasing the tension between the rival communities in India, it will involve both Hindu and Mahomedan in a common disrepute in Western countries where no nice distinctions are made between different sections of the Indian population, and the Hindus are, if anything, regarded as the more advanced community. We are nevertheless confident that in the inscrutable ways of Providence, all these insidious attempts to sow the seeds of disruption will fail.

"The Statesman" on the "India in Bondage" Case

In commenting on the "India in Bondage" case, *The Statesman* writes:

"In imposing a small fine upon Ramananda Chatterjee for printing and publishing 'India in Bondage' the Chief Presidency Magistrate clearly laid down the law with reference to the discussion of political matters.... He [Ramananda Chatterjee] has been treated with far greater leniency than would have been his portion had he disseminated sedition against any other Government in the world." [Italics ours. Ed., M. R.]

Our humane Christian contemporary is perfectly right in holding that if Babu Ramananda Chatterjee had said and done in Ireland the things against the British Imperial Government, which the Ulster agitators did some years ago for obtaining freedom, or, if he had said and done in Kenya what the Kenya Europeans said and did there against the British Imperial Government, he would have been punished far more severely than he has been in the present case. Nevertheless, it may not be unnecessary and irrelevant for the angelic Chowringhee paper to refresh its memory and call to mind certain facts relating to Ireland and Kenya. Some years ago in Ulster Sir Edward Carson and other agitators not only said "dangerous" things but openly threatened rebellion and drilled volunteers and collected arms and ammunition for the purpose. Yet, far from even "a small fine" being imposed on them, they were not even prosecuted. The European settlers in Kenya also did similar things a few years ago, with the same result.

"Leniency" and "severity" are relative terms and are measured with reference to the highest punishment prescribed by a law in force for the time being. Yet that law may not have been or be the result of the highest statesmanship and the greatest humanity. Take an example. In England in 1800 over 200 and in 1819 about 180 crimes were capital. Some of these offences involved moral turpitude and some were merely technical. For instance, till 1812 there was in England a statute which made it a capital offence for a soldier or a mariner to beg without a pass from a magistrate or his commanding officer. So, with reference to that law, if a soldier or a mariner who had committed that "crime" were sentenced to penal servitude for life or to pay a fine of six pence, either could be called a light punishment; for the man was not to be hanged when he could have been

hanged. But, properly speaking, giving a moment's thought to the discussion of the lightness or severity of the sentence would have been mere waste of energy when the law itself was bad.

The Chowringhee paper adds :

"In the present case Dr. Sunderland has been discreet enough to provide himself with an *alibi*, so that the publisher is left to face the consequences of their joint act."

It was really an act of supreme cunning on the part of Dr. Sunderland to choose England as his birthplace and America as the land of his adoption, where he has lived for the greater part of his life. He did all this deliberately, with foreknowledge of the fact that a prosecution would be started in Calcutta in connection with the publication of one of his books. But the cunning of President Abraham Lincoln has surpassed even that of Dr. Sunderland. During the prosecution argument of the learned Advocate-General, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, counsel for one of the accused, said with reference to a passage printed in the book, "That is Abraham Lincoln." Thereupon the learned Advocate-General at once observed, perhaps humorously : "My learned friend says that is Abraham Lincoln ; but what would have happened to Abraham Lincoln if he had been tried under 124-A before Mr. Roxburgh, I am not sure." But the Chowringhee paper may seriously conclude from it that President Abraham Lincoln was clever and prescient enough not only to be born in America but to have gone in 1865 to the other world beyond the reach of extradition laws and the Indian Penal Code.

But it is not naturalized or 100 per cent. Americans alone who can be clever. When Mr. N. C. Sen was arguing the case for the defence on the 7th August, the Chief Presidency Magistrate observed with reference to something written by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald : "If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald were here, he might be put under Section 124-A (Laughter)." With reference to another observation also of Mr. MacDonald's the Magistrate said on the same day : "If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald were here, he would have been under Section 124-A (Laughter)." But, to the great regret of *The Statesman*, that gentleman, who has been Premier of England twice, has been clever enough to be born in England, to be living there and even to have got his books published there, not in India. So the Chowringhee paper cannot have the satisfaction of seeing

him or his publishers punished. There are other British authors, statesmen and publishers who have supplied Dr. Sunderland with similar seditious material, which our Chowringhee friend speaks of as "the poison which Sunderland prepared," but who continue to enjoy immunity owing to their "discreet" "*alibi*." Under the circumstances the only thing which the Chowringhee paper can and should do is to get their works proscribed in India. They *have* some circulation here.

The Chowringhee friend is very kind to "Mr. Chatterjee." It says : "Not that any sympathy need be wasted upon Mr. Chatterjee." The editor of this review sets a high value upon and desires the sympathy of the humblest of neighbourly human beings. But when was he so snobbish as to desire and seek the sympathy of *The Statesman* ?

In order to prove that no "sympathy need be wasted upon Mr. Chatterjee," the Chowringhee paper writes :

"He is a highly educated man, the editor of a *Review* which has maintained for many years an exceptional standard of literary excellence, and he knew perfectly well what he was doing when he undertook to distribute the poison which Sunderland prepared."

The process of damning with faint praise is familiar enough. That of damning with high praise has been perhaps patented by the Chowringhee journal.

By the by, is the omission of Rev. or Dr. before the name of the American divine a typographical mistake, or has it been deliberately done for exhibition as a specimen of the best British manners ?

Indian Artists to Decorate the New India House

According to the Free Press of India,

Four Indian artists, Messrs. Sudhanshu Chowdhury, Ranada Charan Ukil, Dharendra Deb Barman and Lalit Mohan Sen, have been selected to proceed on state scholarship to England to decorate the new India House building with painting and other embellishments. On arrival in England they will first study mural decoration for one year in the Royal College at South Kensington. Then they will visit Italy and other Continental countries to study their fine arts. Soon after this tour they will set their hands to the India House.

Award of Munich Scholarships

The offer of three scholarships to Indian students for post-graduate work in the Munich University and Higher Technical School was announced in this and other journals some time ago. Herr Friedrich von Muller,

President, "Die Deutsche Akademie", has written to the honorary secretary, Greater India Society, to inform the Indian public that there has been a "splendid response from a large number of worthy applicants." "Die Deutsche Akademie" received 84 applications—8 for the medical fellowship, 10 for physics, 35 for chemistry, 28 for engineering, 2 unclassified and 1 special application; 23 came too late.

"The applicants represented a large number of institutions of higher learning—London University, Glasgow University, Iowa State College, Calcutta University, College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal, Allahabad University, Lucknow University, Agra University, Hindu University at Benares, Muslim University at Aligarh, Bombay University, Punjab University, Madras University, Delhi University, Rangoon University, Mysore University, Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, University of Rio-de-Janeiro and others.

"From a careful examination of the applications, by a committee of experts, we have come to the conclusion that the majority of the applications are of exceptional qualifications. This fact has made it very difficult for the committee to select successful candidates for the three scholarships."

It is particularly gratifying to learn that the majority of the applicants, mostly graduates of Indian universities, are in the opinion of German experts men of exceptional qualifications. This shows that Indian universities can give sound education and turn out graduates of exceptional merit.

After mature deliberation, the Munich Committee has made the following award :

"1. Dr. Girindranath Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta University, who is to carry on special research on the subject of Gynaecology under Prof. Dr. Doederlein, Munich University.

"2. The fellowship on physics or chemistry has been awarded to Mr. Kali Pada Basu of Dacca University, who is to carry on special research on Biological Chemistry under Professor Sommerfeld, Munich University.

"3. The engineering fellowship has been awarded to Mr. Triguna Charan Sen of the National College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal, who will carry on his post-graduate studies in the 'Technische Hochschule' of Munich."

Dr. Friedrich von Muller concludes his letter as follows :

"As the economic value of these scholarships is very insignificant, yet when we find that so many worthy Indian scholars have applied for them, we cannot but feel that Indian scholars cherish a feeling of respect for German culture. If we are correct in our estimate on this point, we, on behalf of the German cultural world, wish to extend our deepest appreciation to the Indian cultural world.

"In this connection we may say that German scholars, through their works, have shown

adequate evidence of their appreciation of the cultural heritage of the people of India, whose contribution to the world culture is immense. Is it too much to expect that through mutual co-operation, there will arise better cultural understanding between India and Germany, which in turn will promote better understanding between the East and the West?

"We shall be very happy to hear from those Indians (especially those who have studied in German institutions of learning) who wish to co-operate with us in our efforts to promote cultural understanding between India and Germany."

The Indian public will certainly reciprocate the friendly feelings of the German savant

Mr. Kelkar's Presidential Address at Dacca

Mr. N. C. Kelkar's able and outspoken presidential address at the recent Dacca session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference deserves a more detailed review than we can give it here. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with quoting the last three concluding paragraphs of the address.

Breathes there a man who will say "I will pay the price of the honour of my wife, or daughter even for purchasing self-government for India?" Will that be a valid purchase in Law? Will that be a supportable purchase in Ethics? Will that be an approvable purchase even in sordid politics? Here, I may quote one sentence from the address of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. He says: "If I were asked which I would have—freedom from foreign domination or security of the honour, persons and lives of our women, won by chivalrous men and heroic women capable of self-defence? I would say, both. But if I were compelled to choose only one of the two, I would choose the latter." Can any one mistake the real meaning of this sentiment or can any one blame Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee for uttering it in such a clear-cut manner? Talk of national patriotism can easily become a fashion and be paraded by those who take only a diletante view of life, which ignores the honour of individual men and women, families, communities, religions and cultures. The true spirit of God's man is not embodied and exhausted only in political Swaraj. It permeates and pervades in the same intensity from the atomic constituent of the nation to the nation itself in bulk.

But the irony of it all is, that the hornet's nests are disturbed and all the stinging wasps are let loose in the plausible name of "Nationalism" against only the devoted head of a 'Hindu' as if a 'Mahomedan' is not communal. And this, again, as if the latter is content with the havoc that has been caused to the Hindu society during the last ten centuries, or as if he is pledging himself even now to rest on his oars, or as if he is not aspiring to overrun India once more, freely through the corridor he has proposed to build from Constantinople to Calcutta! I know I am speaking all this in such a blunt fashion as to draw upon me the cheap censure of fashionable critics. But I know their criticism would be unthinking, and

therefore, I do not feel at all uneasy or disturbed in my mind about it.

I will, however, say this both to the Hindu and the Mahomedan together. "Brother, let us not exploit each other's spirit of nationalism or patriotism for our sectarian ends. And if you and I are really too much blinded by our conscious or unconscious communalism, let us agree to put our case before any disinterested person we may think of and secure for our purpose. The Government in the country is no doubt a third party, but not a third party in the real sense. Both of us know full well what the Government really is. I confess that we may have to accept eventually what Government will make up their mind to give us, by way of a solution of this communal problem. But it is immensely preferable to come to terms amongst ourselves. I shall hope and pray that a more accommodative spirit may be vouchsafed by providence, but I cannot afford to exclude you from that boon. And if I may again be blunt for a moment, I would say, the boon is required more for you than for me."

Lahore Congress Presidentship

The Reception Committee of the forthcoming session of the Congress at Lahore unanimously elected Mahatma Gandhi president of that session. But he has declined to accept the honour and duty. Of course, he is the best judge of what he ought to do. But as he is a public man and the foremost of living public men in India, the people also have the right to comment on his decision. Gandhiji thinks that he is a back number. But the vote of the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees shows that most politically-minded Indians think that he is not. For our part we think he ought to have agreed to guide the deliberations of the next Congress session. The compromise resolution was moved by him at the last session. Should the British Government fail to grant or promise dominion status to India on or before the 31st of December next, the Congress party would be bound by their resolution to start some sort of non-violent direct action to obtain freedom. If they do not do it, they will disgrace themselves and India before the whole world. If they do, the best general to lead the army of non-violent workers would be Mahatma Gandhi.

He is the foremost expert in India and the world in that kind of work. Next to him is Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. Mahatmaji's nominee, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, has no experience in that kind of work. It requires what we Hindus call a *sattvik* temperament, added to cool courage, an iron will and great organizing ability and driving power. Among our political thinkers and workers

Gandhiji possesses all these qualifications in the highest degree.

Pandit Jawaharlal's is a dynamic personality. He has caught the imagination of the younger generation. He is a courageous and clear thinker and is devoted to the interests of the country. He is an able and energetic exponent of one particular line of thinking. His ideal of a democratic socialist republic, like that of Russia, is neither understood nor accepted by the majority of politically-minded Indians. For the present the Congress would perhaps have to and would do well to agree to compromises. The junior Nehru's genius does not lie that way. He is an uncompromising upholder of his own views. That is an admirable virtue, but not in a Congress president. For the attainment of our object we require both men who will uphold extreme and logical ideals as well as men who will agree to wise compromises for the present.

The future undoubtedly belongs to the young. But the present belongs both to them and to older men. Let the young generate or be the steam, the driving power. But the man at the wheel should at present be the most experienced and wisest whose services we can command.

In a democratic age, it may be inevitable for the choice to fall on some one or other who is most in the public eye. But it is the duty of publicists to point out that there are unobtrusive workers who also deserve honour, recognition and their proper position of usefulness. Such a one is, for example, Babu Rajendra Prasad of Bihar, who is second to none and superior perhaps to most, if not all, among the younger politicians in intellectual qualifications, organizing ability, sacrifice and real achievement.

As an editor and a public man Mahatmaji has undoubtedly the right to suggest who should be elected president. But his repeatedly naming Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—and that once even after it had been published that Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had got more votes than the Pandit, smacks of the kingmaker's role, though it was certainly not deliberately assumed by Gandhiji. It may, however, be an indication that perhaps his title to the super-throne of the kingmaker is hidden somewhere in the subconscious region of our minds. We believe that is a valid title, as such titles go. But he who sits on such a throne should beware of personal predilections.

Some people would object or have objected to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's elevation to the presidential chair on the ground of his youth. But, other things being equal, age should be no bar to any position of responsibility or power. When the younger Pitt became prime minister of England, he was only 24, and his elevation to that high office was sarcastically spoken of as "a sight to make surrounding nations stare—a kingdom trusted to a school-boy's care." But the school-boy did not prove a worse premier than the majority of those who have held that office. So far as Pandit Jawaharlal is concerned, he is not a school-boy—he is 39 or 40.

Powers of the President of the Legislative Assembly

By exercising the powers which were believed to be possessed by the President of the Legislative Assembly the Hon'ble Mr. Patel stopped the further progress of the Public Safety Bill. The Government of India obviously resented his spirit of independence and what it led him to do. So the expected has happened. By a notification in the *Gazette of India*, the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, has been pleased to amend the rules so as to provide that "notwithstanding anything contained in rule 15 or rule 17, the President shall not have or exercise any power to prevent or delay the making or discussion of any motion relating to a Bill made by the member in charge of the Bill, unless such power is expressly conferred upon him by any provision of the Government of India Act."

It was officially said by Mr. Patel's critics that he had by his action deprived the Assembly of the right to decide what was to be done with a Bill. But now the rules have been changed without any reference to that House. No wonder that it is being widely felt and said that the way in which Government has made this change is contrary to all parliamentary usage and procedure and all notions of parliamentary dignity and self-respect. The Assembly will undoubtedly try to have its say on the matter.

Provincial and Central Waterways Boards

As Bengal's 20,000 miles of navigable waterways have seriously deteriorated, the

decision was recently reached at a conference of the Standing Waterways Advisory Committee "that a wholetime Waterways Board, representing all branches of the mercantile and commercial communities, and working in harmony with the local government, is to be created to assume complete control of them."

Such a board may do good, if its secret object be not to carry out the Grand Trunk Canal project. The utility of the Board will, however, depend on its personnel. Let us wait and see who are represented on it and which interests preponderate. The Board may be formed, it may sit, too; but what is essentially necessary is that it should act and move, and move in the right direction. Will the Bengal Government have money for carrying out even what the Board may recommend? Or will the Government of India continue to rob Bengal of most of its revenues and drive the subordinate Bengal Government to propose to levy a waterways cess like the proposed rural primary education cess?

Provincial Waterways Boards alone will not do. The view has been pressed in this *Review* before that, as the big Indian navigable rivers flow through many provinces, waterways should be dealt with by a Government of India department also. A similar view was urged a few days ago before the Calcutta Rotarians by Mr. Gaganvihari L. Mehta, Calcutta Manager of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. He contended that the waterways of India should be developed as part of a comprehensive system of national transport.

"What is wanted is a definite and well-considered policy," declared Mr. Mehta. For instance, besides the Provincial Waterways Boards there should be a Central Waterways Board or preferably a Waterways Board and a Railway Board functioning under a single Ministry of Transport or Communications.

With the growth of railway construction, waterways gradually fell into neglect and in the transport policy of the Government they practically ceased to have a place. At present there was often wasteful competition with the more expensive railway transport, which could and should be avoided. Yet waterways still played an important part in the transport system of the country and were particularly useful in carrying cheap and bulky articles, especially agricultural produce.

The speaker quoted Sir A. K. Ghuznavi's recent statement that the Bengal Government had asked the Government of India to appoint a Committee to overhaul the Irrigation Department. It appeared, he said, that the Bengal Government were in favour of two departments, one dealing with navigation and the other comprising irrigation, embankments

and drainage. It was to be hoped that the findings of the Committee would enable the public and the Government to know more facts of the problems and be in a better position to grapple with them.

The Coastal Traffic Bill

Great opposition has been worked up by Britishers here and in Britain against Mr. Haji's Coastal Traffic Bill for the reservation of coastal traffic for ships owned by Indians. The cry has been raised that it is a bill founded on racial discrimination, that it is meant thereby to confiscate British property, etc., but that is all bosh. The people of India have been ousted from many fields of commercial and industrial enterprise by an abuse of political power. If the ousters be sought to be ousted by lawful means from the positions of vantage usurped by them, there is nothing wrong in the process.

The Separation of Burma

If the separation of Burma from India were advocated really to give effect to the principle of Burma for the Burmans, there would be something to be said for it. But every one, except the class of Burmans misled by the European exploiters of that country, knows that the cry has been raised by the latter in order that they should have the monopoly of the trade and industry of Burma. For at present the Burmans are unable to occupy the field, and the only rivals who count are the Indian settlers and sojourners—though they are not very serious competitors at present. The Europeans may want to make of Burma a second South Africa or Kenya, and they may succeed in making Burma too hot for the Indians. But do the Burmese separatists think they would like a position somewhat approximating to that of the Africans in Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal or Kenya?

As for the Indians, it is believed or pretended to be believed by some people that they have no *locus standi* to speak on the subject. Of course, they have not—though they are next door neighbours to the Burmese, and though Burma has got its religion and alphabet and partly its culture from India. But the Europeans have a *locus standi* everywhere!

There is, however, a debtor and creditor account between Burma and India. Years ago, when Mr. G. K. Gokhale was in the land of the living, he calculated that more than sixty

crores of Indian money had been spent for adding Burma to the Indian Empire and developing it. More Indian crores have been sunk in Burma since then. Some one ought to pay back all these sums to India. As Burma did not desire its own conquest and development for the benefit of the British Empire, Burma should not in equity be asked to pay up. It is the British Empire which ought to pay. The Europeans who are the patron-saints of the Burmese separatists are the citizens of that Empire.

Sanguinary Outbreaks in Palestine

There have been sanguinary outbreaks between Arabs and Jews in different places in Palestine, particularly in Jerusalem, due, it is said, to the attempt made by the Jews to worship at what is known as the Wailing Wall. The Arab version, as cabled by Reuter, is that

The *Burak* (the Wailing Wall) is part of the western wall of the Mosque of Omar, where Mohamed alighted with his horse called *Burak*. Jews and others have long been permitted to visit the *Burak* but not to worship there. This has been acknowledged by the Turkish and British Governments in the League of Nations.

The Jewish version has not been telegraphed by Reuter.

There have been many deaths on both sides. Both the parties are followers of Semitic faiths and men of the book. There is no *kafir* in the affair. The third party, however, are the same as in India. They are also men of the book. Let us wait to see who gains any mundane or other-worldly advantage from these holy human sacrifices.

"The Pioneer" to Pay Damages

The Pioneer reproduced in its columns that foolish letter in *Forward* relating to the Belur train smash which led to the extinction of the latter paper. The Allahabad paper's offence was a technical one. Yet it has had to pay damages to the tune of Rs. 20,000 and to apologize to boot. The damages ordered to be paid by the two papers are quite out of proportion to the loss sustained by the E. I. R. or by the complainants.

Primary Education in Bengal

In addition to what we have said in previous issues on the Primary Education Bill, we have to suggest that the Bill now in the hands of the Select Committee should

provide for education in both rural and urban areas, it should give the Central Board powers of initiative and control, and it should set apart half the funds, obtained in any way whatsoever, for primary education, for the establishment and maintenance of girls' primary schools.

Turkish Nationalism and Arab Civilization

Moslem civilization and culture, in their most comprehensive sense, all over Asia, Africa and Europe, are in their origin Arab. Turkish nationalism has, to a great extent, rebelled against the dominance of Arabian influence in religion, in social polity, in script and many other things. The degree and extent of this reaction have to be fully grasped in order to understand the full significance of the new Turkish nationalist spirit. The July number of the *International Review of Religions* contains some articles which enable the reader to enter into this spirit in some measure.

The first is an article on "What is Secularism?" by Mr. William Paton, editor of that review. Says he :

"The extent to which modern Turkey has broken with Islam ought to be fully understood. The Turks have abolished the Caliph...The fez has gone, not apparently because it is a religious ornament but because it is associated in Kemal's mind with that picturesque, curious, old-fashioned Turkey which he wishes to change in order that it may no longer be patronized by the superior West. The veil has gone. The Arabic script has gone and the Latin script taken its place, in spite of the intimate association of the Arabic script with the Moslem religion. Most important of all, the *Shari'at* has gone, and in its place have come the Swiss civil code, the German commercial code and the Italian criminal code. The *Hojas* continue in limited numbers and they carry on the worship in the mosques. But the mosques in Constantinople are empty, and one is told that throughout Turkey they attract far smaller numbers than formerly, while the schools are all controlled by the State, and the Mohammedan *Haja*, like the Greek or Armenian priest, has no control over them."

Islam is strongly iconoclastic. In view of that fact the following sentences from Mr. Paton's article are very significant :

"In view of the strong emphasis upon the unity of the Turkish race and nation, it is not without significance that on the new five-lira paper notes there appears engraved the White Wolf—a Turanian deity of the pre-Islamic period. The White Wolf may mean no more than the British Lion, but it makes its appearance at an interesting time."

In Prof. R. D. Banerji's review of the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India* in the last April number of *The*

Modern Review, there is mention (page 456) of "the Sanskrit coins of Sultan Muhammad bin Sam issued in imitation of the gold Gaharwar coinage with the Musalman King's name in Nagari and bearing the figure of the goddess Lakshmi in defiance of Muslim Law (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* by H. N. Wright, vol. ii, p. 17)." This Sultan was not of Hindu descent. His coins bore the figure of a Hindu goddess, not because he had become a Hindu nationalist, but because he wanted to please the easily gullible Hindus. In the case of the Turkish five-lira paper note bearing the picture of the Turanian deity, the White Wolf, the reason is the reassertion of the Turanian nationalism of the Turks in defiance of the Arabic religion to which their ancestors had been converted.

The other article is that on "The Place of Missions in the New Turkey" by Mr. Lee Vrooman. Says he of New Turkey :

"The most outstanding accomplishments of the past seven years are as follows :

The abolition of the sultanate and the declaration of a republic.

The abolition of the caliphate and the disestablishment of the Moslem Church.

The abolition of mosque religious schools and a great increase of secular schools.

The dissolution of dervish orders and seizure of their property.

The nationalization of religious endowments.

The abolition of the fez and adoption of hats.

The dropping of the Hegira Calendar and institution of the Gregorian Calendar.

The replacing of the old Arabic numerals by European numerals.

The drawing up of three codes in place of Moslem Sheriat law, based respectively on the Swiss Civil Code, the German Commercial Code and the Italian Penal Code.

The abolition by law of polygamy.

The entire reconstruction of the school system, co-education being introduced.

The promotion of sports, such as football.

The teaching of Western music in place of the old eastern music.

The fostering of agriculture; the undertaking by the state of a great programme of railway building; the creation of a state-subsidized merchant marine; the building of new factories with government aid.

The dropping from the constitution of the statement that Islam is the religion of Turkey.

The substitution of Latin letters for the old Arabic alphabet.

The introduction of compulsory adult education to abolish illiteracy."

Mr. Vrooman adds :

"However, side by side with these rapid steps toward modernization has been an insistence that all missionary institutions within her borders, such as schools and hospitals, shall refrain from direct Christian religious teaching to non-Christians. No

restrictions, however, are placed on ethical teaching."

Hunger-strikers at Lahore

The attitude taken up by Government towards the hunger-strikers at Lahore is not logical, just or humane. The kind of treatment claimed by the hunger-strikers for political prisoners is received as a matter of course by all Anglo-Indian and European prisoners, whatever the nature of their offence, their education, their social standing and standard of living. As a rule, they get better and more food, better clothing, better furniture and bedding and better bathing and water-closet arrangements, with a lamp for reading at night. Why then should Government deny these facilities even to political or even other Indian prisoners of the educated classes? Having practically made some jail rules on a racial *cum* creedal basis, the talk of principle does not come with good grace from the lips of the authorities.

How different is the treatment received ordinarily by Indian prisoners on the one hand and Anglo-Indian and European prisoners on the other can be quite definitely understood from the figures given by Sir P. C. Mitter in reply to a question in the Bengal Council. The annual expenditure per head on the diet of Indian prisoners in Bengal jails was Rs. 76-9-0, that of Anglo-Indian and European prisoners being Rs. 214-2-0. Their clothing cost Rs. 7 and Rs. 26-12-10 respectively. There is no special arrangement for political prisoners in Bengal.

It is a melancholy and very painful duty to write on hunger-strikes when some of the strikers are probably hastening towards the end of their earthly careers, suffering the natural tortures of such slow death.

To face death is no easy matter under any circumstance. But to meet death under a sudden impulse when all would be over in a few seconds or minutes is easier than voluntarily to watch its slow approach, as it were, for days, weeks and months. That requires great courage and firmness of resolve. The hunger-strikers possess this sort of courage and firmness. The self-chosen death of such men is a tragedy too deep for tears.

While saying this we are reluctantly compelled also to say that the thing for which one lays down his life deliberately must be worthy of such a high price. In our

opinion, the securing of better treatment in jails for political prisoners, though a worthy object, is not a thing for which one should lay down his life. Our loving admiration of the youth of our country compels us to say all this.

We cannot and do not pronounce any opinion on the charges on which the hunger-strikers are being tried.

Physical Training and Military Drill for Students

By 68 votes to 33, the Bengal Legislative Council has adopted the resolution of Mr. B. K. Bose, non-official member, urging compulsory physical training for school-boys and compulsory military drill for college students.

Mr. Ormond objected to the introduction of compulsory military training, as he thought that with the talk of disarmament among the nations of the world, it would be hardly proper to talk of disarming the nations and at the same time drilling the individuals. In theory, we are against militarism. But our people have become so emasculated that they ought to receive military training, as such training by itself does not imply militarism. As for the talk of disarmament, it has remained mere talk so far. And the military training of our students will also most probably not pass beyond the stage of talk. For, the Hon. Mr. McAlpin, Finance Member, said with regard to it :

The first difficulty was in respect of making it compulsory. That difficulty was sought to be removed by Mr. Ormond, who wanted to make it voluntary. The second difficulty was one of finance. He did not know what the financial commitment of the Government would be by accepting the amendment. If anyone could evolve a scheme in which the Government would not have to spend anything, he would be inclined to accept it.

Something may, however, be done for the physical training of school-boys. For, the same official said :

Government were doing everything possibly they could to impart physical training. They deputed a Special Officer, who had just brought out a report on the whole subject and after considering the report the Government intended to put up measures for the training of school students, which would be very much better than in the past. The Government had further promised to help the Calcutta University when they were able to bring in a scheme to improve the physical training of students or at any rate making it compulsory for the boys in the two years before they joined the University.

"Is it Negligible"

The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee sends us many of its paragraphs. One is printed below :

In India :

Mills, Railways and total industrial works of all kinds give work to 15 lakhs
Handloom works provide work to 20 "
People depending on agriculture 2,290 "

An agricultural family which has a spinning wheel in its home adds 12 to 28 per cent. to its previous income. Spinning adds substantially to the slender income of the poor peasant though it may seem to you but a few pice per day.

Spinners go ten miles distance to Khadi depots to get cotton slivers for spinning and to deliver their yarn ;

WHY ?

They go because to them the additional income is valuable

FOR

When an average American earns	3 0	per day
And an average Australian	2 4	" "
An Englishman	2 0	" "
And a Canadian	1 12	" "
MOTHER INDIA LIVES ON ONE ANNA		
SEVEN PIES A DAY.		

High Honours for Dr. Raman

A Free Press message states that Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, F. R. S., has been awarded the Matteucci gold medal by the Italian Society of Science, Rome, for the discovery of radiation known as "Raman Effect." He is the first Indian scientist to be thus honoured. The Calcutta University may to some extent share the glory of this discovery with Professor Raman.

He is on his way to Europe to receive there the Matteucci medal at Rome. After that he arrives at Bristol on September 24 to attend the international meeting arranged by the Faraday Society at which he will initiate a discussion on his discoveries.

Recently he delivered the Convocation address at the Mysore University, in the course of which he said :

"On the broader issue of national self-determination, I will suggest to the young graduates of this University and to others in a similar position elsewhere that, if we wish men of other nations to respect us and yield to our wishes, we must learn to respect ourselves and make ourselves worthy of



Dr. Sir C. V. Raman

respect from others.. We must abolish slothfulness and self-indulgence, and substitute in their place a mentality that recognizes the highest form of human happiness to be that which is reached by labour and self-restraint."

Concluding, he said :

"We must put aside a spirit of defeatism and put in its place a spirit that glories in the overcoming of obstacles. We must learn to appreciate and use the products of Indian labour, however imperfect they may be. We must acquire by labour and thought the secret of craftsmanship which lies in meticulous attention to detail and the continual striving after perfection. We must refrain from copying the vices and expensive habits of the West, and never forget that alcohol and nicotine are the deadliest of poisons known to humanity.

"Finally, we must never forget that the strength of our people depends quite as much on our women as on our men. The richest rewards are the fruit of labour, study and thought. Self-determination will come, but we must prepare ourselves for it. It is no use asking for freedom if we are not prepared to pay the price for it."



CAMP AT THE FOOT OF THE KAILASA PEAK
By Promode Kumar Chatterji

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The Problem of India's Poverty

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.SC., PH.D.

INDIA, with her 1.8 million square miles of territories and 320 millions of inhabitants, forms one of the largest countries in the world, standing seventh in size and second in population. Economically, India is, however, perhaps the most backward of all. Extreme poverty, both relative and absolute, is the outstanding feature of her economic conditions. Of all the important social, political and economic problems calling for immediate solution, such as ignorance and illiteracy, and endemic, epidemics, and other diseases, high mortality and low vitality, child marriage and the purdah system, caste and communalism, inertia and inactivity, internal dissension and foreign domination, none is more complex and more difficult than that of the abject and perpetual poverty of the masses throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The relative poverty of India can best be judged by comparing her per capita national income with that of other countries. Various estimates have from time to time been made of the national income of India, although for lack of adequate data, they are mostly rough estimates rather than accurate calculations.*

* Dadabhai Naoraji estimated the per capita income to be Rs. 20 for 1867-68 and William Digby to be Rs. 17.5 for 1898. Since then over a dozen estimates have been made for various years, the figures ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 116.

Taking that for 1913-14, for which similar statistics in other countries are available, the per capita income in British India was only Rs. 44* or £3 as compared with £72 in the United States, £54 in Australia, £50 in the United Kingdom, £40 in Canada, £38 in France, £30 in Germany, £23 in Italy, £11 in Spain, and £6 in Japan.† Since 1913-14 the per capita income has undoubtedly increased, and in fact, the figures for 1921-22 have been put at Rs. 74\$, but similar increases have been noted in other countries. In the United States,* for instance, the per capita income increased from £72 in 1913-14 to £154 in 1926.** But this rise is mostly due to the price fluctuation rather than to actual increase in the real income, especially in the case of India.

The existence of absolute poverty or actual starvation among the masses of the Indian

* Wadia and Joshi, *Wealth of India*, 1925, p. 108.

† The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, July 1919, p. 491.

§ K. T. Shah and Khambata. Professor Shirras estimated the income to be Rs. 116, but his figures have been seriously questioned by several economists. They have been based on the gross receipts for a single year instead of on the averages for several years. Moreover, the agricultural products have been valued at very high figures.

** Estimated by the National Bureau of Economic Research of New York. See the *Literary Digest*, New York, March 5, 1927.

population has been admitted even by Government authorities. "A considerable proportion of the masses of the Indian population," observed Professor Rushbrook Williams, the late Director of Public Information, Government of India, in 1922-23, "is still beset with poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent because less tropical climate of Europe."* "There is a vast amount," added Mr. Coatman, his successor in 1927-28, "of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—a poverty, that is, of such a kind that those subjects to it live on the very margin of subsistence."†

One of the most important indications of India's absolute poverty is the frequent outbreaks of famine, which since the middle of the nineteenth century affected vast areas of land and large numbers of population, as shown below § :—

Year.	Areas in 1000 square miles.	Population in millions.
1860-61	54	20
1865-67	180	48
1868-70	296	45
1873-74	54	22
1876-78	257	59
1896-97	307	68
1899-1900	475	60

No widespread famine has been recorded in the first quarter of the present century, but the existence of local scarcity in some parts of the country or other is a constant factor.** Moreover, the effects of famine have been somewhat mitigated by organised relief works in recent years.

While famine is one of the greatest calamities which can befall a people, its effect is more or less temporary. What is much more deleterious to both its physical and moral strength is perpetual starvation. The per capita food supply in India as indicated by the yield of the principal crops amounts to .83 millions calories instead of 1.27 million calories as required by the human body.†† The average annual total grain available for food from 1900 to 1922 was only 48.7 million tons as compared

with 81 million tons required for a population of 319 millions.* In other words, the food production in India falls short of the requirements from 34 to 40 per cent. That the Indian people are underfed is also proved by the fact that the food supply to a Madras prisoner amounts to 741 pounds a year as compared with 2,664 pounds consumed by an average American,† and it is a well-known fact that the per capita amount of food consumed by the Indian masses falls far short of the prison rates at Madras.

The existence of absolute poverty is still better indicated by the high mortality and the low vitality of the people. According to the census of 1921, about one-fifth of the children in British India die before the age of one year.§ As compared with other countries, out of every 100 infants born alive, 19.4 die in the first year of their life in India as compared with 7.5 in England and Wales, 8.5 in France, and 10.8 in Germany. In 1921, the death-rate in India was 3.06 per cent. as compared with 1.21 per cent. in England and Wales, 1.48 per cent. in Germany, and 1.77 per cent. in France. Similarly, the average length of life was only 24.47 years in India as compared with 51.5 years in England and Wales, 48.5 years in France, and 47.4 years in Germany.** In other words, as compared with England and Wales, France and Germany, the death-rate is about twice as much and the average length of life is only half as much in India.

There exist divergent views as to whether there has been any amelioration in the economic conditions of the people in recent years. "There are good reasons for believing," observed Mr. Coatman, the Director of Public Information, Government of India, quoted above, "that an appreciable improvement has taken place in the standard of Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century."†† The increase in bank deposits, industrial investments and merchandise imports has most probably led

* Statement exhibiting the Moral Conditions and Material Progress in British India for 1922-23, p. 198.

† *India in 1927-28*, Calcutta, p. 97.

§ Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, 3 : 483-95.

** Statement exhibiting the Moral Progress and Economic Conditions in India, 1923-24, p. 189.

†† Finch and Baker, *Geography of the World's Agriculture*, Washington D. C., 1919, p. 45.

* Zutshi, *Population and Subsistence in India*, *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 262-63.

† Cf. Das., *Factory Labour in India*, Berlin, 1923, p. 163.

§ The Census of India, 1921, Rpt. 1 : 131 and 132.

** *Annuaire Statistique*, France, 1924, pp. 200, 204, 205 ; *Statistical Abstract of British India*, 1926, p. 341 ; *Census of India*, 1921, Rpt. 1 : 128.

†† *India in 1927-28*, Calcutta, p. 97.

to this conclusion. According to Indian authorities, the contrary is true. "Eye-witnesses, including English administrators, whose interest it would be to find contrary, have testified that India has been growing poorer under British regime," says Mahatma Gandhi, who is thoroughly conversant with village life in India.* "All those who possess knowledge of the conditions of life in villages," says Lala Lajpat Rai, "are positive that the condition of the agriculturalists at present is much worse than it used to be either in the pre-British days or in the early days of the British rule."† Some of the recent studies in the economic life of the village seem to favour this view. "An average year . . . seems to leave the village," says Dr. Mann, "underfed, more in debt than ever, and apparently less capable than ever of obtaining, with the present population and present methods of cultivation, a real economic independence."§ The very fact that the average length of life for the past forty years has remained practically the same, i.e., about 24.5 years,** also indicates that there has scarcely been any real improvement in the material condition of the Indian masses.

Various reasons have been advanced as the causes of India's poverty, the most important of which might be described as follows:—climatic fluctuation, including both prolonged drought and excessive rainfall; unfertility and exhaustion of soil; small size of the farm and fragmentation of holdings; heavy indebtedness of the farmer and lack of farm capital; thriftless habit of the masses and their extravagance at marriage or funeral celebrations; hoarding of the precious metals and their use as ornaments; lack of opportunity for extensive emigration; invasion and conquest, including pillage and plunder in early times and foreign domination and expensive government in present times. There are three main theories underlying most of these and similar arguments, however, namely, foreign exploitation, over-population and industrial inefficiency.††

The theory of foreign exploitation has been advanced by what might conveniently be called the Naoraj-Digby-Dutt school by the end of the last century, and has since then been accepted by most of the Indian and a large number of foreign authorities, economists or otherwise. According to this theory, the fundamental cause of India's poverty is the "drain of wealth" from India since the advent of British rule or even earlier. This "drain" consists of a variety of items, of which the principal ones are the following: first, commercial and industrial advantages of unfair competition and monopolistic control, which the British have obtained in India through military conquest and political power; second, salaries, pensions, fares and other expenses of maintaining a foreign and most expensive civil staff and military force in India and even outside; and third, control by England of India's finances, such as the keeping of India's gold reserves in England, "high rate of interest paid for her foreign loan and purchase of Government stock in the British market. Most of the above items form what is popularly called the "Home Charges."

The extent of India's "drain" has also been variously estimated. According to some writers, it was the arrival of the Bengal treasure after the battle of Plassey which served as the motive force for the reconstruction of British banking and subsequently for the Industrial Revolution.* Early in the present century, this drain was estimated by others to be equivalent to 35 million pounds, which India paid to England every year without any compensation in any form.† According to the latest estimate, the "drain" would amount to 60 crores of rupees or about 50 million pounds sterling a year.§

The underlying truth of this argument cannot be denied. Any country, however rich, would have been very seriously handicapped in her industrial development, had it to part with such a considerable amount of her national dividend for over 160 years and thus to deplete the sources of her social

* Quoted from Young India. See the Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 19, 1929, p. 5, c.l.

† The People, Lahore, 2 August 1928, p. 28.

§ Mann, H.H., Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, Study No. 2, p. 158.

** Census of India, 1921, Rept. 1: 126.

†† The failure of the monsoon as the cause of poverty is considered in connection with over-population

* Cf. Brooks Adams, The Law of Civilization and Decay, pp. 263-264, quoted.

† Quoted from memory from a pamphlet by the late Mr. Hyndman.

§ "About Rs. 600,000,000 every year go out of the country in the shape of mainly raw material and food produce, for which there is no equivalent return in the shape of money or commodities."—Wadia and Joshi, Wealth of India, 1925, p. 111.

capital. But it is the contention of the present writer that foreign exploitation alone is quite inadequate to explain the whole phenomenon of India's poverty. In the first place, there is a possibility of over-estimation of the drain, especially in view of the fact that it is partly compensated by foreign investment and loan. In the second place, it must be remembered that although the British have destroyed several indigenous industries, they have also built up a few new ones. In the face of foreign competition some of the indigenous industries would have died their natural death. Moreover, the growth of modern industries in India is mostly the result of British enterprise. In the third place, even if the 60 crores of rupees could be retained in the country, the per capita annual income would not have increased by more than two rupees, a sum which is quite insufficient to help in solving the problem of either absolute or relative poverty. There must be some other additional and more fundamental causes to explain the present economic condition in India.

Over-population as the cause of India's poverty is the classical theory, which has been advanced ever since its enunciation by Malthus over a century ago. That over-population is the immediate cause of India's poverty is a mere truism. In spite of the fact that nearly four-fifths of her population are directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture, especially in the production of food crops, the food production in India falls short by over one-third, exclusive of the food stuff exported as a part payment for foreign rule and foreign investment. On the basis that a person needs 2.5 acres of land for a decent living, as dictated by international standard, the optimum population which India could support would be only one-third of the present number. That is, from the viewpoints of absolute and relative poverty, India has an excessive population of one-third and two-thirds respectively.*

Like exploitation, over-population as an explanation of India's poverty is also vitiated by its over-emphasis. It ignores the importance of other factors amongst its causes. What is of more importance is that it fails to trace the ultimate and fundamental

cause of India's poverty. Rightly interpreted, over-population means that at a given time, the resources of a country, developed with the existing knowledge of science and art, are unable to support its population. The productive power of a country is by no means a fixed or static element. It is an ever-growing process like the human race itself. The same Mississippi valley, which seemed to be over-populated to three millions of red Indians with their primitive industrial processes a century ago, has been able to supply food and raw material to several times that number under the improved system of production. Anything which interferes with the growth in the productive power of a country and consequently with the increasing utilisation of its natural resources, commensurate with the natural growth of its population, on the one hand and with the progress of science and art, on the other, is bound to lead to the phenomenon of over-population. It is the lack of improvement in the productive system rather than that of natural resources, which is largely responsible for the present economic condition of India.

That over-population could not fully and ultimately explain India's poverty is also indicated by the fact that in 49 years from 1872 to 1921, the population in India has grown only 20 per cent as compared with 47 per cent in 50 years from 1871 to 1921 in Europe. Even to-day, the density of population in India is only 68 per square kilometre as compared with 72 in France, 78 in Austria, 90 in Hungary, 130 in Italy, 134 in Germany, 154 in Japan, 189 in Great Britain, 230 in Holland and 256 in Belgium. If the productive power of the people developed in India to the same extent as in Europe, the question of over-population would not have been more acute in the former than in the latter. While a part of India's poverty is due to over-population, there are still more fundamental and important causes.

The third theory as to the causes of India's poverty is her industrial inefficiency, which the present writer has advanced in his treatise on *Production in India*, a comparative study in national productivity.* It is his contention that, although foreign exploitation and over-population have contributed much to the poverty of India, its

* Cf. Das, Population and Food Supply in India, Proceedings of the World Population Conference, London, 1927, pp. 117-18.

* Production in India, the Visvabharati Office, Calcutta, 1924.

real cause is her inability to keep up with the improvement in the productive processes or industrial systems.

The wastage of India's resources is the most important indication of her industrial inefficiency. In spite of actual starvation among the masses, by far the largest part of the resources of the country remains unutilised. For example, about 47 per cent. of the arable land still remains uncultivated and only 7 per cent. is used for more than one cropping. It is true that not all the wasted arable land can be economically brought under cultivation, but under the modern system of farming, a large portion of it can be made productive. What is of more importance, 46 per cent. of the arable land now used for one cropping may be made to produce two or more crops. Assuming that the total arable area of India is capable of producing on the average two crops a year, it might be shown about three-fourths of the potential arable land are being wasted. Similar wastage occurs in forest resources also. According to some authorities, not more than one-tenth of the forests in Madras is being utilised at present.* It might be shown that under the present method of utilisation about three-fourths of India's forest resources are wasted. The inland fisheries of India, which are second only to those of the United States in extent and richness, have not been fully developed and the marine fisheries along 4,500 miles of coast-line are practically untapped. Similarly, only a beginning has been made in the development of India's 27 million horse-power of water resources and of the 2,882 million tons of iron ore deposits, in which India stands third and fourth respectively among other countries as far as the volume is concerned.†

The wastage in man-power is another indication of India's industrial inefficiency. This might be more or less true of other countries, but not to the same extent. There are three principal ways in which the loss of man-power takes place: first, unemployment, including under-employment. While the extent of unemployment among the workers is not known, that among the middle classes has already assumed such a serious nature that the Provincial Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab,

and the Indian State of Travancore had to appoint committees of enquiry for finding remedial measures. What is more significant is that there is widespread under-employment among the cultivators and artisans. It has been estimated that the average cultivator or artisan does not work for more than eight months in the year, causing a loss of one-third of their total energy. Second, ill-health among the people, brought about by malaria, cholera, influenza, hookworm and similar other diseases, is another cause of India's wastage in man-power. Although the exact amount of loss of energy resulting from ill-health is difficult to ascertain, it has been estimated that the output of labour has increased by 25 per cent. in the tea-gardens of Ceylon and Darjeeling as a result of the hookworm treatment. Third, ignorance is still another cause. The percentage of illiterate persons between the ages of 15 and 60 was 92 in India in 1921 as compared with .03 in Germany, 1 in France, and 4.7 in France in 1910. On the basis that the Indian worker is only 50 per cent. as efficient as the average worker in the industrially advanced countries*, a fact which is mostly the result of his ill-health and ignorance, and that 25 per cent. of his inefficiency is due to ill-health—the other 25 per cent. must be due to his ignorance, i.e., lack of education and training.

The low productivity of India's agriculture, which is by far the most important industry of the country, and upon which depend, directly or indirectly, three-fourths of the population for livelihood, is another indication of her industrial inefficiency. The result is that the yield of her principal staple crops is very low in comparison with those in other countries. The yield per hectare of rice, for instance, is only 14.4 quintals in India as compared with 32.1 in Japan; that of wheat is only 7.2 quintals in India as compared with 16.3 quintals in Germany, 28.8 quintals in Great Britain, and 24.3 quintals in Belgium; and that of cotton is only .9 quintals in India, 28.8 quintals in India as compared with 2 quintals in the United States, 2.4 quintals in China and 4.3 quintals in Egypt.† The failure to apply

* Cf. Das, *Wastage of India's Man-power*, *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, April 1927, p. 400.

† Compiled from *Annuaire international de Statistique Agricole*, 1926-27, pp. 116-19, 132-34, 182-85.

* *The Statesman*, Calcutta, July 12, 1925, p. 23.

† Cf. *Production in India*, pp. 165-68.

modern science and art to the productive processes is the cause of the backwardness of India's agriculture. For example, the selection of seeds and crops, scientific breeding and feeding of live-stock, control of pests and parasites, conservation of soil fertility, and utilisation of fallow land by fertilisation and crop rotation have made scarcely any headway in India. Production with special reference to a market, regional division of production, the application of machinery and implements to farm operations, utilisation of by-products, and co-operative production and marketing are still in their infancy. In fact, in the efficiency of agricultural production, India stands twenty-second among the principal countries of the world, with an index number of 85 as compared with 221 in Belgium.*

The backwardness of modern industrialism in India is still another instance of her industrial inefficiency. Modern industrialism has not only transformed and reorganised such industries as mining, manufacture, transport and commerce, but also made them much more productive and profitable. In fact, the industrial efficiency of modern nations is largely the effect of modern industrialism. But India, in spite of her being the eighth among the greater industrially advanced countries†—a fact which is largely due to the vastness of the territories, has made very little progress in the modern system of production, if her immense population is taken into consideration. India has, for instance, only 1.8 kilometres of railways per 10,000 inhabitants as compared with 7.6 kilometres in Great Britain, 9.4 kilometres in Germany and 12.9 kilometres in France; her railway traffic amounts to .3 tons per capita as compared with 6 tons in France, 8.9 tons in the United Kingdom, and 22 tons

in the United States; and the value of her sea-borne foreign trade amounts only to £1.7 per capita as compared with £3.9 in Germany, £14.7 in France and £38.6 in the United States.* It is due to the lack of modern industries that India's exports consist in four-fifths of raw material and food-stuff and imports consist in three-fourths of manufactures.†

No wonder that the urban population, which is mainly the result of industrial and commercial activities, amounts to only 9.5 per cent. in India as compared with 42.2 per cent. in France, 45.6 per cent. in Germany, 51 per cent. in the United Kingdom and 78 per cent. in England and Wales.§ In fact, the population engaged in modern commercial manufacture and mining and similar industries, or what is generally known as "industrial" population, is only 1.5 per cent. in India as compared with 20 per cent. in France and Germany and 28 per cent. in England and Wales.**

It is thus seen that the wastage of natural and human resources on the one hand and the primitiveness of agriculture and the backwardness of modern industrialism on the other, all of which are the direct results of inefficiency, are responsible for the low national dividend and the extreme poverty of the people. This industrial inefficiency of India has been brought about by a complexity of social, political and economic causes, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this article. The elimination of foreign exploitation will undoubtedly augment national dividend and social capital, and the control of population growth will ultimately check any tendency towards impoverishment; but the real and immediate solution of India's poverty depends largely upon the increasing productive power or industrial efficiency of the people.

* The Year Book of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1913, p. 735.

† Memorandum on the claim of India to be included among the eight States of chief industrial importance, India Office, 1920, pp. 8, 9.

* Production in India, pp. 120, 121 and 124.

† Cf. The Review of the Trade of India, 1926-27, pp. 138-141.

§ India in 1926-27, Calcutta, p. 110

** Production in India, p. 98.

India's Military Defence : What It Implies

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C. I. E.

I

EVERY Indian who loves his native land has thought—and thought often—over the question, “Why is not my country like the free nations of the world? Why has the course of its destiny been so different from theirs? What is my clear duty if I wish to see her independent and capable of guarding that independence when won?”

If he is young and inexperienced, he will be captivated by the popular catchwords of the day,—such as “self-determination,” the *elan de vivre*, “the deadly blight of foreign rule,” or “good government can never be a substitute for self-government”;—to which last jingle the thoughtful will drily reply, like the sage Zaka-ullah of Delhi, “The main question is not *who* governs the poor, but whether the poor are governed *well*.” (See C. F. Andrews’ charming life of Zaka-ullah, recently published).

But a day of disillusionment comes to every one of us; even the young of to-day, before becoming very old, will cease to be worshippers of *Sabda Brahma* (“the word is God”). The usual reaction of such disillusionment is that the youthful dupes of political charlatans grow up into cynics and give up all noble enthusiasm, all patriotic effort, and even all thinking about their country’s future and their own duty in relation to it.

II

A study of history is the best corrective of the type of politics now in fashion here, as well as of the inert pessimism to which it ultimately leads. The recorded past of other peoples and even that of our own country in other ages, alone can illustrate,—as no abstract reasoning can do—why States rise and how they can avert downfall.

As Burke told us long ago, a State is a living organism and not a dead machine. The first and foremost business of an organism is to live; everything else is

conditional upon that primary fact. No State can live unless it has ensured effective military defence for itself. Let us examine the requisite conditions of military efficiency in the modern world. For the investigation of this problem the exploits of the Hindus in the “Heroic Age,” the physical strength and courage of modern India’s fighting races, are utterly beside the point. As a British military officer wrote more than a century ago :

I begin by disclaiming all accordance with those who imagine the colour of Asiatics to indicate an inferior race of beings. The Seapoys are men created exactly like Britons, but living in a different stage of civilization and intellectual development. Like every people in the same condition, their only courage is apathy, and their valour consists in animal ferocity.—The persevering power to inflict and suffer, possessed by Europeans, is a mental endowment, not bestowed by nature, but derived from an artificial state of society. When the passions of an Indian are roused, he will face death in obedience to their impulse : but he has no reflective faculty, no internal energy, which urges him to persist after they subside.

In physical qualities the Bengal Seapoys are nearly equal to British soldiers : but they are deplorably deficient in mental energy. Europeans are at once the sensorium and the nerves, the source and channels, of that intellectual power which regulates and impels the mass of the army. Without Europeans the disciplined natives would do little more service than a regiment of horse without riders... It will be obvious that enthusiasm, and the cold sense of duty, actuate men’s conduct very differently. (*Military Sketches of the Goorka War, 1814-1816*, pp. ix, 51).

III

Granted this physical equality between European and Indian fighting races, does it follow that we have only to dress the millions of our manhood in uniform and teach them the goose step, and then number will tell in our favour and we shall win wars? Mere military drill taught to millions of common soldiers, where an adequate proportion of officers are not properly trained, properly linked together in grades, inspired by the right spirit, and exercised in leading and enforcing obedience from their men,—will not bring a State an inch

nearer to victory. Such one-sided preparation will only end by driving countless hecatombs to the slaughter, or make internal brigandage a hundredfold more incurable,—as China's recent experience has proved.

Alexander's Macedonian phalanx, Babur's Turkish horsemen, Nadir Shah's Qizzilbashs, and Colin Campbell's Highlanders were a handful compared with the myriads of Indians opposed to them, and yet they triumphed over hundredfold odds. Why so?

While personal courage and the power of enduring hardship have been the same with us as with our foreign conquerors, we have had the advantages of being accustomed to the Indian climate and of having gained, through many centuries of breeding and multiplying on the Indian soil, comparative immunity from the insanitary conditions and insect pests around us, which prove rapidly fatal to newcomers. In the days of Clive and Eyre Coote, ten per cent of the English soldiers, when quartered in peace in the capital of British India, used to die of disease *every year*. And yet, in spite of this tremendous handicap, the British Empire has held on in India and grown to fulness of completion. Why was it so?

IV

A modern civilized army requires not only arms, munitions and mechanized transport of the latest and ever-changing types and an economic staying power in the country that can outlast years of struggle; but it must develop certain *moral* qualities as well. Without these qualities, the army dissolves into a rabble, ineffective before the enemy, and dangerous only to its countrymen by letting loose upon society larger gangs of brigands with arms in their hands and habituated to acting in cohesion but without true discipline or sense of a higher duty.

A modern army becomes an efficient instrument of defence and is saved from becoming an armed predatory rabble, only when it is characterized by

(i) Methodical habits and steadiness of conduct in the rank and file;

(ii) Discipline throughout the entire force,

and (iii) The closest co-operation and linking together of efforts among all grades of officers and all "arms" or branches of the army.

The success of a national—as opposed to

a professional or foreign mercenary army, implies the development of the following virtues in addition to the above three moral qualities:—

(a) A sense of common nationality, as distinct from clan loyalty, sectarian devotion, or parochial patriotism. The herd instinct must rise superior to every other appeal.

(b) Unselfish patriotism and honesty in the leaders.

(c) Cheerful and complete self-surrender to discipline for a higher object.

(d) Standardization of life and thought, as opposed to the preservation of provincial peculiarities and communal differences. From this alone can come that close linking together of all grades of fighting men and their civil auxiliaries without which an army, however up-to-date in equipment, becomes a disjointed mass of loose parts or odds and ends.

V

The spirit that animates a modern civilized army has been finely illustrated by Rudyard Kipling in one of his tales:—

The big parade of all the thirty thousand men was held that afternoon—before the Viceroy and the Amir of Afghanistan—

They had made a big half-circle across the plain, and were spreading out into line. That line grew and grew and grew till it was three-quarters of a mile long from wing to wing—one solid wall of men, horses, and guns. Then it came on straight towards the Viceroy and the Amir, and as it got nearer the ground began to shake, like the deck of a steamer when the engines are going fast...

Then the advance stopped dead, the ground stood still, the whole line saluted. That was the end of the review, and the regiments went off to their camps...

Then I heard an old grizzled, long-haired Central Asian chief, who had come down with the Amir, asking questions of a native officer.

'Now', said he, 'in what manner was this wonderful thing done?'

And the officer answered, 'An order was given and they obeyed.'

'But are the beasts as wise as the men?' said the chief.

'They obey, as the men do. Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock, he obeys his driver, and the driver his sergeant, and the sergeant his lieutenant, and the lieutenant his captain, and the captain his major, and the major his colonel, and the colonel his brigadier commanding three regiments, and the brigadier the general, who obeys the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress. Thus it is done.'

'Would it were so in Afghanistan!' said the chief; 'for there we obey only our own wills.'

'And for that reason,' said the native officer

'your Amir whom you do not obey must come here and take orders from our Viceroy.'

VI

The self-suppression in the individual that discipline implies and the marvellous difference in effect between discipline and frothy enthusiasm can be illustrated from the history of wars between European races even.

The scene of the following incident was western Spain, the time July 1811, and the narrator William Hay, Ensign in the 52nd Light Infantry :—

"As we were marching in such extremely hot weather, we rested at noon, starting again later on. One afternoon we had to witness an act of diabolical tyranny. On the road was a stream of considerable depth, up to a man's middle. Our general, considering it more cooling and refreshing for the men, directed the first division to march through the water. The general, from his position on the bridge, observed two or three of the 95th take some water in their hands to cool their parched mouths; instantly the halt was sounded, the whole division formed into hollow square, and these unfortunate men paraded, stripped, and flogged." [*Reminiscences 1808—1815 under Wellington*, by W. Hay, p. 33.]

The soldiers who submitted to this iron discipline defeated every marshal of Napoleon and even Napoleon himself. I have not read of this particular British general having been shot from behind by the men of the 95th.

The same discipline resulted in the wonderful passive valour of the 93rd Highlanders :

"On the 8th of January, 1815, the infantry were ordered to advance towards the American lines [at New Orleans] for the purpose of assaulting the works, but again the great mistake was committed of advancing in close column of regiments, in broad daylight, against a line of works one thousand yards in length, protected by a broad ditch and high breastwork from behind which, and perfectly under cover, the American riflemen were able to keep up a destructive fire.

"When the 93rd had got within eighty yards of the lines they were ordered to halt, and there, still in close column, were kept standing exposed to a withering fire, and without permission even to reply to this fire, until, out of a strength of eight hundred men, 507 were killed and wounded before the regiment received an order to retire. . . I believe there is no more remarkable example on record of the power of discipline, and it must be borne in mind that the 93rd Regiment was a young one, composed entirely of fiery Highlanders, a race whose blood is easily stirred into rapid motion in the moment of battle." (*Records of Service and Campaigning*, by Surgeon-General Munro, ii. 7).

VII

Let us now see what mere enthusiasm can do against cool disciplined men under wise leadership.

"On the 10th of May, 1771, the joint Russian forces [under Suvorof and Dryevitz] encountered Dumouriez himself with a considerable army [of Poles] at Landskron.

The Poles lay along a ridge. The fortress itself covered the left flank, and the right and centre were protected by two woods . . . Along the front, in addition to the trees, the slopes were covered with brushwood, which formed a stiff, natural entanglement. The attack of the Russians was expected, the position was carefully chosen, and the fortress with its 30 guns was in itself a most formidable obstacle. Suvorof took the situation at a glance, and without waiting for his infantry, launched the Cossacks straight at the enemy's centre. Dumouriez, to whom such a cavalry attack upon unbroken infantry appeared, not unnaturally, absurd, ordered his men to hold their fire until the Russians reached the crest of the ridge itself. This was sound, orthodox, military doctrine, and a steady infantry, by a couple of volleys at point blank range, even without artillery, would have emptied almost every saddle in front of them . . . But, as the Cossacks swept yelling up the slopes, the Poles turned and ran. The battle was decided in the first few minutes. . . About 500 Poles were killed, two field-guns remained in Suvorof's hands." (*Suvorof* by Blease, p. 22).

Nearly a century rolled by and the same kind of conflict was witnessed in another part of the Russian empire, but with a totally different result.

On the heights of Balaklava, a thin red line of 93rd Highlanders stood quite alone, their Turkish allies having disappeared from their flanks. Advancing upon them was a regiment of Russian cavalry that had detached itself from a great body of horse. "It was a noble sight, that thin red line of Highlanders, standing shoulder to shoulder, prominent before three armies, silent, watchful and confident in themselves. They were in excellent spirits, cheerful, perfectly free from all anxiety; all thought as to their isolated and critical position, and seemed rather pleased that they were alone and that everything depended on themselves. I do not think that there was a single man in the ranks that felt, even for a moment, the least inclination to turn aside before the charge of the rapidly-advancing cavalry. They stood steady and silent, their hearts still beating quietly."

On came the Russian deluge, threatening to sweep away the thin red line. But when they were within range, two volleys of

Minie musketry fired with steady hands and clear eyes, sent the Muscovite cavaliers flying faster than they had come. "Then burst from the line a cheer, ... the impetuous nature of the regiment showed itself, for the rifles were brought down to the charge with a ring, and the men made a step forward as if they would meet the enemy with the bayonet : but again old Sir Colin rode to the front and called out, 'Come, come, 93rd, none of that ; d—n all such eagerness', and the men were quiet and steady in a moment." [Munro, ii. 87.]

VIII

Such was the effect of discipline. Now let us turn to a picture of 'self-determination' and assertion of 'the inherent rights of man' or the triumph of democracy in an Indian army trained by Englishmen and experienced in warfare under British leadership and in co-operation with British regiments. The scene is Lucknow and the time 5th July 1857, just after the English had lost the battle of Chinbut, abandoned the Machi Bhavan, and been driven into the Residency, leaving Lucknow city and the entire province of Oudh to the mutineers.

"The [rebel] troops were without guidance... Their leaders instead of commanding them, were engaged in court intrigues. These court intrigues and the organization of the new native Court and Government [at Lucknow] were matters of considerable moment, for until they were settled, the military operations against the British entrenchments were somewhat chaotic.

At first there were three candidates for the chief power. The cavalry were in favour of Sulaiman Qadr, while the infantry and the old Darbar officials and courtiers seemed to espouse the cause of Birjis Qadr ; who was at length selected and proclaimed Nawab in the place of his father [Wajid Ali], now a State prisoner in Calcutta. The conditions of his elevation were :— *The army was to select the Prime Minister and the commandants of regiments.* The Government was not to interfere with the army in regard to the treatment of the English and of their friends. *The pay of the troops was to be doubled.*

In full accord with the tone of this farcical arrangement was the selection of the Ministry... The War Minister was Rajah Jai Lal, a Lucknow courtier ; while the men put in command of the troops and the charge of the siege, were not Barkat Ahmad and others who had shown some fitness to lead the troops, but two Lucknow courtiers, a nephew of the Prime Minister, and Rissaladar Qasim Khan of the 12th Cavalry. *So much the better for the defence !* As was certain to result from such ludicrous appointments and such subservience to the troops, the latter threw off all semblance of discipline or obedience to authority.

When on July 7th the commanders proceeded to assign the various regiments to the posts surrounding the Residency, the troops would have naught to do with orders or control. They would hold only such posts as they selected for themselves, and placed their artillery where they chose. The siege [of the Residency at Lucknow] was marked throughout its whole duration by this want of organization, of discipline, of military spirit, and of courage, and also by the absence of any sign of military knowledge or skill or leadership on the part of the investing force." (*Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny* by Genl. Mcleod Innes, 116-118)

IX

But true discipline in the army is impossible without discipline at home and regular habits in daily life. These are utterly wanting among the indigenous population of India. Exact regularity in the hours of meal, sitting down to dinner all together (or going without one's dinner), the habit of keeping everything in its place and providing a separate place for everything, the corporal punishment accepted by guardians and pupils as a salutary necessity in schools, the *esprit de corps* that binds together and elevates above self the members of well-regulated educational institutions,—all these are wanting in India at present. Life in the English army can create this spirit, no doubt ; but when it has to act in opposition to the general trend of Indian social life, when it has to go against the grain of the dreamy emotional Indian soul, its success is painfully slow and inadequate. As the British officer in Ochterlony's camp already quoted, remarks :

"With some radical defects in war the native soldiers are, in time of peace, distinguishable as a race superior to the rest of their countrymen. The Company's army has been the best school of morality in the East." (P. 53)

But the rank and file, if we are to have a nation in arms, require to be inspired by something more than mere physical drill or mechanical discipline. They must have solidarity, and that solidarity is impossible without homogeneity. For lack of this homogeneity our army would break up into mutually warring atoms. As the same British officer very shrewdly observes :—

"In a British force, consisting wholly of one people, these blend and run insensibly into one another. In the Indian service, however, a tangible line of separation appears between them : they are formed of distinct

nations. That moral excitement, therefore, which should pass like electricity through a conducting body, meets here with a great and obvious impediment." (P. xi.)

Apart from the unbridgeable chasm separating the Hindu from the Muslim; the Shia from the Sunni, the Brahman from the non-Brahman, the meat-eaters from the vegetarians among the same caste of Hindus, there is a strong impediment to our homogeneity in the Hindu's psychology. He has abnormal personal sensitiveness, accompanied too often by a delicate individual culinary taste or digestive power, which is easily upset by something unaccustomed and militates against his living in a common regimental mess. The herd instinct cannot operate where herd habits are impossible. The Hindu's very religion emphasizes personal purity, aloofness from others, individual pursuit of piety, and abhors worship in congregation. Hence, the Hindu cannot assimilate himself to others, even to other Hindus. He cannot be standardized unless Hinduism as understood in the past dies and undergoes a new birth. [The disintegration has already commenced, though we are vainly scanning the horizon for any sign of the new birth.]

The Indian Muslims have imbibed this separatist spirit, though to a lesser extent than the Hindus; but their immigrant conquering forefathers were entirely free from it.

India's north-western defences are menaced by the Amir of Afghanistan's intrigues with Russian generals in Central Asia. A British Indian army advances into the enemy's country to meet the danger. It is held up before the impregnable Peiwar Kotal. Its general, Sir Frederick Roberts, hits upon the splendid device of getting to the enemy's rear by a long night march turning the entire Kotal. The success of the expedition,—the very lives of the troops forming the column,—depend upon the absolute silence and secrecy with which this march is conducted before arriving within striking distance of the enemy. And yet, on the way, some Muslim soldiers of the 12th Punjab Infantry, fire their muskets in the darkness, to give warning to the enemy. Communalism is with us a stronger force than nationalism and fidelity to country or salt. What would be the fate of a purely Indian army, of mixed Hindu and Muhammadan regiments, under similar circumstances, without the white soldiers, who by order of Roberts, thereafter surrounded the trea-

cherous Punjabi regiment in the silence and darkness and ensured the safe completion of the night march by keeping a grip on their throats? [Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*.]

X

So much for the rank and file. But an army is a loose bundle of atoms without officers capable of uniting and vivifying the individual soldiers. Indeed, the quality of the officers and their previous training of the men are the most decisive factors in victories in the field. The keen active reforming officers have been at once the glory and the strength of the English, French and German armies. The military history of England is one long record of improvements effected by a long chain of lower officers who have loyally translated into action the reforming ideas of the leaders of military thought,—Sir John Moore, Wolseley, Roberts and others.

Let us look at the other side of the picture. The Gurkhas and the Sikhs are admittedly the bravest among the Indian fighting races and struggled longest to maintain their supremacy. But a study of their history shows that their common soldiers were lions led by jackals.

Amar Singh Thapa, the bravest of the Gurkha generals, is besieged in Malown by General Ochterlony. Does he rally his men round him to fight to the last and fall together? No. The same British officer tells the story :

"Though only a viceroy in name, he had lived and ruled as an independent prince. No revenue had ever been remitted by him to [his sovereign at] Khatmandu: and their allotments of land having yielded nothing since the beginning of the campaign, his troops were in arrears. Trusting, therefore, that short allowances of provisions would, in time, *compel his men to* forfeit their claim to a settlement, by *deserting*, he indulged in some indefinite hopes, that an old friendship with General Ochterlony would, in the end, *obtain favourable terms for himself*." (P. 33.)

Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs, tells us :—

"The intrenchment likewise showed a fatal want of unity of command and of design; and at Subraon, as in the other battles of the campaign, the soldiers did everything and the leaders nothing. Hearts to dare and hands to execute were numerous; but there was no mind to guide and animate the whole. . . .

Openings were everywhere effected in the Sikh intrenchments; the interior was filled with

courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground. The traitor, Tej Singh, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault, and, either accidentally or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication." (*History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed., pp. 317, 318-319).

XI

Finally, no civilized army can do its work without a General Staff—which has been rightly described as "the brain of the army." The General Staff ensures the collecting and sifting of information, the prompt passing of the supreme leader's orders to each subordinate commander, the co-ordination of the acts and efforts of the minutest separate sections of the army. Modern warfare is not the same thing as sending a howling mob to throw stones at a single visible objective and suspending operations at the next dinner hour or opening of the tea shops. Here the soldiers and even regimental officers are blind to the grand plan, they have "to fight against the air" (as an Indian Sepoy returned from Flanders described it to his friends), and therefore their efforts will be futile unless they are correctly linked to the grand common plan of the C-in-C, every day and every hour, by the rapid and clock-work transmission of instructions from him by the Staff and the ready obedience of each local commander.

And, a General Staff requires time to be built up; the C-in-C. has to know each regimental head and exactly ascertain his

capacity and favourite defects and the possibilities of his men. No abstract generalization or standardization is possible here.

For defect in the General Staff, even the great "World-Conqueror" failed during his Hundred Days. In his earlier campaigns, Napoleon's victories had been facilitated and perfected by the wonderful skill and industry of Berthier, his Chief of Staff. But after Napoleon's first abdication, Berthier committed suicide, and Napoleon's Waterloo Campaign was frustrated by his new Chief of Staff's incapacity. The Emperor's orders were not promptly and accurately conveyed to the different divisions. Marshal Ney arrived to take supreme charge of one army in the night preceding a battle (? Quatre Bras), but as the regimental officers were mostly unknown to him, there was no concerted action among the various sections of that army, and even "the Bravest of the Brave" could do nothing, though the soldiers and officers were the same as the victors of Austerlitz and Jena.

A General Staff cannot be improved in a day, nor even by years of Staff College lectures,—but only by co-operation and *actual work* for years together in perfect harmony and homogeneity of life among all branches and divisions of the national army.

Are these possible in India, as it *actually* is to-day? This is a mere question of fact, and not one of sentiment.

[**Editor's Note:** Our comments on this article are reserved.—Editor, *M. R.*]

• The Indian States

By CHARU CHANDRA CHOWDHURI

Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

I

THE Indian States or the Native States of India, as they are better known, present before us two questions—one a question of law and the other a question of policy. What is the tie that binds these states to British India? This is a question of law and the answer will depend upon the past history and the treaties and engagements of

any particular state. But whether the states would form an integral part of the future Indian constitution or would prefer to remain outside is a question of policy. The geographical position of the States, interspersed as they are between British Indian territories, and the cultural and racial unity of the peoples of the States and British India, make the whole of India a political unit and no one

part of it can develop without the other. The "treaty rights" of the States which would of necessity, call for consideration in finding an answer to the first question formulated above cannot obviously stand in the way of such unification. For, the rights and obligations arising out of past treaties imply their future revision as well.

II

Let us now consider the first question. What is the tie that binds the states with British India? What are the rules and canons of law that regulate the relationship of these states *inter se* and with British India. During the expansion of the British domination in India, the East India Company came into conflict with the various local powers conquered. Some entered into offensive and defensive alliances with others, and left some others alone. It should be borne in mind that although the different provincial governors and the rising powers were practically independent of any central government, none of them was independent *de jure*. For instance, the Nizam with whom the English entered into one of the earliest alliances was the Deputy of the Moghal Emperor in the Deccan; Sivaji, the founder of the Maharatta confederacy, was in theory a Jaigirdar under the Great Moghal. The Rajput Princes had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughals and a number on them were serving the Emperor in different military and civil capacities. The Punjab was under the direct Government of the Mughals. The Prince of Oudh who in later days came to be known as the King of Oudh was only the Vizier of the Moghal emperor. The majority of the smaller native states were only zemindaries under the provincial Governments, although the Chiefs exercised, as zemindars used to do in that age, some administrative rights within their principalities. The status of the East India Company was that of a trading corporation, which had been vested with certain rights by the Moghal Emperor. The rights of making laws and declaring war granted to it by the British sovereign need not concern us now. For whatever may be the rights so granted, they were exercisable only over the people of the East India Company and could not be of any legal effect as against the Government established in India or the people of India. In course of time whenever such rights were exercised over the Indian people in the English Factories (the towns or villages in which the English

were for the time being settled) those were exercised by virtue of express grant, and subsequently, when the English became dominant, in other places by conquest. At the early period of which we are speaking the Moghal empire was on the verge of ruin, and in different parts of India, provincial Governors, Jaigirdars, chiefs, all were trying to attain supremacy. although no one denied the suzerainty of the Moghal Emperor. In such unsettled times, English, French and other foreign companies were each bound with one or other of the aspirants to help them in time of need, and in exchange for their help they got from them various important rights. These treaties or engagements were alliances between two parties for their mutual benefit and at this stage there cannot be any question of British suzerainty, for there was none and the British themselves did not dream probably that they would be called upon to play such a part. Let us take a concrete example,—the case of Hyderabad. The earliest treaty with the Nizam is dated 14th May, 1759, whereby the East India Company was granted the Northern Circars as *Inam*. The next is "a treaty of perpetual honour, favour, alliance and attachment between the great Nawab" and the East India Company, of the year 1766. Other treaties followed. At that time Hyder Ali was active in Mysore. And all these treaties were directed against him and the French. By the subsequent treaties Mysore was divided among the Nizam, the Company and the Peishwa. In none of these, we find any reference to the suzerainty of the British or even any such claim on the part of the Company. The Company was the Dewan of Bengal, held Jaigirs and Inams under the Moghal Emperor as well as under the Nizam. And by these treaties were regulated the relations between the parties in respect of such mutual rights and obligations. It was not until 1800, that we hear of any thing that may be interpreted to mean that the Nizam was accepting an inferior position. In the treaty of that year, concluded between Nizam-ul-mulk, Asaf Jah Bahadoor and the East India Company under the Governor-Generalship of Marquis Wellesley, there is one article (art. 15,) which says that the Nizam shall not enter into negotiations with any other power without consulting the East India Company, and the Company, on their part, declare that they have no manner of concern

with the children, subjects, etc., of the Nizam with respect to whom the Nizam is absolute. This is the first "subsidiary alliance" and was the result of a definite policy pursued by Marquis Wellesley. During his administration most of the important states now existing, had entered into treaty relationship with the East India Company. The main features of these treaties are that the Company undertakes to protect the state concerned from internal and external aggression and to maintain a force for that purpose, the expenses of the force to be met from a subsidy to be paid by the State. The ruler undertakes not to enter into negotiations with any other power and the Company on their part recognise that in respect of internal matters, the ruler is absolute. The intention of these treaties, as Wellesley himself put it, was "to place the States in such a degree of dependence as to deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measure hazardous to the security of the British Empire." On a reading of the various treaties it will be apparent that what is delegated to the British Government is the right to negotiate with other powers. As regards internal matters, the states have been left uncontrolled.

III

But in the course of a century and a half, the policy pursued as regards the States has varied from time to time. When the Court of Directors found that the relations with the Native States resulted in an increased expenditure in wars and less dividend to the shareholders of the Company, the policy of interfering in the affairs of the Native States was changed for a policy of non-intervention. That again in its turn gave way to the policy of imperialism under Lord Wellesley culminating in the policy of annexation under Lord Dalhousie. The Sepoy Mutiny, for a time, prevented any aggressive policy towards the States. But under Lord Curzon the interfering element came to a head again. Policy has changed with the exigencies of time and advantage has been taken of fresh successions to the *guddies* for the purpose of revising the treaties so as to suit the policy of the India Government for the time being. But two principles have been recognised in all the treaties : (1) that the ruler of the State is

absolute in his own territory ; (2) the Ruler will not negotiate with any other power.

The States, therefore, are theoretically, quite independent and have delegated only a part of their sovereignty, *i. e.* the right to enter into foreign relations, to the India Government. And *de jure* the India Government has no right to interfere with the administration of the States any more than it has the right to do so in respect of the administration of any other foreign country, however corrupt the administration or bad the form of Government may be in it. But the India Government has always interfered and has based its right to do so on the treaties where the treaties provide for such interference as in the case of Mysore, and Oudh, on the inherent right of the paramount power and on custom and usage. Where the treaties provide for such interference, there can be no doubt that the India Government can do so. We are not here concerned with the question whether such treaties were fair or moral. When one power has conquered another, or by some means has been able to wrest from it advantages, there can be no question that the treaties are binding and they cannot be avoided by saying that they were unfair.

As regards the inherent right of paramountcy, it is very difficult to ascertain what it means if it does not mean the inherent right of a more powerful state to dictate terms to a weaker one. It has been said that paramountcy carries with it certain rights and obligations. Certainly, and they are all well-defined in the treaties ; they are, the right to prevent the States from entering into foreign relations and the obligation to protect the State from internal and external aggression. It is not as if the States have got delegated authority and the residuary rights remain in the paramount power. It will have been gathered from the previous paragraphs that just the reverse is the case. This question comes into the forefront in cases of deposition of any particular ruler. In such cases the Government of India has laid stress upon the fact that if in any particular State corruption and gross maladministration go on, it might be said that in protecting the ruler of such a State, the Government of India was becoming a party to the misrule and maladministration. If we are to conform to the law strictly,

such reasoning ought not to prevail. For if a State has undertaken to defend any other State from internal or external disturbance, that undertaking cannot be evaded simply because the other State is in the wrong. These can be no equitable considerations here, and one contracting party ought not to be allowed to evade its obligation under the contract because in its opinion the other party is in the wrong. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the India Government in its own interests can not be a silent spectator of gross corruption and maladministration in a neighbouring Native State. There is another aspect of the case. The form of Government prevailing in the Native States is autocratic. There are legislative bodies in several States, but they are merely advisory. Can the paramount power force upon the States a constitutional form of Government or help the people of the States to do so? The answer has been given in the debate in the House of Lords on Lord Olivier's motion, that it cannot. The future Government of India which is bound to be founded on democratic principles must remain a silent spectator of autocratic rule in the Native States. In law there is hardly any distinction between this aspect of the case and the other where the ruler is guilty of gross maladministration. In such cases it is idle to fall back upon the inherent right of the paramount power.

Now to custom and usage. This is again a very convenient peg to hang various acts of interference upon. One State is far more powerful than another. The superior State calls upon the weaker to do certain acts. The latter has no option but to obey and acquiesce. On a subsequent occasion this acquiescence is cited as a precedent for another act of interference and a usage is established. This is not law.

IV

This most unsatisfactory state of affairs can be solved in two ways; either to let the States strictly alone—which no Indian Government will or can do, or to absorb them into the Indian constitution. That again can be done in two ways; one is annexation where possible. This method was tried in the middle of the last century and failed. It has been abandoned once for all and is not likely to be revived

by any future Indian Government. The other method remains. That is to take in the States as integral parts of the Indian constitution and yet to reserve the internal sovereignty to the States themselves. As matters now stand, the States have surrendered some attributes of sovereignty to the India Government but they have to submit to arbitrary acts of the India Government in various matters. The sovereignty that now remains with the States is in name only. If instead of the present arrangement the States enter into some agreement with the India Government definitely laying down the rules by which and the matters in which the India Government can interfere in the internal matters of the States and agree to refer the disputes to a supreme tribunal, there will be no arbitrary use of power by the the paramount State. A federal Government is conceivable, in which the central Government exercises only the delegated powers and the residuary powers remain with the federal States. There can be no question of subordination or loss of sovereignty of the federated states. The United States of America or the German Empire may serve as models. Even in recent days the League of Nations is an example of such a federation though with a specialized purpose. If the European Powers by agreeing to form a League and to refer certain matters to the Tribunal of the League, have not lost their sovereignty, the Indian States cannot do so by forming a federation with the British India Government and delegating certain powers to the Central Government. Such powers are even now exercised by the India Government although arbitrarily and without providing any machinery by which any wrong done by it can be righted. The advantages would be: the States would have their sovereignty guaranteed, and the rights and duties of the Central Government and the State Governments strictly defined. In economic matters the States will have distinct advantages which they do not now possess; for example, the States do not now derive any benefit from the revenue that the India Government gets from customs duties. In the federal constitution, arrangements may be made whereby a portion of such revenue would be spent for the States themselves. Such is also the case with Railway, Posts and Telegraphs, Roads, Currency, Exchange and such other matters as are pre-eminently matters for the Central Government. If and whenever

there is any doubt or conflict as to the respective rights and duties of the federal States and the Central Government, a supreme tribunal like the Supreme Court of America can always see that the law of the constitution is strictly adhered to.

There is one argument which might be raised against such a constitution. It may be said that the States would then have a say in matters pertaining purely to British India or the British Indian Government in matters purely pertaining the internal matters of the States. But that need not frighten us. In a federal Government such as is advocated here, the provincial Governments will be fully autonomous as much as the States will be sovereign states. In such a federation, the Central Government will always be busy with Central subjects which are all common to the States and the Provincial Governments. No one can object if matters relating to military affairs, customs, railways extending throughout the length and breadth of India, are settled by a Government, representative of the peoples of British Indian territories as well as the peoples of the States.

The real difficulty is not this. The real difficulty is, in that case, the States will have to transform themselves into constitutional Governments. If the Princes stick to their strict rights of autocratic power, of course such a federal government can not be formed. But the Princes themselves ought to realize—and some of them have already realized and are acting accord-

ingly—that the wave of constitutionalism will not stop at the boundary of British Indian territory and if they do not go abreast of the times their very existence will be jeopardized.

V

That such a guarantee in respect of the sovereignty of the States as well as the foundational rights of the peoples of the States can not be expected from the present Government will be apparent from a perusal of the Butler Committee's Report. The attitude of the present Government can be summarized in one sentence from the Report itself. It is: "Paramountcy must remain paramount." Indeed as one reads the report through, one rises with the feeling that it has been a game of "Heads I win, tails you lose." The Princes must have by now realized that in insisting upon their treaty rights and soliciting for an enquiry committee they have fallen into the trap they unconsciously laid for themselves. To join a federation for the whole of India, will be the greatest act of statesmanship on their part. There is no question of forcing them into subordination. The union will depend upon mutual consent and will be far more honourable than the position they now occupy under an irresponsible foreign office at Simla, a position which the Princes themselves are complaining against.



The Last Days of Rajah Rammohun Roy

(Mainly based on State Records)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

RAMMOHUN AND HIS PARTY SAIL FOR ENGLAND

WHEN early in October, 1830 Rajah Rammohun Roy's intention of going to Europe by sea was made known, the matter became the talk of every household,—such was the sensation it created among his countrymen! He was the first Bengali Brahman and the first Hindu of eminence who dared to cross the *Kalapani*—an insuperable barrier imposed by old Hindu custom and superstition on our freedom of movement.

Rammohun, then about 56 years of age, sailed from Calcutta on the 15th* of November 1830 in the *Albion*, bound for Liverpool. We find in the Orders for his Reception on Board the ship, preserved in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, that he was accompanied by Sheik Buxoo, Ramrutton Mookerjee and Hurichurn Doss,† while the biographers and even the Funeral Document of Rammohun give the names of his attendants as Rajaram (his adopted son), Ramrutton Mookerjee (cook), and Ramhari Das (servant). This discrepancy in their names is explained by the fact that the Rajah re-named these attendants after his own name, *Ram*.§

THE OBJECTS PURSUED BY HIM IN ENGLAND

The Rajah landed at Liverpool on 8th April, 1831. His stay there was, however, of short duration, as he had to leave for London in very great haste. The object of his visit to London is explained in the

following letter from the celebrated William Roscoe to Lord Brougham :



Rajah Rammohun Ray

"Amongst the many and important motives which have induced him to leave his country and connections, and visit this island, I understand he is induced to hope he may be of some assistance in promoting the cause of the natives of India in the great debate which must ere long take place here, respecting the Charter of the East India Company. One great reason, as I understand, for his haste to leave this for London, is to be present to witness the great measure that will be taken by your Lordship and your illustrious colleagues for promoting the long wished-for reform of his native country. I will not trouble you further than to request, that, if it should not be inconsistent with your Lordship's station and convenience, you would obtain for our distinguished visitor the benefit of a seat under the gallery in the House of Commons, on the debate on the third reading of the Reform Bill."

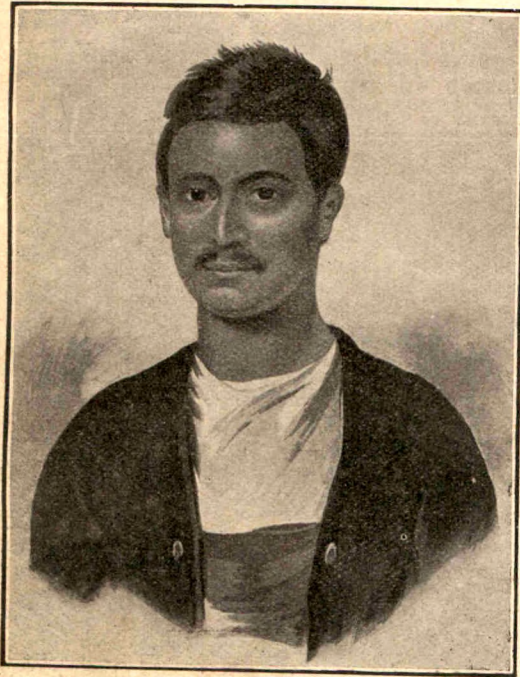
* The date supplied by Rammohun himself is 19th (see *Eng. Works*, ii. 9). It should be noted, however, that there is a letter of Rammohun dated the 19th November 1830 from Kedgerree (= Khijiri, at the mouth of the Hooghli) in his *English Works*, ii. 277. The date given in the text is taken from the shipping intelligence published in the *India Gazette* of Nov. 15, 1830.

† *Public Body Sheet*, 16th November, 1830.

§ Nanda Mohun Chatterjee's *Some Anecdotes from the Life of Rammohun Roy* (Bengali), 1881.

* Mary Carpenter, 2nd edn., pp. 65-66.

We learn from a Parliamentary Blue-book that "when Rammohun Roy made his first appearance in the streets of London, he was greeted with the cry of *Tippoo*, the mob apparently thinking that all who wore 'the shadowed livery of the burnished sun' were equally entitled to that name."*



Ramruton Mookerjee

Rammohun had an exciting time while in London, and the great objects which had brought him thither were one by one fulfilled.†

* *A Selection of Papers illustrative of the Character and Results of the Revenue Survey and Assessment which has been introduced into the North-West Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, since the year 1833 ; and, similar Return as to the Presidency of Bombay*, p. 454.

In this connection we find the following passage in the Editor's Note Book in the Jany.—March 1927 number of the *Bengal : Past and Present*, p. 74 :

"Bentham gave much thought to the affairs of India, and when Rammohun Roy came to England in 1831 advocated his return to Parliament. Max Muller, Monier Williams, Campbell the poet, and Lord Brougham were others who befriended the prospective candidate, whose hopes however must have been considerably dashed by the street boys shouting 'Tippoo' after him when he appeared in London in his Bengalee dress."

† See my monograph on *Rajah Rammohun Roy's Mission to England* (1926).

He had the satisfaction of being present when the appeal to the King in Council made by the orthodox Hindus against the abolition of the burning of Hindu widows was rejected (11 July, 1832). Even in England Rammohun's mind was deeply occupied in devising measures for the suppression of *sati*, for which he had done so much while in India, as we learn from the following passage :

"A letter from Thomas H. Villiers Esq. at the India Board dated the 2nd instant, [Sept., 1831], transmitting copy of a letter with an enclosure which has been addressed to him by Rammohun Roy on the subject of the Petition to the Privy Council from certain Hindoos against the Regulation of the Bengal Government abolishing the practice of *Sati*, and requesting that the Court will communicate with Rammohun Roy on the subject—being read

ORDERED that copies of the letter from Rammohun Roy to Mr. Villiers, and of its enclosure addressed to the Marquis of Lansdowne, be furnished to the Company's Law Officers, with reference to the instructions they have received on the subject of the Appeal to the King in Council against the Regulation prohibiting the practice of *Sati*, and that they be authorized to communicate with Rammohun Roy, should it appear to them to be expedient to do so in furtherance of those instructions."*

RAMMOHUN'S VISIT TO FRANCE

For twelve years Rammohun had been cherishing hopes of seeing France,— 'a country so favoured by nature and so richly adorned by the cultivation of the arts and sciences, and above all blessed by the possession of a free constitution,' as he rapturously describes it. He was now opposite its coast, and towards the close of 1831 he made his final preparations for the long-deferred visit. But, to his chagrin, he was informed that for a foreign visitor it was necessary first to obtain a passport from the French Ambassador in London, who before granting it, must be furnished with a full account of the applicant. Rammohun's mind at once revolted against these restrictions. 'Such a regulation,' he held, 'was quite unknown even among the Nations of Asia

* *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence*, dated 14th September, 1831, vol. 14, (India Office Records).

(though extremely hostile to each other from religious prejudices and political dissensions), with the exception of China,' and he was 'quite at a loss to conceive how it should exist among a people so famed as the French are for courtesy and liberality in all other matters.' The correspondence which passed between him and the Board of Control and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, in this connection, leads us to believe that he anticipated the principle underlying the League of Nations, with its International Court of Justice.*

In the autumn of 1832 Rammohun was, however, able to make his intended journey to France, 'where he was received with the highest consideration. Literary, as well as political men, strove to testify their respect for their extraordinary guest. He was introduced to Louis Philippe, with whom he had the honour of dining more than once, and our Brahmin spoke in warm terms of the King's condescension and kindness.†

Garcin de Tassy, a well-known French writer of those days, records that he had the advantage of seeing that remarkable man (Rammohun Roy) during his sojourn in Paris and received from him many letters in Hindustani and in English. We also learn from this source that Rammohun came to France in the autumn of the year 1832 and returned to England in January, 1833. §

We are informed on the authority of Sandford Arnot, the Rajah's secretary in England, that after Rammohun's return from Paris, both his "mind and body seemed losing their tone and vigour."

* This correspondence has been published by me in the *Modern Review* for November, 1928 (pp. 466-68).

† "Ram Mohun Roy"—*Asiatic Journal*, Sep.-Dec. 1833, p. 207.

§ Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*. (1839), tome i. 413-17.

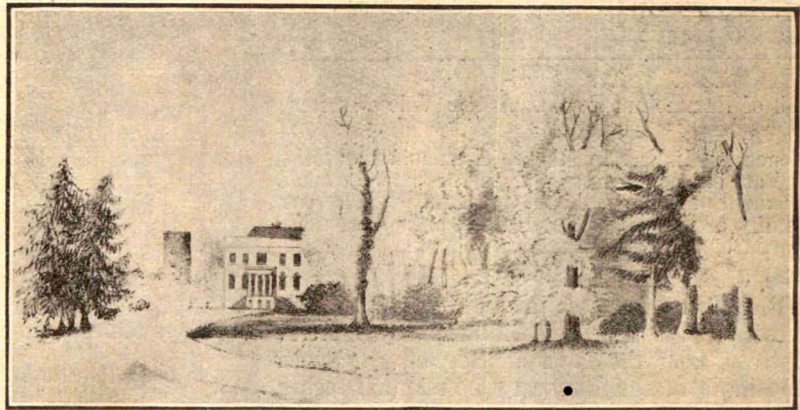
In an *Appendix* to Garcin de Tassy's *Rudiments de la Langue Hindoustani*, published in 1833, there are twenty-one original Hindustani letters from various authors, one of whom is Rammohun Roy. (Miss Collet's *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, 2nd ed., p. 211.

THE DEATH OF RAMMOHUN

After his return from Paris Rammohun stayed with John and Joseph Hare—the brothers of David Hare who was one of his old comrades in Calcutta, in their hospitable mansion in Bedford Square. Early in September, 1833 he went to Stapleton Grove near Bristol, to spend a few days with his Unitarian friends; but, alas, he died there on 27th September 1833 only a fortnight after his arrival.*

We learn from the diary of the mother of Mr. Estlin that :

"Soon after the Rajah's decease, it became a subject of deep interest *how* and *where* he should be interred. Miss Castle, and her aunt, Miss Kiddell, wished to have him deposited in their family vault in Brunswick Square burying ground. But this Mr. Hare, his brother, and niece declared would be quite contrary to the Rajah's positive injunction, which was *to be buried apart from all others, not in a usual place of interment, nor with Christian observances*, fearing that if this injunction were not strictly complied with,



Stapleton Grove near Bristol

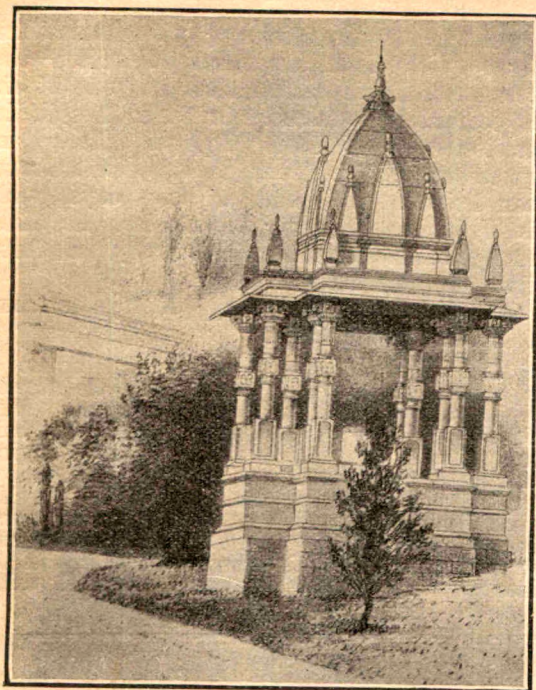
he should lose caste, and thereby deprive his sons of their inheritance, and lessen his own

* The following account of the Rajah's portraits appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*, Sep.-Dec. 1833, p. 209n :—

"The best portrait of him extant is a full-sized one by Briggs. It is a good picture as well as an admirable likeness; but the deceased always felt an accountable aversion to it. Perhaps it did not flatter him sufficiently in respect to complexion, a point on which he was very sensitive. There is also a miniature by Newton, and a bust by Clarke. Dr. Carpenter states that a cast for a bust was taken a few hours after his death."

The cast taken of the Rajah's head and face is now in the possession of Mr. S. M. Bose of Calcutta.

There is a coloured steel-engraving in J. C.



Tomb of Rammohun Roy, at Arno's Vale Cemetery

influence in India. In these circumstances Miss Castle at once offered a place in her grounds well suited to the solemn purpose, which was gratefully accepted by Mr. Hares, and thoroughly approved by her guardians and relatives." *

On the 18th of October, at about 2 P. M. the Rajah was interred in silence and without ceremony, in a spot, surrounded by shrubs and trees, near the lawn at Stapleton Grove. A facsimile of the Funeral Document, bearing the signatures of those who witnessed the interment is given by Mary Carpenter in her book on the last days of the Rajah.

But Stapleton Grove was not to be the final resting-place of Rammohun.

Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, 3rd ed., 1841, Vol. III), a monochrome reproduction of which appears with my paper. This portrait is described as that "of Rammohun Roy, affording an example of very dark complexion in a Brahmin of undoubtedly pure race: a specimen of colour approaching to black in a tribe of the Indo-European stock." The steel-engraving forming the frontispiece to the 2nd London edition of the Rajah's *Precepts of Jesus* (1834), and the group painting depicting "The Trial of Col. Brereton," after the Bristol Riots in 1831, by Miss Rolinda Sharples, have already appeared in print in the September 1928 issue of this Review.

* Mary Carpenter's *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy*, (2nd ed.), p. 131.

"It was right that the public should have access to his grave, and should see a befitting monument erected over it. This could not be done at Stapleton Grove, which had now passed out of the Castle family. The Rajah's friend, the celebrated Dwarkanath Tagore, desired to pay this mark of respect to this memory, and it was therefore arranged that the case containing the coffin should be removed to the beautiful cemetery of Arno's Vale, near Bristol. This was suitably accomplished on the 29th of May 1843, and a handsome monument was erected in the spring of the year following by his friend." *

In 1872 the tomb was thoroughly repaired at the expense of the Rajah's executors, and an inscription carved on it, which gives the date of his birth as 1774. Time had played havoc with the Rajah's tomb and it was again in sad need of repair. An appeal was made some time ago for funds for this purpose. A sufficient amount having been collected for the repairs needed at present, the tomb has been repaired. But several thousand Rupees more would be required to form a permanent fund the interest of which would suffice for future periodical repairs.

CAUSES OF HIS PECUNIARY EMBARRASMENTS IN ENGLAND

Rammohun's last days were darkened by pecuniary difficulties, which are described in the following letter from Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the renowned Sanskrit scholar, to Ramcomul Sen three months after the death of Rammohun :

"In a letter I wrote to you I mentioned the death of Rammohun Roy. Since then I have seen Mr. Hare's brother, and had some conversation with him on the subject. Rammohun died of brain-fever; he had grown very stout, and looked full and flushed when I saw him. It was thought he had the liver, and his medical treatment was for that and not for determination to the head. It appears also that mental anxiety contributed to aggravate his complaint. He had become embarrassed for money, and was obliged to borrow of his friends here; in doing which he must have been exposed to much annoyance, as people in England would as soon part with their lives as their money. Then Mr. Sandford Arnot, whom he had employed as his Secretary, importuned him for the payment of large arrears which he called arrears of salary, and threatened Rammohun, if not paid, to do what he has done since his death, claim as his own writing all that Rammohun published in England.† In short, Rammohun got

* *Ibid.*, p. 160.

† Mr. Sandford Arnot was known to Rammohun while in India and had worked in connection with the *Calcutta Journal*. The Rajah made him his secretary upon his arrival in England and he remained at this post until a few months before Rammohun's death. In the biographical

Rajah Ram Roy - 48 Bedford Square
London
Ramrotun Mukerjee
Ramhurry Doss
G. Narayanaiah

Facsimile signatures of Rammohun's attendants

amongst a low, needy, unprincipled set of people, and found out his mistake, I suspect, when too late, which preyed upon his spirit and injured his

health. With all his defects, he was no common man, and his country may be proud of him." (21st Decr. 1833). †

sketch of Rammohun, published in the *Asiatic Journal* (Sep.-Dec. 1833, p. 209) an anonymous writer—evidently Mr. Arnot—suggested that 'the Rajah's literary work in England owed more than was generally supposed to his secretary's assistance'—"As he was exceedingly ambitious of literary fame, he took care, both in Europe and in India, to obtain the best assistance he could get, both European and native." Dr. Lant Carpenter replied to this charge in his *Review* (pp. 128-36), with some severity, as also did Mr. John Hare in the *Times* and other public prints. In a letter, dated 21st Nov. 1833, Mr. Arnot made a rejoinder (*Asiatic Journal*, Sep.-Dec. 1833, pp. 288-90) and remarked: "I did no more than I suppose every other secretary does; that is, ascertains from his principal what he wishes to say or prove on any given subject, receives a rough outline, and works it out in his own way, making as many points, and giving as much force of diction, as he can." He also made a similar claim of authorship with regard to the writings published in India by Rammohun under the pseudonyms of 'Ram Doss' and 'Shiva Prasad Surma', as well as to the Rajah's Memorial to the Supreme Court against the Press Ordinance of 1823.

Without hazarding an opinion on this controversial subject, I would only refer the reader to the petition made to Lord Minto by Rammohun in April 1809 (see *M. R.*, June, pp. 682-85). This is the first English composition of Rammohun yet known, and it shows that already at that age, when Arnot's name was not heard in this country, he had acquired ease, flexibility and purity in the use of that foreign language! Writing in 1817 Mr. Digby, who was intimately acquainted with Rammohun, remarks: "By perusing all my correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy." Such a man, in the full maturity of his powers, could hardly be in need of a man to write English for him.

Indeed, pecuniary embarrassment had much to do with the Rajah's untimely death, the cause of which, according to the *post mortem* examination held by Mr. Estlin, was found to be "fever producing great prostration of the vital powers, and accompanied by inflammation of the brain." Miss Collet is perhaps nearer the truth when she says (evidently on the authority of Dr. Wilson's letter, cited above) that "brain fever, brought on by financial and other worry, following on a life of intense mental activity, was thus the natural termination of the Rajah's career." To explain the cause of Rammohun's pecuniary embarrassment in his last days, Miss Collet, on the testimony of Nandakishor Bose (father of the celebrated Rajnarain Bose) states that Rammohun's sons in India 'neglected to send him money latterly.' (P. 221). I had doubts about the correctness of this statement, as I could not understand how an exceptionally shrewd and intelligent man like Rammohun could have made himself dependent for his expenses in England on the precarious remittances sent out from India by his sons! Fortunately, I have succeeded in obtaining some unpublished State-papers from the India Office which throw light on this doubtful point and help to supply the correct information.

In the Minutes of the Court of Directors, under date 8th May 1833, we find the following entry :

† Peary Chand Mittra's *Life of Dewan Ram-comul Sen* (1880), pp. 14-15.

"A letter from Rammohun Roy, dated the 8th instant, adverting to the failure of the House of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., his agents at Calcutta, and also to that of Messrs. Rickards, Mackintosh and Co., his agents in this country, representing the embarrassing situation in which he is placed by this circumstance and requesting to be informed whether the Court will enable him to proceed to India by the advance of a sum of money by way of loan to be repaid with interest ; or otherwise on such conditions as may be deemed proper."*

Geo. James Gordon and James Calder were the principal shareholders of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co. in Calcutta. In 1828 they got the name of their old friend, Dwarkanath Tagore, associated with the firm as one of its shareholders. Dwarkanath was a close friend of Rammohun, and Gordon ('a merchant of this firm') was a member of the Calcutta Unitarian Committee chiefly organized by Rammohun in September 1821. Hence, it was natural for Rammohun to open business connections with this concern, although we are not aware whether he had any proprietary share in it or not.

In reply to Rammohun's letter the Court of Directors on 16th May 1833 wanted to know the extent of the advance required to enable him to return to India, and the security he proposed to tender. †

Rammohun replied on the following day, stating that two or three thousand pounds was the advance he required at that time ; and that he had reason to hope that some of the Proprietors of East India Stock would stand security for the same.§

Distressed with monetary difficulties Rammohun sent a reminder to the Court of Directors, who, before considering his application, requested him to furnish them with certain particulars (27 June 1833).**

The following letter addressed by Rammohun from London to the Court of Directors on 23rd July, explains the situation clearly :

"In answer to your Secretary's letter of the 27th ultimo I beg leave to state that in consequence of the suspension of payment by the House of Messrs. Rickards Mackintosh & Co., my Agents in London, and the failure of Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. in Calcutta,

who were my Agents as well in general pecuniary transactions as in receiving my rents and managing my landed property, I found myself rather embarrassed and on the 8th of May last took the liberty of addressing you for a loan of money to enable me to proceed to India to manage my affairs there in person.

"Being requested by you on the 16th of that month to state the sum I then needed and to name the security, I had the honor to state to you on the day following that two or three thousand pounds would answer the purpose and that I had reason to hope that some of the Proprietors of East India Stock would stand security for the same. But from your Secretary's letter of the 27th ultimo I perceive that my reply was not sufficiently explicit in consequence of my having omitted to mention the sum precisely and the name of the security I intended to offer.

"Since my last address to your Secretary, dated the 24th of June I learnt from India that the Members of the House of Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. were permitted to establish a mercantile House, designated Messrs. Calder & Co., and the state of my affairs there would not, consequently, receive, in all probability, any serious injury from the want of Agency, though I could not expect a speedy supply from that quarter.

"To relieve myself from the present want, I, as a Native of India, naturally first look up to you in difficulty and feel less reluctance in applying to you than to others. Should you think it proper to afford me your assistance with a loan of £ 2,000, on my personal security, I shall gratefully repay the sum either within a year in this country or within three years in India from the day of the receipt of it"*

But the Court of Directors, in their letter dated 30th July 1833, declined to make the advance upon his personal security. †

It will be quite clear from the above correspondence what the actual factor which not only upset his mind but also hastened his end was. We cannot conceive of a more mournful picture than that of a great and good man—the greatest among his countrymen in his age—dying in a far-off foreign soil, dunned by his creditors and in imminent prospect of starvation, for no fault of his own, but the

* *Court Book*, Vol. 141, p. 87

† *Ibid.*, p. 87.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 327.

* *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 185, Part 3 (1833).

† *Court Book*, Vol. 141, p. 485.

dishonesty of the bankers whom he had trusted with his all.

RAJAH-RAM ROY

Ramrutton Mookerjee and Ramhari Das returned to their country shortly after the death of their master ; but Rajah-ram Roy did not accompany them. He came to London and was taken under protection by the Hares who, it appears, through the good offices of Sir John Hobhouse (President of the Board of Control), were able to secure for the young man an appointment as an extra clerk in the Board's office.* Full particulars of his employment will be found in the following Minutes of the Board of Control, copies of which I have obtained from the India Office, London.

1.

AUGUST 4TH, 1835.

The President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India has received an application on behalf of the son of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, who died in this country, requesting that the opportunity may be afforded him previously to his return to his native country of acquiring an insight into the mode in which the public business is transacted in England.

The President is desirous of complying with the young man's wishes, because he is of opinion that his usefulness as a servant of the Local Government, in which capacity he will most probably be hereafter employed, will be thereby materially increased, and because it cannot but have a beneficial effect on the Natives of India generally to shew them that [there] is every disposition on the part of the Supreme Authority to furnish them with the means and motives of rendering themselves capable of assisting, to a much greater extent than at present, in the administration of India.

The better course of attaining the end in view will, it is conceived, be to appoint Rajah-ram Roy, for one year, as an extra clerk at the Board of Control, with a salary of £ 100, to be charged among the contingencies of the office.

In reference, however, to the Board's Minutes of May 9 last, a copy of which has been furnished to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President deems it right to state the case to Mr. Spring Rice in order

that the arrangement may be made with his acquiescence.

Approved John C. Hobhouse.*
Spring Rice
Downing Street August 6, 1835.

2

India Board
August 4, 1835

The Board are pleased to appoint Rajah-ram Roy, son of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, to be an extra clerk on this Establishment for one year, with an allowance of £100 to be charged among the contingencies of the office.

John Hobhouse
Duncannon.†

3

India Board,
September 7, 1836.

My dear Sir,

You will I dare say remember that in August 1835, I proposed to employ as an extra clerk on this Establishment for one year. Rajah-ram Roy, a native of Hindoostan. I am now induced to recommend the continuance of his employment for another year, and as I doubt not that you will consent to this arrangement, I enclose a Minute of the Board, for your signature.

I remain
Rt. Hon'ble My dear Sir,
Thomas Spring Rice. Yours very faithfully,
John Hobhouse.‡

4

India Board,
September 6, 1836.

The Board in reference to their Minute of the 4th of August 1835 are pleased to continue the employment of Rajah-ram Roy for another year.

John Hobhouse,
T. Spring Rice.**

5

India Board
August 14, 1837

The Board in reference to their Minutes of the 4th of August 1835 and 6th of September 1836 are pleased to continue the employment of Rajah-ram Roy for another year.

J. C. Hobhouse
T. Spring Rice.††

6

India Board,
February 26, 1838.

Rajah-ram Roy, who on the 4th August 1835 was appointed as extra clerk on the

* *Minutes of the Board of Control, Vol. 6,* pp. 460-61.

† *Ibid.*, p. 462.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

** *Ibid.*, p. 486.

†† *Ibid.*, p. 490.

Establishment of this office for one year, which appointment has since been continued to the 4th of August next, having expressed a wish to return to India, the Board are pleased to allow him his salary up to the period, at which his appointment expires, and also to present him with a donation of £ 100 in consideration of his diligence in the discharge of his duties, and the circumstances under which he accompanied his father, Rammohun Roy, to this country and is now about to return to India.

John Hobhouse
T. Spring Rice.*

7

Downing Street,
Feb. 27, 1838.

My dear Gordon,

I return you the Minute respecting Rajah-ram Roy which I have had great pleasure in signing.

Truly yours,
T. Spring Rice.†

In Alexander's *East India Magazine* (July-

* *Ibid.*, p. 512.

† *Ibid.*, p. 513.

Dec. 1836, vol. 12, p. 568) appeared the following extract from the *Hurkaru* :

"We hear that the Court of Directors have refused to confirm the nomination to a Bengal writership by the President of the Board of Control, of the adopted son of the late respected Rammohun Roy : and that the refusal of the Court will be brought before Parliament."

Rajah-ram served the Board of Control for nearly three years (August 1835—Feby. 1838), and then left the shores of England for his native soil, (Apr 1, 1838). He reached India by the middle of August.* Particulars of his career, while in this country, are unknown, though rumour has it that he was made the Collector of Customs. In her *Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy*, published in 1866, Miss Carpenter tells us, "Rajah-ram Roy returned to India, and has since died."

* Extracts from the *India Gazette*, dated 13 August 1838—Supplement. Shipping Intelligence. Arrivals at Kedgerree. 11 August—English ship *Java*, [Captain] R. Jobling, from London, 27 April. Arrivals of Passengers—Per *Java* :—Rajah Ram Roy, son of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy.

The Romance of Gold Mining in the Mysore State

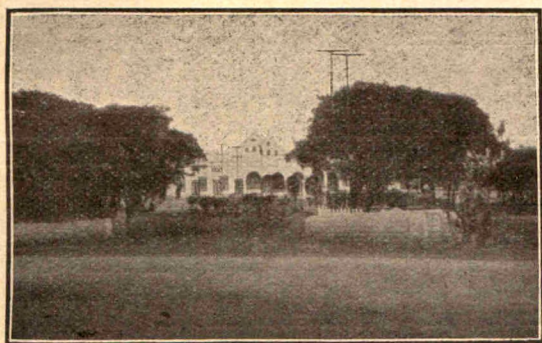
By ARTHUR R. SLATER

THERE is a Kanarese proverb that says that if gold is to be seen, even a corpse will open its mouth. The search for gold has always had a keen attraction, and the story of how, in various parts of the world, men have been prepared to undergo every possible kind of suffering, in order to obtain this precious metal, is one of the most romantic. The mining of gold in the Mysore State has not been associated with the hardships experienced in other fields, yet it nevertheless affords us incidents full of romance. Few who now visit the Kolar gold fields, with its up-to-date plant and its advanced social life, can imagine that a hundred years ago, the district was a wild, almost untrodden district. In a very few years the field has become one of the most prolific producers of gold, and it is believed that there are still many reefs that are undiscovered, but which will yield handsome

returns to the shareholders. Incidentally, while the mines have brought great wealth to the investors, the State of Mysore has also been greatly benefited in its revenues.

The beginnings of great industries are always full of interest, and before passing on to the actual processes that are carried out on this gold field, some reference must be made to the early attempts to capture the hidden wealth of this district. It is generally believed that men were led to discover gold here because grains of gold were found on the ears of the rice plants. An account of this tradition is given in one of the old records of the Mysore Government. It appears that one, Lieutenant John Warren, who was employed in surveying this part of the State in the year 1800, was told by a Brahmin that "in the prosperous years when the gods favoured the village with an ample harvest of rice, now and then grains of

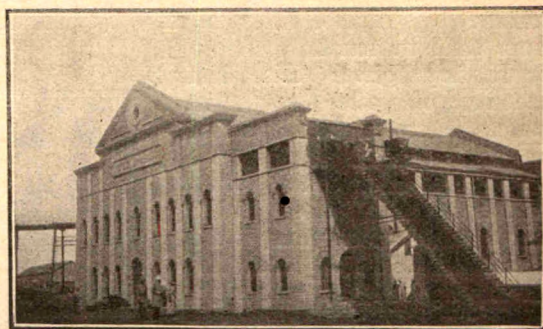
gold were found on the ears of the plants grown under the tank lying close to the village. The explanation is simple enough. The rice plants are usually grown in nurseries and transplanted in bunches of several plants, after which the fields are flooded. When there are heavy downfalls of rain the plants are often submerged. With the water no doubt came grains of gold which were deposited on the rice plants. As these grew the gold would naturally rise with them, and thus often be found adhering to the rough-coated grain." Being interested in the reports he heard, Lieutenant Warren visited



The Hospital on the Fields

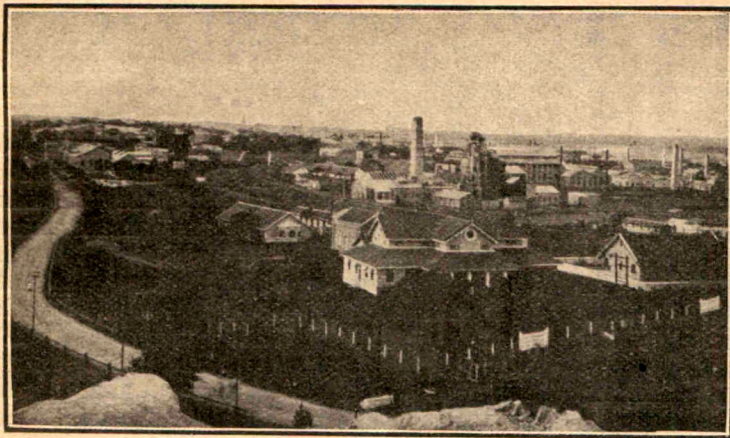
the places referred to, and he tells us what he found. "When the women of the village were assembled, and each being provided with a small broom and vaning basket and hollow board to receive the earth, they went to a jungle on the west of a village. Here they entered some small *nullahs*, or rather breaks in the ground, and removing the gravel with their hands, they swept the earth underneath into their vaning baskets, by the help of which they further cleared it of the smaller stones and threw it into the hollow board mentioned above. Having thus got enough earth together, they adjourned to a tank and placed the hollow boards containing the earth in the water, just deep enough for it to overflow when resting on the ground and no more. Then they stirred the earth with the hand, but keeping it over the centre of the board, so that the metal should fall into the depression by its own weight, and the earth wash over the edges. After a few minutes' stirring, they put the metallic matter thus freed of earth into a piece of broken pot, but only after examining it for

gold, which they did by inclining the board and passing water over the metallic sediment which adhered to it. They thus drove the light particles before the water, leaving the heavier metal behind just at the edge where it could easily be seen, however small the quantity." Nothing could be simpler or more primitive, but what he saw evidently impressed the survey officer, and he next inspected several places where small mines had been dug. He made a descent of one or two of these by means of small foot-holes which had been made in the sides of the mine. One mine was two feet in breadth and four feet in length with a depth of about thirty feet. Some of the other mines were about forty feet deep with a number of galleries. The miners passed the gold they extracted from hand to hand in baskets to the men stationed at different points for the purpose of banking the stones. It was the work of the women to take these stones to a large rock where they were pounded to dust. The same process already described was then followed in the treatment of this dust. It is also interesting to note how the Indian villagers organized themselves for the gold search in their district. "When they resolve on sinking a mine, they assemble to the



A Mill on the Kolar Gold Field

number of ten or twelve from different villages. Then they elect a *duffadar* or headman, to superintend the work, and sell the gold, and they subscribe money to buy lamp oil, and the necessary iron tools. Then partly from the knowledge of the ground, and partly from the ideas they have that the tract over which a peacock has been observed to fly and alight, is that of a vein of gold, they fix on a spot and begin to mine." Some of the native workings are still to be seen on



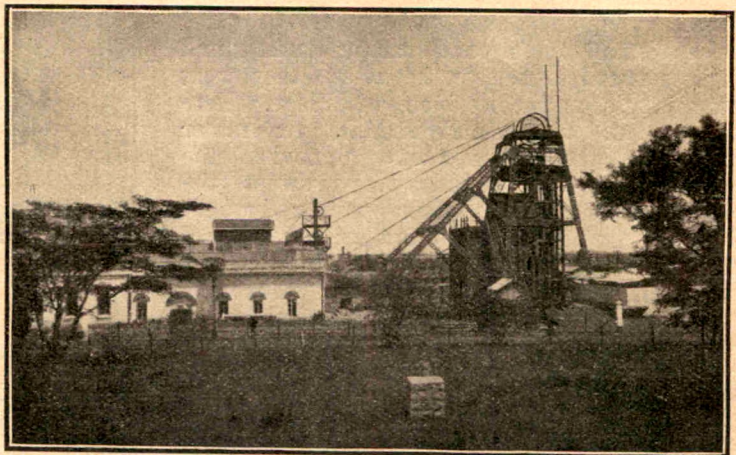
General View of the Kolar Gold Field

the field, and in the opinion of skilful miners, these primitive workers showed great knowledge and ability in their work. Some of the mines are about 260 feet deep, but for the most part these are now choked up. Large quantities of water were found, and it required continuous pumping by modern machinery to keep them clear. It is not known how the early workers managed, but it is supposed they conveyed it to the surface by earthenware buckets by passing from hand to hand.

Having given this brief account of the way in which these workers carried on their limited mining, we may now turn to the events that have made these fields among the famous ones of the world. In 1873 one Mr. Lavelle applied for the right to carry on mining operations in the Kolar district and the next year he entered into an agreement with the Government. He was given the right to mine for twenty years, and it was stipulated that a royalty of ten per cent on all metals and metallic ores should be given to the government. A small syndicate was formed and though the work was carried on for some time, it was later abandoned. But Mr. Lavelle was not without hope and the next year he succeeded in

getting a number of companies formed. In February 1883 the Nundidroog mine was ordered to be closed, and practically every company was on the point of collapse. When one recalls the marvellous dividends given by the Mysore Mining Company, it is interesting to remember that at this time, the works were almost closed down. In 1884 some ten or twelve thousand pounds of the subscribed capital was left and a meeting of the shareholders was called. Some were for closing down at once and dividing the balance of capital,

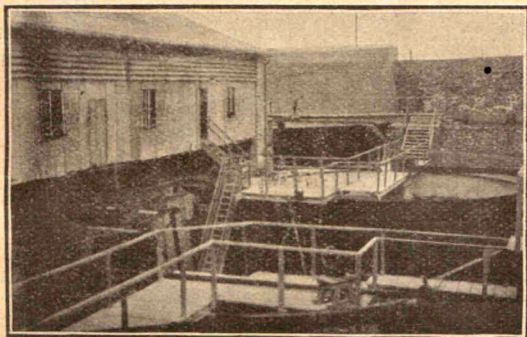
but Messers John Taylor advised them to hold on. Seldom has advice been so profitable. The ten shilling shares were then at ten pence, but within a very short time a change took place, and the value of the shares steadily rose until they could not be purchased under one hundred shillings. But apart from the direct gain to themselves, had the shareholders of this company not persevered, there is little doubt that all the other companies would have closed down, and that the industry would have been at an end.



One of the Fine Head-gears on the Field

Turning now to some account of the gold fields as they are at the present we find that the total length now covered by

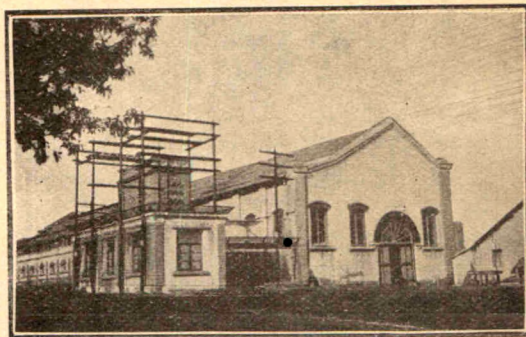
the mines is about seven miles, and the average width from two to three miles. The general appearance of the country all round is rocky and sterile, but the companies at work here have done much to improve the appearance of the area where the mines are situated. A long broad road has been cut out from one end of the field to the other, and this is always kept in splendid condition. There are smaller roads branching from the main roads to the bungalows, mines



The Cyanide Tank

etc. The bungalows of the officers are very well-built, and in most cases the inhabitants have spent considerable time in making gardens around them. These are in marked contrast to the surrounding country, and could only have been made possible by the bringing of large quantities of fresh soil from a distance. In many cases rocks had to be blown up to give the necessary depth. The gardens on these fields are indeed a credit to the people, and they do much to give relief to a district whose physical attractions are not many. The companies realized that the occupation of the field would be of considerable duration, and they wisely determined to house their men well and to introduce as many social amenities as possible. For many years no ladies were permitted to live on the field, but gradually, as the work developed, the officers were allowed to bring out their wives. In many ways this has transformed the whole aspect of life there, and instead of the roughnesses usually associated with mining life, we have a refinement and even suggestion of luxury that would surprise most visitors to Kolar for the first time. A fine club has been built, and in connection with it, arrangements have been made for tennis, golf, etc. The

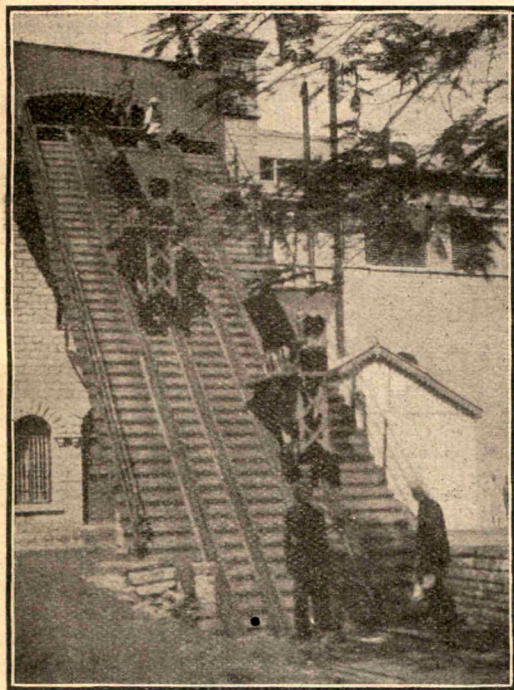
hospital is one of the best in South India, being manned by skilful British doctors, and provided with the latest surgical apparatus, no pains or expense being spared in the care and treatment of either European or Indian workmen. This expenditure has more than justified itself, for it helps to create that sense of confidence between the employers and the men that is so necessary in a work of this kind which involves considerable risk of life and limb. For the high wages obtainable, Indians are ready to risk the work underground, but they do so with full confidence that the authorities will use all care possible for the protection of their lives. While their interests in connection with their work are not neglected, the companies are not indifferent to their comfort above-ground. The provision made for the European workers is quite satisfactory, especially for those who are permitted to have their wives and families with them. The accommodation provided for the Indian labourers may not strike one as specially lavish, yet it does not fall behind the kind of house they would live in in their own districts. Perhaps something more might be done for the welfare of this section of their workers.



The Electrical Works

Without entering into details, a brief resume may be given of the general occurrence of gold on this important field. Dr. W. T. Smeeth, D. Sc., A. R. S. M. has written an interesting account of the subject, and the writer is indebted mainly to him for the following facts respecting the occurrence of gold here. The Main Champion Reef runs almost continuously through the Mysore, Champion Reef, Corgaum and Nundidroog mines. In places the quartz has been from 20 to 40 feet wide, but the average of the parts worked is probably between three or

four feet, while in places the lode is represented by mere stringers or veined schists. The quartz sometimes branches, and in several places there are one, or occasionally, parallel veins, from which a good deal of ore has been obtained. The veins strike north and south. The dip, or inclination, from the horizontal of the veins is to the west and is least in the Mysore mine, where it is about 45 degrees. In recent years, as the mines have been sunk deeper there has been a tendency to get steeper, so that at 4000 or 5000 feet on the underlie, the dips are from 50 to 60 degrees in the Mysore, and of



Taking Ore to the Mill

well over 70 degrees in the Champion Reef mine. The most important feature is the occurrence of the more valuable portions of the veins or shoots with intervening areas of quartz or lode matter, and the success of the Kolar gold field, is due to the fact that these shoots are of considerable size and value, and sufficiently numerous to permit of new discoveries being made before the old ones are exhausted." The steady progress of the mines is due not to the uniformity in the veins, as the distribution of the gold is uneven, but to the very

extensive exploratory work which is carried on far below the points where ore is being extracted, and which permits of work being planned several years ahead of the milling requirements. The existence of slides or faults cutting the veins has received much attention in recent years, particularly in Mysore and Champion Reef. . . . The auriferous veins lie in a narrow belt of hornblende schist. The auriferous veins are believed to be older than the gneiss which cuts off the schists on both sides and below, and will therefore be cut off along with the schists at some depth below. This depth represents the ultimate limit of the Kolar gold field and there is no reason to apprehend that it will be less than 10,000 to 15,000 feet from the surface."

These facts are important in view of the anxiety that has always been felt respecting gold mines, as to how long they will continue to produce. The experts say that work may be done to the level of 8,000 feet, and at the present rate of working there seems no likelihood that the ore will be worked out under thirty years. Yet there are many uncertainties, and a recent expert wrote : "The problem of the continuance of the Kolar gold field is, therefore, a speculative one, and in mining work the more unfavourable contingencies are wont to occur with undue frequency. However, it is opined that the Kolar gold fields should continue for another twenty or thirty years at least, with a probable diminution of output in the later years."

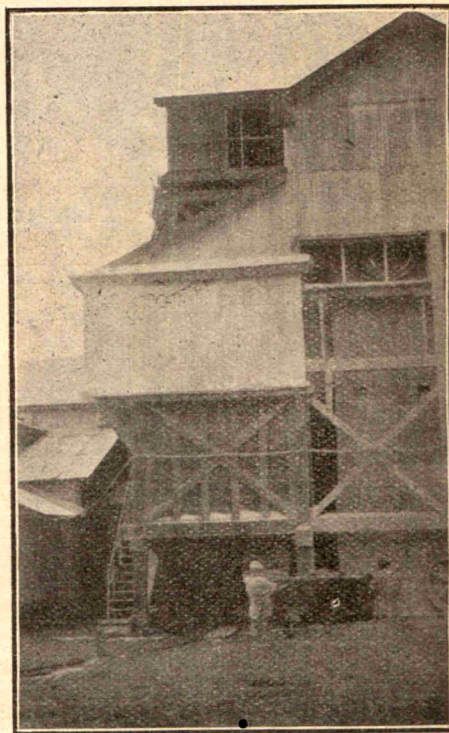
We turn now to the actual mining work. While there is great similarity in the methods adopted in most mining fields, it may be said of this field in particular, that the companies are keen to be abreast of every modern improvement, and their plant will probably compare favourably with that of any other mining fields in the world. The head-gears are built on the latest type, the underground machinery is mainly electrical, most of the surface work is done by the electricity supplied by the great electrical works at Sivasamudram, and though there are differences in the various mines, some following more antiquated methods than others. On the whole, it may be said, that the plant is modern and adequate. The ore is worked and sent to the surface in lifts, and immediately sorted and broken up into workable sizes. In some cases the sorting is done by arrangements in the head-gear,

whereby the ore is passed through various grids and the waste rock eliminated. By this process about 18 per cent of the total ore is rejected. The ores then go into the rock-breakers, ingenious machines by which the rock is ground small by means of a stone pillar which exerts a great pressure on the side of the containing case. The broken ore is next passed on to the stamping mills where it is pounded with water into a fine sand. The fine sand and the water are pressed through wire screens having about a thousand holes to the inch. It passes over flat tables covered with sheet copper on which mercury is spread in a fine layer. The fine particles of gold adhere to the mercury, and form with it an amalgam of gold and mercury. The amalgam is scraped from the plates at intervals, and folded in a piece of wash leather. This is then pressed and the excess of mercury is forced through the leather leaving behind the hard ball of amalgam which contains about 50 per cent of gold. These balls are heated in retorts. The mercury is driven off, and the substance known as "sponge gold" remains. Further treatment is given which transforms it into pure gold ready for export to the mints.

The greater part of the gold is recovered in this way, but there still remains a considerable quantity in the liquid which has passed over the tables. It is estimated that some 3 drams per ton has not been caught in those tables. The liquid is, therefore, subjected to another treatment, that of cyanide of potassium. There have been several developments in this treatment, and it is now so perfect that only the tiniest percentage is missed. There is room for improvement in the cost of these later processes, but modern applied science now enables the worker to get practically all the gold brought to the surface. The sand in the liquid are divided into three classes, impalpably fine slimes, fine sand; and coarse sand. The coarse sand receives further treatment in a revolving tube which grinds it into a very fine powder. This then returns to the separator and is divided into slimes and fine sand, the first two divisions. The fine sand is placed into large vats, each holding one or two hundred tons. The bottom of the vat is covered with canvas filter cloth. Cyanide is run into the mixture and gradually the gold is dissolved. The solution is drawn off through the filter bottom and water is run in to wash out all the gold solution from the sand. The sand is

removed and thrown on the dumps. The gold-bearing solution is passed through long boxes containing zinc shavings which cause the gold to be precipitated in the form of a black powder. The black powder, mixed with zinc shavings is removed from time to time, treated with acid to dissolve the remaining zinc, and melted in crucibles with some fluxes. The molten gold is now ready.

The slimes are also treated by a special



Where the Ore is Crushed

plant which has not been in use very long. This process is thus described: 'The slimes are so fine that the solution could not be filtered through them in percolation vats such as are used for sand. They are, therefore, mixed with cyanide solution, and agitated to secure complete solution of gold, and the mixture of slime and solution is forced or allowed to flow into large rectangular iron tanks, in which a great number of filter leaves are suspended. Each leaf consists of a large flat frame, covered on the back and front with filter cloth. A pipe leading from the interior of the leaf, between the two cloths, is connected to a reservoir in which a fairly

high vacuum is maintained. The tap is opened, connecting each leaf with the vacuum and the solution is sucked through the filtered cloth, while the suspend slime gradually forms a cake, one or two inches thick, on the outsides of the filtered cloths. The operation is then stopped, the tank emptied and filled with water to wash the cakes, again emptied and the cakes detached and sent to the waste dumps. The filter is then ready for another charge. The solutions drawn off through the filter leaves go to zinc boxes and the gold

is recovered just as in the sand treatment." The discovery of this method of dealing with the slime has worked wonders and has now made it a paying proposition to deal with the ten million tons of cyanide dumps.

We have briefly traced the main features of the Kolar gold fields, but much might be said of many aspects of life and work there we have not space to refer to. Kolar gold field is certainly one of the most interesting places in India, and among the goldfields of the world it takes a high place.

The Cave Adullam

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

1

THE angel Gabriel was getting rather old ; perhaps that is wrong, for angels never get old and time passes them by. It may be that he was getting a little worried, for his tours of inspection kept him always on the move, and his former angelic temper was sometimes on edge.

Men think that Gabriel is sent down only to the earth on odd jobs, but there are millions of such earths and the angel's round is much bigger than a policeman's beat. He was peering a bit and saying to a minor angel standing by, "I can't possibly remember all the places I have to see, and goodness knows where I have got to go next."

The minor angel was respectful but brainy, and he had a sudden brain-wave. "Look here, Governor," he said, "one is apt to forget if he has a lot of engagements. Why not keep a Lett's Diary, large size ? That would save all worry."

Gabriel shook his head. "It is never done," he said.

"Or a *Vade mecum* ?"

"What's that ? Don't talk in riddles."

"It is only a big note-book that you carry with you. There could be a nice alphabetical arrangement with names of places and all that would be necessary would be to tick off the name with a gold pencil after you have inspected the place."

"That won't help me a bit just now. What is bothering me just now is the name of the next place I have to visit. I can't remember it for the life of me."

"What is the place you inspected last ?"

"I was at Venus and she led me a pretty dance. The most frivolous place I have seen and I have seen some few."

"Then the next place must be the Earth."

"Right." Instead of clapping his hands Gabriel fluttered his feathers. "I have no idea when I was there last."

The minor angel sighed. "We are frightfully old-fashioned," he said ; "we don't keep watches and there's not even a grandfather's clock to be found anywhere, and we never know the passing of time. There's no denying we are a back number."

Gabriel lifted his brow in warning. "Don't be disgruntled, my son,"—his voice was grave as he spoke—"unless you are in a hurry to join the fallen angels."

Gabriel, 'the hero of God,' shook his wings, spread them and flew away.

2

Plumb down from the high-domed Empyrean and the higher ether shot the Archangel, flashing through spacelike a streak of white and gold. Down the Milky Way and past many suns and stars rushed Gabriel like a vision of light until he saw

the Earth below him with its large, smooth surfaces of water and the mountains looking like bulging protuberances on the stretches of plains. Coming closer and entering the earth's atmosphere he was much surprised to see what looked like huge birds with rigid, outspread wings that neither moved nor flapped. Approaching nearer he heard a loud droning sound proceeding from the bird-like creature as if it were in an agony of pain. Much intrigued the Archangel quickly overtook the noisy bird, and was startled to hear a human voice shouting out urgently, "Have a care! Keep clear or you will foul the machine and that will mean death for all of us!"

Gabriel poised himself in the air over the flying thing and saw that where there should have been the beak of the bird there was a man sitting, wearing a curious dress of leather and vigorously manipulating a stick in his hand. Had men also become angels that they were flying through the air? Or was it some unknown bird that the man had mounted and the bird was groaning under the man's heavy weight? As the shortest way out of his perplexity Gabriel landed lightly beside the pilot and peered at his protruding goggles.

The man gasped. "What the devil—"

But he never got beyond that word. The Archangel lifted his forefinger and his face became terrible. "Don't mention that name," he said in a voice more awful than that of a judge with the black cap on his head, "he has been the undoing of your race."

The man was completely flabbergasted. "By Jove!" he muttered.

Again he was interrupted, but this time it was in another voice and the face of the speaker had cleared.

"Don't take that name in vain."

The man was dumbfounded. For several seconds he spoke no other word and stared speechlessly at his strange visitor through his ugly glasses. After some time he ventured to ask without any expletives, "Are you also an aviator? Then where is your machine?"

This time it was the man who scored, for the Archangel did not understand a word, though he suspected the man was not quite right in the head. For some time the two were at cross purposes, but at length Gabriel found out that the man was flying in some contrivance made by the hands of man, some monster that had no life but droned and

groaned and rattled like a living thing. He had a grave suspicion that it was some wicked instrument designed by the Evil One, whose name the man had so readily taken immediately on setting his eyes on his heavenly visitor.

While the two were trying to understand each other the man suddenly hopped a question, "May I ask who you are? You haven't come on board in the regular way, but you are a passenger all the same and I must trouble you for your name. You will have to pay a pound for this joy ride."

"I am the Archangel Gabriel," answered the visitor with simple veracity.

That was the last straw and the man nearly broke down under it. Here was an escaped lunatic sitting by his side and calmly announcing himself as the Archangel Gabriel! He might next take it into his head to make an angel of the man by pushing him over the machine and hurling him down into eternity! The pilot spoke no other word but shut off his engine and volplaned swiftly down to the ground and safety.

Before the aeroplane landed Gabriel flew out and faded out of sight.

3

For an angel to be seen in the company of men in the full panoply of feathers and the radiance of his cherub face was very awkward, and so Gabriel became as other men and found himself strolling in the streets of a big city. He was trying to recall the last time he was on Earth. He found everything utterly and bewilderingly changed. Where were those splendid and stately men of yore, with their flowing robes and flowing beards, their leisurely and dignified movements, the calm, keen eyes, the slow, deliberate speech? Where were those queenly women with ample garments, the swinging grace of their lithe and supple limbs, the gait of swans and the wealth and glory of their hair, the brightness of their eyes? Here were men with smooth lips and chins, wearing tight fitting dresses like rope-dancers, and rushing about like mad in all directions. The women had cut off their hair and also their skirts near the knees, and with their flat bodies and thin legs looked like gawky and graceless boys. They had painted their lips and faces, they were giggling and they had lost all the attractiveness of their sex. The world had certainly changed, but had it changed for the better?

While he was staring hard at all that he saw some one violently collided with Gabriel. Now, one cannot run with impunity into an angel even if he happens to look like other men. The man was hurled down to the ground by the mere shock, and picked himself up, fuming and blustering.

"This man has knocked me down," he shouted.

"Nothing of the kind," said a passer-by and a witness of what had happened. "He did not lift a finger against you. You stumbled against him like a blind man and fell down."

A large hand fell not very lightly on Gabriel's shoulder, and a gruff voice at his ear said. "Now then, move on. You cannot stand in the street and obstruct the traffic."

The Archangel turned round and saw a large and portly figure with a helmeted head, a rotund and rubicund face and a ponderous paunch. It was the policeman on duty.

Gabriel moved on. Fresh surprises met him at every step. What had become of the magnificent chariots of other days, the prancing and proud steeds, the graceful and gallant driver, the brave or fair rider? Here were rushing cars, not like the car of Juggernaut, but the step-brothers of the groaning things in the sky. Further on he found his way barred by spiked iron railings. Inside were laid shining rails of iron and over these came thundering and shrieking a huge monster, with large red eyes of wrath and emitting dense, black clouds of smoke, and dragging behind it a number of wooden boxes on wheels in which a large number of men and women were shut up. Horrified, the Archangel turned to a bystander and asked, "Is that a new dragon that devours human beings?"

The man turned in great astonishment and took Gabriel's measure from head to foot. Next he tapped his forehead and said quizzically, "Gone loony, my friend?" Then he burst out laughing, slapped his thighs, slapped Gabriel on the back and burst out, "I'll be hanged if that isn't the best joke I have heard in my life!"

After some parley Gabriel understood that this new monster belonged to the same family as those he had seen in the sky and on the streets.

Some time later the Archangel found himself by the seaside. There was a wide, wet and spongy beach along which stood an immense concourse of people in a state of

frantic excitement. Presently a cheer was raised and a long, low machine like those Gabriel had seen in the streets, but much bigger and slim as a greyhound raced past like a flash of lightning.

"What's that?" asked Gabriel of a man standing near him.

"That's Captain Samson," replied the man, with evident pride. "He's going to break the record for racing speed."

"He's more likely to break his neck than anything else," rejoined Gabriel dryly.

As he said so the accident happened. The machine suddenly swerved, struck a heap of sand, leaped high up into the air, turned turtle and fell heavily at a considerable distance. Two of the spectators who had no time to get out of the way were struck and immediately killed, the man at the wheel was pinned down under the machine which burst out into flames. The crowd stampeded in all directions and there was an end of the record-breaker.

4

In his wanderings the Archangel noticed that whereas in other times men spoke of the devil rarely and with reluctance they now invoked him quite familiarly and frequently. The first man he had seen in the air opened the conversation by mentioning the Wicked One, and people spoke of him everywhere without any hesitation. A man said, "Go to the devil" as easily as he might say Jack Robinson. People called him by various names. They called him the deuce, Old Nick and sundry other familiar names. The cloven hoof was visible everywhere though often concealed under very becoming footwear. The Archangel perceived the devil's ingenuity in many inventions of which men were so proud. One day he heard the sound of singing proceeding from a shop. He quietly stepped in but saw no singer. Instead, there was a little box from which came the singing. There was a revolving disc which was changed from time to time and fresh voices were heard every time. For an angel there was no novelty in hearing a disembodied voice, but was it lawful for men to do what was done in ancient times by higher agencies? He made inquiries saying he was a stranger from a distant land and it was explained to him that the voices he heard were of either living or dead persons and there was a mechanical invention by which voices could

be detached and preserved, and reproduced at pleasure.

There were other people listening to the gramophone and one of them, noticing the simplicity and ignorance of Gabriel and thinking him fair game, attached himself to him like a limpet. He passed his arm through Gabriel's and led him out into the street. "You are evidently a stranger here," he said affably, "and as I have nothing particular to do just now I shall be glad to show you around."

"I can find my way by myself," said Gabriel modestly.

"And you will be snapped up by a shark in no time."

"Shark?" The visitor was puzzled. "Sharks are found only in the sea."

"My dear man, have you never heard of landsharks? They will strip you bare and even your return railway ticket will be gone."

Gabriel had neither a railway ticket nor a purse, but he kept his own counsel and said nothing.

The man became more friendly and confidential, and said, "Come along up somewhere for a spot of lunch."

Angels neither lunch nor dine, but Gabriel was becoming wary and had no thought of giving himself away. He merely said, "I am not hungry."

"But it is time for luncheon and I am hungry enough for two."

Gabriel was taken unprotesting to a fine restaurant. The man made a hearty meal, but Gabriel touched nothing. When the bill was brought the man pushed it over to Gabriel to pay. Gabriel had no money, but he was becoming diplomatic. "I am a foreigner," he quietly observed, "Let me see what your money is like."

The man took out a gold coin and held it out. Gabriel took it, turned it in his fingers and looked at it, and then returned it to the man. He then stretched out his empty hand, closed it and put down on the table a handful of glittering new gold coins like the one shown to him. The man's astonishment knew no bounds. He took one of the coins, weighed it on his fingers, rang it and bit it, and satisfied himself that it was a perfectly genuine coin. Then he declared emphatically, "It is the devil's own trick and you are not the greenhorn I fancied you to be."

Gabriel spoke slowly. "He seems to be

pretty well known round about here, but I hold no commerce with him."

After paying the bill the man was about to hand back the balance, but Gabriel waved him back and told him to keep the money.

The man stuck to Gabriel and took him round to show him the sights of the city. In the evening he said, "Let us go and see a picture show."

"What's that?" asked the Archangel, who found that the world had strangely changed since he had last seen it.

"It's a cinema. Let's go to the Follies where they are showing some pretty films."

At the ticket office the man asked Gabriel for more money to buy tickets, but Gabriel merely said, "I have no more money. I gave you all I had."

Waiting for a more suitable opportunity to pluck his pigeon the man bought two tickets for the stalls and took Gabriel inside. There was a big crowd of men and women, the men hilarious and boisterous, the women scantily clad and simpering and tittering all the while. The man made his way to where a woman, gorgeously but sparsely attired and beautiful with a bold and brazen beauty, was sitting fanning herself with a fan of peacock's feathers. The man greeted her effusively. "You are looking ravishing to-night, Helen. Meet my friend here. By the way, I haven't yet asked for your name", he added, turning to Gabriel.

"My name is Gabriel," said the Archangel with his simple directness.

"That's a beautiful name," said the woman. "It is the name of an angel." She motioned to him to sit by her side, while one or two meaning looks were exchanged between her and the man.

The electric lights went out and the hall was plunged into darkness. On the white screen in front of them moved animated shadows, large as life.

Gabriel was astonished. "Have these shadows come up from Hades?" he asked.

The woman was amused and tapped Gabriel playfully with her fan. "You are wonderfully fresh," she whispered. "Have you never seen a film before?"

"No," answered Gabriel, and watched the moving shadows on the screen.

It was an outrageous play. It was all caveman and Sheik stuff. There was an entire absence of delicacy and modesty. The dances, the love scenes, the promiscuity of

the whole thing were revolting. It was Satan's own saturnalia.

Whenever the scene was particularly objectionable the woman leaned forward and whispered in Gabriel's ear, "That's charming. Don't you think so?"

Gabriel said nothing. He was shocked by what he saw. The woman did not move him for he was of the angels of God in heaven where they neither marry nor are given in marriage.

"When they came out the man said, 'Gabriel, play the magician and get some more money, for we must have dinner and shall then go to a dance.'"

Gabriel was nowhere to be seen. The man and woman stared at each other in dismay. The man swore. "It must be the devil himself," he said; "he caught a handful of gold in the air and now he himself has vanished into thin air."

The woman laughed. "More likely he is the angel Gabriel himself. He never said what his other name was."

5

The Archangel was sick at heart. God had made man in his image and after his likeness, and surely man was born to a higher destiny than to be wallowing in filth and corruption. The Devil had certainly been busy on earth and had set up his own kingdom.

Instead of these pornographs and scenes of unholy mirth it would be preferable to see the shadier side of the world of men, the phases of distress and discontent. Suddenly, he bethought himself of the Cave Adullam. He had seen it on the last occasion he had visited this planet. That was when David had fled from the face of Saul the King, and escaped to the cave. And the Archangel set his face to the east.

When David went into the cave, 'his brethren and all his father's house heard it, and they went down thither to him.'

They were followed by others. "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him: and he became a captain over them: and there were with him about four hundred men."

It is so written in the First Book of Samuel. The way to the cave lay through a dark forest and the way was rugged over

stones and boulders; and there were pits and hollows that brought the unwary to grief. The entrance to the cave was low and dark and bats flew in and out at all hours of the day and night. But now it was all changed. The path was broad and smooth, and the roadside was lined by broad-leaved sycamores, maple trees and cedars of Lebanon, and the entrance was wide and large and high, and lighted up by electricity. Two sentries stood guard on either side with rifles and fixed bayonets.

As Gabriel came up, he was sharply challenged and brought to a halt. He explained that he was a visitor but was told that no one could pass in without the password and a permit. For answer the Archangel assumed his own resplendent shape and the sentries fell back with a cry of dismay. Gabriel quietly slipped in and again looked as other men.

Inside also the cave was unrecognisable. There were large, vaulted chambers and the floor was of polished stone, reflecting the mellow light of the shaded electric lamps. Apartment after apartment disclosed itself to the visitor. David was captain over four hundred malcontents, but here there was a multitude and its name was legion. There were different groups in the various chambers. Men were standing up or sitting on the beds, or squatting on the floor. In some rooms there was perfect silence and the inmates spoke no word; in others there was a Babel of voices and all seemed to be talking at their loudest. As Gabriel was passing through the rooms he was confronted by a smiling individual, short of stature and broad of girth, who had a curious habit of twitching his shoulders and winking his eyes constantly. He said, "I see you are a newcomer, what was the trouble with you?"

"I am merely a visitor," replied Gabriel.

The man wagged a chubby finger and twitched and winked in an alarming fashion. "Don't begin by trying to pull my legs. If you are a visitor, where is your badge? And visitors come in batches and we receive previous intimation of their coming."

"I am not a visitor of that kind. I come from another place."

"That I can see for myself, but don't try to pass yourself off as a visitor."

Another man, thin and tall and with a long beard, came up. He looked a question at the short man, who said, "Yes, he is a

newcomer. He wanted to make out he was a visitor."

"Let him have his little joke. Don't scare him to begin with." He beckoned to Gabriel, "Come along with me and don't mind some of these fellows."

As they moved along leisurely Gabriel asked, "Where's the captain? I should like to see him."

"Now, now," said the tall man in a soothing voice, "don't be in a hurry or you will be getting into trouble. Once you are in here you never know when you will get out and you have got all the years before you. Then, again, no one can say who is the captain for there may be a new captain every day. And usually you don't want to see the captain but it is the captain who wants to see you, and then it is by no means a pleasant interview."

"If I cannot see the captain," said Gabriel, "perhaps you may tell me what has brought all these people here, what are their grievances and how they spend their time."

"That's a very long story, my friend, and every man here has his own grievance. Instead of asking questions it will be better for you to tell me your own story and what has brought you here."

"I told you I am a visitor, though not of the kind you are accustomed to see. You better begin by telling me how you happen to be here."

"For a newcomer you seem to have a great deal of assurance. I think I shall take you to the captain, who will soon cure you of this habit of asking questions."

"I ask for nothing better."

The tall man led the way to an apartment richly furnished. On a divan lounged at ease a huge man who was eating nuts and diverting himself by pulling the ears of a large black cat purring by his side. He had a bloated, evil face and his eyes were sharp as gimlets. He looked up and said in a thick voice, "Who is this, and why do you bring him to me?"

The tall man answered, "He is a newcomer who pretends he is a visitor, and he has been putting all sorts of questions."

The gimlet eyes looked at Gabriel contemptuously. "Eb, inquisitive, are you? Well, what do you want to know?"

"When David was here before he became King of Judah he had a number of men with him, and they were either in distress

or in debt, or were discontented. What sort of people have you got here?"

The captain turned to the tall man in perplexity. "Of what is this fellow talking? Is he daft?"

"Not a bit. He merely pretends to be a superior person."

The captain fixed Gabriel with his eyes and asked, "Perhaps you will say you visited this cave in King David's time?"

"Of course. I saw David and Goliath and others before them. After that I haven't been here for a long time and I must say the world has sadly changed."

"Here's a philosopher and the Wandering Jew combined. We must begin by driving this nonsense out of your head and putting you a few questions on our own account."

After saying this the captain clapped his hands. Immediately two gigantic and ferocious-looking men, stripped to the waist, appeared.

"Put him to the question," said the captain, pointing to Gabriel.

"Which degree?" asked one of the men.

"The third, of course."

Even as the men put forth their hands to lay hold of Gabriel he was transfigured, and the glory of his countenance and the sheen of his wings dazzled and terrified the men who fell prone on their faces and the teeth of the captain chattered like castanets.

"Of a truth," said the Archangel in a voice which was terrible in its calm, "I have it in my mind to do unto you as was done unto Sodom and Gomorrah; they that destroyed those wicked cities were angels while I am the Archangel Gabriel, favoured of the Lord, and I have power over all things that He holds in the hollow of His hand. But I am come not to judge but to see, and I charge you straitly to tell me the truth and nothing but the truth, and do not prevaricate lest I lose patience and destroy ye all in my wrath."

The captain stuttered in his terror. "Nay, Lord, let our ignorance plead for us. Thou shalt have the whole truth as we know it."

The black cat was behaving strangely. It stood with arched spine and erect hair, spitting viciously, and as the Archangel turned his calm, penetrating eyes upon it it changed shape, a light, sulphureous smoke hung in the apartment, there was a peal of hideous, mocking laughter and the cat vanished.

"Ye have the Evil One here amongst ye and I saw thee petting him as a cat," said

Gabriel. The captain was apologetic. "How was I to know that the cat was an evil spirit?"

"Not an evil spirit but the chief of them all, the Prince of Darkness. I have found him holding high revelry outside and here he holds undisputed sway."

Gabriel again resumed the likeness of man and the men with him feared and wondered exceedingly.

6

Gabriel spoke to the captain, "It will be sufficient if you alone show me round. These others need not come."

At a sign from the captain the other men slunk away and he himself lumbered behind the Archangel like a whipped hound following its master.

In the next room they entered there were three men sitting round a table and one of them had an open book in his hand and was searching for something with his finger slowly passing down the lines.

"Who are you," asked Gabriel, "and what is the book you are reading?"

The man looked at him and the captain, and answered, "I was a member of the Government, but they relieved me of office and I have come away here in disgust. But I cannot give up the habits I then acquired. Some one here has invited me to dinner. The book I hold in my hand is the Warrant of Precedence and I am consulting it to find out the seat to which I am entitled at table."

"What does it matter where you sit? You hold office no longer."

"That does not matter. I must maintain my prestige."

The Archangel was puzzled. "There are so many things I do not understand. I never heard of prestige before. Since you have to maintain it has it anything to do with your wives?"

The man became indignant. "Am I a savage that I should have more than one wife?"

The Archangel stroked his chin and became thoughtful and reminiscent. "Solomon had seven hundred wives and he was not a savage. On the contrary, he was one of the wisest kings. But what is prestige?"

The man was still too indignant to speak but another man sitting at the table ventured an answer. "It is the secret that enables a handful of men to rule large kingdoms and empires."

"Ah! I see," said Gabriel quite satisfied, "it is magic. And you, who are you?"

"I want to get into the Government and they have banished me here."

"But the Government goes on?"

"It merely blunders on. Once I get in I shall set everything right."

"And they won't let you? But you," he turned to the third man, "what brings you here?"

"I don't want any Government at all. A Government is an anachronism. Sweep away all distinctions and all will be well."

"Dear me! All this is very interesting. In the multiplicity of counsels there is safety."

Gabriel, followed by the silent captain who cast fearful glances at the visitor, passed on to another room and he was surprised to see a big, stout man engaged in pulling a leather belt tight round his waist.

"What is this?" asked the visitor from heaven.

Without letting go the belt the man answered, "I was an aedile. I used to have evildoers bound and flogged. As no prisoners are now brought before me I practise a little discipline on myself."

And he pulled off the belt and struck himself a violent blow.

"But you are not an evildoer," said the astonished Archangel.

"That makes no difference," said the ex-aedile sententiously, "the force of habit is irresistible."

Gabriel hurriedly left that place and found himself in a small grotto fashioned like a round chamber in which there was a hard plank bed and three men were strapped down to it and lay at full length. The man in the middle said, "I never bargained for this and I insist on being released at once."

This man was clean and well-dressed but the other two men lying on either side of him were very different. One was a man with a flattened nose and a foul breath and nothing but foul words passed out of his lips. The other was slimy and cold like a reptile and he had the fixed, beady eyes of a snake, eyes that filled one with cold horror.

"You have strange bed fellows," observed Gabriel.

"This is my reward for offering to serve the people as I had served their masters," bitterly said the man in the middle.

"Do the Government and the people love one another?" asked Gabriel.

"No, they don't," replied the man.

"Well, then, you have to thank yourself for being placed in this position. He who serves the Government cannot serve the people."

7

After many twists and turns the cave opened into a wide space where there was sunlight and there were trees laden with flowers and fruits. The exit on this side was guarded like the entrance. Underneath the shade of the trees were gathered knots of people who were eating coarse bread with wry faces.

"These people," the captain said, respectfully addressing the Archangel, "were held in bondage under a despotic Government. They are now on their way to liberty and independence, but they are still discontented because the new country to which they are proceeding is not a land of plenty."

"This is not the first time such a thing has happened," said Gabriel and he approached the groups of men and women.

They were all sulky and grumbling. Gabriel went up to them and said, "my children, I come from a great distance and I am told the days of your bondage are over and you are on your way to a land of liberty. Surely this is a time for rejoicing and not for regrets."

"You say you come from a distant land," said a man near Gabriel. "Is this the kind of bread they eat there?" He held up the piece of bread he was munching. "This comes from the country for which we are bound."

"It is the bread of liberty and liberty is sweet."

"How can freedom be sweet when we shall miss the good things of the world?"

"You remind me of another people who lived under a hard rule in the house of bondage. They were sorely afflicted and cruelly beaten by the task-masters. At length they escaped from bondage; the sea parted to give them passage and closed over and overwhelmed their pursuers. Yet when they passed through the desert and the Lord showered manna to sustain them they lusted for the fleshpots of Egypt, forgetting their sufferings and humiliations and the evil days of their bondage. They wept and they said: 'Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick: But now

our soul is dried away: there is nothing at all, besides this manna, before our eyes.' Is that how you feel? Then you do not deserve the priceless possession of liberty. You should be thankful that you will be out of the way of temptation for wherever people live in luxury, wherever there is an abundance of what you call the good things of the world there is Satan's dominion. He still dangles the forbidden fruit before the covetous eyes of men and women and they stretch out eager hands for it."

Still the people were discontented. "We are willing to pay a reasonable price for liberty," they said, "but why should we deny ourselves the things that make life worth living?"

"There can be no real liberty until you can say like one who came down to save the world. Get thee behind me, Satan."

But these men looked at Gabriel without understanding and he left them with grief in his heart for their perversity.

As he passed on with the captain following behind he turned to this man and said, "And now, friend, tell me your own story, for I see your heart has been moved and you may yet find grace."

The captain wept and said, "I have lived an evil life. O messenger of the light, and there is no hope of saving my soul from the Enemy of our race."

"Nay, not so, my son, for the powers of Darkness can never overcome the children of Light. Blessed are they that repent for they shall enter the Kingdom of God."

The Archangel laid a light finger upon the bowed head of the captain who immediately felt that a great weight had been lifted from his soul. He prostrated himself in front of Gabriel and kissed the ground under the feet of the Archangel.

Gabriel lifted the man to his feet and said, "Render not to another the adoration due to One alone. The days of thy tribulation are at an end and thou shalt leave this cave and this world with me."

So they left the Cave Adullam behind and as they stood in sight of another city the Archangel became somewhat pensive and said, "Before we leave the Earth I feel there is something else for me to see. There must be somewhere an insidious organization carried on in the name of truth, but which is in reality the work of the Enemy of man for perverting the minds and ideas of men. Do you know of any such?"

"Do you mean the people who go about proclaiming that the truth is to be found in what is sordid and sinful, debasing and degrading and the real mirror of human nature is the one that reflects faithfully all the evil it contains?"

"Precisely I wish to see them at work and to talk to them."

"They are here in this city. You may see them at once."

They proceeded to a large house in the city. The exterior was very attractive and handsome, and they passed in unchallenged to a room in which some men were at work. These men had collected a number of hideous looking men and women whose faces were deeply marked by vice and the others were painting their likenesses, exaggerating all the repulsiveness in their features. In another room there was a collection of the scum of humanity, thieves and murderers, voluptuaries and sybarites, and some people were busy writing down their stories. One of these writers glanced up at Gabriel's companion and said,

"Hullo, Pharez, when did you get out? I have made you the hero, or is it the rogue—of my last book. Who is this you have brought with you?"

Gabriel answered for himself, "I am a stranger from a distant country."

"And what may you be seeking here?"

"I wish to learn what is happening in this part of the country."

The man raised his head proudly. "We are artists of the new school," he said, "we present things as they are."

"Is there nothing else except all this sin and misery?"

"We deal with realities and we leave the bright, imaginary things alone."

"Are they unreal, the things of gladness and light, the good that pervades God's

creation, the love that uplifts, the mercy that saves?"

"I see you are one of those old, canting, sentimental idealists who dreamed of a heaven and a host of angels, and were anxious to establish God's kingdom on earth."

"And you think they were wrong and you, traffickers in filth and retailers of wickedness, are right? Have you ever thought that you are doing Satan's work and not God's and the Evil One is sitting at your elbow, directing your hand and your head?"

The man burst out into mocking laughter. "I can almost hear the Preacher saying, Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man. But we have cast away fear and we dare to tell the truth."

"And what may be the truth, my poor, erring friend? Is all that we hear about God and his angels a mere myth?"

"It doesn't concern us, any way. All is not well with the world because God is in his heaven, and as for angels we see some pretty ones in skirts, but the winged variety is extinct if it ever existed."

"You think so?" smilingly asked Gabriel and he forthwith assumed his own shape. That radiant and glorious figure struck all the men dumb and the Archangel quietly passed out, Pharez the captain humbly following behind.

Standing in the open Gabriel said, "The Earth has fallen upon evil days for the Evil One has become very powerful. Yet the forces of righteousness will ultimately prevail. You have been snatched out of the vortex and you will soon reach the land of promise and the golden shore."

The Archangel laid his hand upon the head of Pharez, who passed into the oblivion that is death, and next to the resurrection which is life.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(31)

NEXT morning Mukti got up and found the house full of people. She was rather surprised. Something unusual must be happening, but she did not know what. Seeing a young girl before her, she asked curiously, "I say, what's the matter? Why such a crowd of visitors?"

The girl ran off with a shriek of laughter without answering her. Mukti felt still more amazed. As she was going to re-enter her room, her grandmother rushed up to her, saying: "Look here, Mukti, don't have anything to eat just now."

"What's come over you all?" asked Mukti. "This is a Hindu village no doubt. But I am only a visitor. So you need not make me observe all your fasts and festivals."

"No, no," said Mokshada rather flustered. "It is not a fast. But can't you humour an old woman for a bit? Do not take anything now, there's a dear."

"This is a strange place, this village of yours," said Mukti. "I see great preparations for a feast, and the guests too have arrived to do justice to it. You don't mean to say all these are being done to observe a fast?"

A few girls standing round them, tittered loudly. Mokshada did not know what to say. Mukti relieved her by walking into her room and sitting down to read. She felt a wave of laughter rocking the house. They had found her words very amusing.

Suddenly, there was a commotion outside the door. Mukti looked up and found a small crowd of girls and women, standing at her door, whispering and nudging each other. They wanted to say or do something evidently, but no one ventured to do it.

Mukti had got fed up with these women. She walked up to them, saying: "Out with it. Do you want anything from me? Why don't you speak out? I can understand Bengali very well."

The group of ladies stood silent for a minute. Then a young woman spoke. She was trying her best to choke back her laughter. "We are going to the village tank. So we came to see you", she said.

"But you know, I don't bathe in the tank," said Mukti, "So why come to me at all?"

The ladies laughed and moved off without any explanation. After nearly half an hour, they came back again, laughing and talking. They carried a pitcher full of water which they had covered with a yellow cloth.

Mukti could not restrain herself any longer. She came out of her room and asked, "What is on? Is it somebody's marriage? Why don't you tell me?"

"Don't you know anything about your own marriage?" cried one of the girls. "This is just like the proverb, 'The bride has forgotten about the wedding, but the neighbours are losing their sleep over it.'"

Mukti stared at them blankly. She failed to understand them. Perhaps the ladies would have been a bit more explicit, but a band struck up suddenly, and the fair crowd ran off, shouting, "the presents have arrived."

Mokshada kept away from Mukti, as she was a widow and could not show her face on any auspicious occasion. So Mukti remained completely mystified.

Some men and women, wearing coloured clothing and carrying baskets, trays and earthen pots on their head, began to pour into the yard. The womenfolk ran out in a body to welcome them and to inspect the presents. One lady rushed up to Mukti with a sari, dyed yellow, and thrust it into her hand. "Take off your Mem-Sahib's clothing and put this on," she directed. "We are going to put turmeric on you."

Mukti had been standing like one petrified up to this. But as the cloth touched her hand, she gave a start and moved off. The lady thrust it again into her hand, saying, "Why do you give it back? Take it and put it on."

Mukti flung the cloth away and said sharply, "Have you all gone mad? Why do you try to annoint me as a bride? What kind of a joke is this?"

The group of servants, who had entered with the presents, stared dumbfounded at her. A few elderly ladies rushed up to

Mukti and surrounded her. "What an amazing girl!" cried one. "Do you think marriage is a joke? You are not a baby. Why do you pretend to be ignorant of everything? Is not it a fact that a match has been arranged between you and Habla?"

Mukti thrust the ladies aside and started for her room. "No match has ever been arranged between myself and any Habla or Gabla," she cried and shut herself in.

A shout went up from the women of the house. "Oh dear, what a shame. What shall we do now?" cried everyone. The few who had retained any presence of mind, tried to take away the servants from the bridegroom's house. Others began to beat at Mukti's door and one enterprising female ran off shouting for Mokshada.

Soon the whole household including Shyamkishor and Mokshada came and stood before the closed door. Mokshada trembled in all her limbs. She knew well the obstinacy of her descendants. She had very little hope of making Mukti see reason. Was not she the daughter of Shiveswar?

"Open the door at once, Mukti," ordered Shyamkishor in an authoritative voice. "Such shamelessness is insufferable."

But he had to suffer it. The shameless girl remained silent within her refuge.

Mokshada pushed Shyamkishor aside. She had forgotten her fear of him in her present agony. "Mukti, my darling," she cried, beating at the door, "please open the door. If you behave like this now, we won't be able to show our faces before people any more."

"You are not fit to do so," came the reply from within, but the door remained shut as before.

For an hour, threats, rebukes and pleadings went on before the closed door, but with the same lack of success. Shyamkishor thought of breaking the door open, but the people from the bridegroom's house had not yet taken their departure. They were being told of various fictitious events, such as the sudden fainting fit that had overtaken the bride, etc. So he could not indulge in any heroics then. And how awful those servants were! They refused to budge for anything.

The excitement subsided a bit after a time and the family remembered it was time for baths and breakfasts. All their efforts had been unavailing. So one by one, they began to drift away from Mukti's door.

They wanted to strengthen themselves with food and drink for making a fresh effort. Even Shyamkishor was persuaded by his wife to go and have his breakfast. At this juncture, the party from the bridegroom's house took their departure to the great relief of everyone. They had stuffed themselves well with refreshments and understood fairly accurately what had taken place. What their brain failed to grasp their imagination supplied and they hurried back to their master's house bursting with this strange tale.

The shades of evening began to descend over the tired earth. The whole household had become weary after the eventful day, and was trying to have a bit of rest. Suddenly, a little girl rushed in amongst them, screaming, "Come and see, come and see, the door is open!"

Even the opening of the very gates of Heaven would have scarcely caused greater commotion. All rushed with one accord at the door.

The door was open indeed, but the room was empty. As soon as Mokshada heard this awful news, she fell into a faint. Every body rushed hither and thither searching for the missing girl.

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Mukti had started from Calcutta with a very heavy heart. She thought her grandmother was seriously ill. So she felt greatly relieved when she found the old lady only slightly indisposed. She thought her grandmother unnecessarily nervous. Mukti need not have been dragged here for such a slight ailment. They did not seem to care at all for her studies. Still she was glad that the illness was not really serious. She was tired after nursing Shiveswar through a long sickness, and did not want to begin the job again.

She had decided to return within the week. But these village people hardly seemed to realize the importance of college lectures or percentages. Shyamkishor had shown great energy while bringing Mukti here, but he seemed to have lost it all now. He was old-fashioned and advanced in years too. So she had to excuse him.

She had met Dhiren only once after her arrival here. Mukti had noticed his extreme shyness when she talked to him and she had noticed also the scandalised airs of the ladies

of the household. Still she had decided to ask him to escort her back to Calcutta, if she met him again. She was confident that he would keep her request, even if his and her own relations disapproved. She sincerely hoped that her grandmother and great-uncle would not object too much.

But unfortunately, Dhiren did not turn up again. So Mukti had no option but to wait for Mokshada's recovery. She was determined to give her a very good talking too, for this extreme inconsiderateness. For the present, she sat by the window with a book on her lap, and gazed wistfully at the little village station and the railway lines. She came to know the workings of the station in every detail. The rise and fall of the signals, the pointsman working at the levers, the red and green lights, the passengers with their simple luggage, going in and coming out, she got all these by heart. She knew when which train arrived and departed. She could recognise the station master, in his soiled white dress and peculiar cap from this distance. She knew even a few of the daily passengers.

Suddenly, this amazing affair broke through the monotony of her days. At first, she was too astonished to understand the matter clearly. She had never dreamt that such a thing could really happen in this twentieth century and to a modern girl like her. She had followed a blind impulse, when she rushed into her room, and bolted the door. She could think of nothing else in the first moments of bewilderment.

She was furious with the whole lot of them. She would gladly have cut off everybody's head, if she had the power. She went on listening to the storm outside without deigning much answer. But as minutes passed by, and those outside grew less violent, her current of thought shifted into another channel. She was a bit curious to know who her appointed bridegroom could be. But first of all, she must save herself from the strange fate that awaited her. She could not spare much time to abuse Mokshada and Shyamkishor in her mind. She had heard tales of mothers forcing their daughters into secret marriages, while their husbands remained completely in the dark. Religious bigotry was responsible for much trouble in this world. Her heart felt a bit heavy, thinking her grandmother could be so benighted. She did not know

that Mokshada was only a puppet in the hands of her almighty cousin.

She wanted to feel the security of the boarding house around her very intensely. She had sometimes felt herself a prisoner in that house, enclosed by high walls, but now she craved that very imprisonment. Nothing strange or astonishing can penetrate there. But how to get back to it, that was the question.

Somebody knocked at the door, and whispered. "Please darling, open the door. There will be a terrible scandal, if you behave so obstinately." Mukti remained silent.

Suddenly, her gaze fell upon the small picturesque railway station. Beyond the hedge of red flowering bushes, she could see the train from Calcutta, puffing and blowing. Mukti remembered with a start, that the next train was due in half an hour, and its destination would be Calcutta. Why could not she catch it and escape? Once within the clutches of Miss Dutt, nobody would dare to lay a finger on her. She remembered Dhiren, He had always stood by her in times of trouble. Why was not he here to-day? So many guests had come, surely he must have been invited too. But it looked like a ladies' gathering, so perhaps he had not been invited. Then she blushed furiously as a thought stole into her mind. Could Dhiren be the bridegroom by any chance? But it was impossible. Dhiren could never try to marry her forcibly, and without the consent of Shiveswar. He was not built of cave-man's stuff.

Dhiren, too, had been sadly bewildered by the state of events. He could not believe it possible that Mokshada and Shyamkishor could give away Mukti in marriage without consulting Shiveswar at all. And it was impossible, too, to keep Mukti perpetually in ignorance of the real purpose for which she had been brought down. What excuse could they offer her? Mukti must have found them out. Dhiren would have given much to know whether Mukti knew about the marriage and what she thought about it.

Mukti looked out through a crack in the door. An old aunt of hers tapped at the door, then receiving no reply, proceeded to the village tank. Mukti opened the door slowly. Nobody was about. She wrapped herself in the bedsheet, then slipped out quietly. She heard the loud tones of Shyam-

kishor, speaking from the outer room. "We cannot call a carpenter and break the door open", he was saying. "It would give rise to a scandal. She is a mere girl after all. How long will she be able to hold out? Hunger and thirst will compel her to come out."

Mukti walked quickly out of the house. She found the band of musicians, dozing by the door. She began to walk across the field, straight towards the station. Shyam kishor suddenly shouted to the musicians to strike up, as he had not engaged them for sleeping.

Inside the inner apartment Mokshada was weeping. "Why did I listen to cousin, wretch that I was. My poor baby is starving within. See if you can induce her to come out."

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The servants from Dhiren's uncle's house rushed in, full of news. They had been well-fed and largely tipped by Shyamkishor, but that did not prevent them from giving full tongue.

"Oh madam!" cried the maid-servants in unison, "what an awful girl to choose for the young master! She is a veritable amazon. We had never seen the like of her. She said she would not marry a country lout. Poor Mr. Banerjee, the minx shut her door in his face. She is devoid of any sense of shame. The poor old man is in a sad plight. He can hardly lift up his head. She wants a Sahib for her husband. She is so proud!"

The mistress of the house could hardly make anything out of this babel. What were they talking about? What could have happened. She tried to ask them some questions, but they went on shouting and gesticulating. She dared not send anybody to Shyamkishor's house for the facts of the matter. These servants were fools, most of them. One should not rely too much upon their word. The girl might have really fainted, though the maid-servants refused to believe that. The match was a very good one for Dhiren, and she was afraid of breaking it off through over-curiosity.

But the news spread like wild fire. Dhiren was attacked from all sides. Everyone shouted his and her opinion of Mukti in his ear, till he was obliged to leave the house. He could not bear insult in addition to injury. He walked through the paths of the solitary orchard, thinking and thinking. He felt tears starting to his eyes, at the thought that Mukti might

have really fainted. Why had she done so? Was she ill or had the shock of sudden knowledge been too much for her? The poor young man had been building such splendid castles in the air, and now they tumbled down in ruins about his ears. What if Mukti was to die?

But he, too, could not believe for long that Mukti had fainted. The news that she refused to marry him, was more likely to be true. Why should the servants lie about it? He remembered all the little incidents in which he had seen Mukti expressing her dislike for him and grew more and more convinced that the servants' version of the affair was true. Mukti had never tried to draw Dhiren nearer. She had never expressed in any way her preference for him over other young men. He wanted to believe her in love with him. So he had construed all her words and actions in his own way. In reality, she had been but barely civil to him and not even that always. She was a sweet girl and sweetness in speech and action was natural to her. Dhiren had been a blessed fool to think that she loved him. Her lack of loving words, he had thought, arose out of maidenly shyness. He understood now, why Mukti had always tried to change the topic whence he tried to express the feeling in his heart. Fool that he was, he had misunderstood everything.

Perhaps Mukti had really remained ignorant of this plot against her up to the last moment. The thing had come as a terrible shock to her. The day Dhiren met her at Shyamkishor's house, Mukti had welcomed him quite naturally. She did not know anything then, or she would not have met him with a smile. Mokshada and Shyamkishor had felt her dislike to the match, and so had kept it a secret from her. But they had done Dhiren very bad service. Mukti must be thinking him a monster by this time.

It was sure, that he had lost all chance of winning her for ever. But had he lost even her friendship, her respect, the little corner in her heart, which he had won with so much trouble? Mukti must have taken him for the central figure in the conspiracy. How could he show her his face again? Would she ever believe, that he was really so vile and so mean, as he looked now?

Even his sorrow at losing his beloved was buried under a sense of overwhelming shame. He could not bear to think that Mukti would think him a scoundrel. Mukti was the dearest

person in his life, but cruel fate had made him cause her an injury, which she would not forgive. He shrank within himself in dismay, thinking of the scandal-mongers and gossips of Calcutta. How their tongues would wag! And how Mukti would curse him when she came to know about his participation in this trouble. He had never dreamt that he could ever become an enemy to Mukti, even unintentionally. He was ready for any sacrifice, if thereby he could save Mukti further pain and shame. He was ready to shoulder all the blame, but would that be enough?

Dhiren felt he ought to advance to Mukti's rescue now. He had caused her to be caught in this vile trap. So he must set her free, somehow or other. But he felt very nervous about going to Shyamkishor's house. It would be too melodramatic. And Mukti might misunderstand him too. After what had happened, he could not expect her to trust him further. She might think he was laying some fresh plot. He felt afraid to face her. And what could he say to her, even if he mustered courage enough to go? He could not say that he did not want to go on with the marriage. That would be insulting. He could not think of any word that would make Mukti understand his real purpose.

He had walked on, not looking where he was going. Suddenly, he found himself in the field that bordered the railway station. He walked on, meaning to go and sit for a while in the station. He was sick with his thoughts. Perhaps the bustle and the crowd of passengers hurrying and shouting might distract him a bit.

The sun was setting. The day had been cloudy. So it was already getting dark. A heavy shower was imminent, but Dhiren did not pay any attention to it. He saw one train leaving the station after a short halt. He knew another would soon be in, so he went on forward.

Suddenly, he saw the figure of a girl advancing towards the station. She was coming from the village. Could it be Mukti? His heart gave a mighty leap forward, then seemed to stop. He wanted to run away, so ashamed he was. But Mukti was evidently in some trouble. So it would be scarcely manly to leave her and run. He had harmed her enough, he should not allow this chance of making some slight reparation slip by. But would Mukti deign

to accept his help now? She might turn away her face in hatred from him.

Still hope springs eternal in the human heart. He went forward to meet her a bit awkwardly. It was really Mukti. But strange, to say, she did not appear at all angry or disgusted at his sight. On the contrary, the clouds seemed to lift a little from her brow. She even smiled. Dhiren could hardly believe his sight. What miracle was this? He stopped before her, his head bowed down with a consciousness of guilt. He understood why Mukti was walking to the station alone. But he could not speak. His voice failed him. Mukti smiled and said, "My appearance in this field seemed to have stunned you quite."

Dhiren looked up into her eyes. What should he answer?

"But I have no time for conversation", went on Mukti. "You are always present to aid damsels in distress like the knights errant of old. You must help me now. You are really a God-send to me in this terrible place."

Dhiren was getting quite stupefied with amazement. Was Mukti mad, was she still ignorant? "What can I do for you?" he stammered.

"I have no time for long explanations," said Mukti. "I shall tell you everything in short. The people here have plotted to marry me off on the quiet, to some local catch, named Habla. So I am running away to Calcutta to escape him. They have not informed my father even. If you will kindly put me in the train, I shall go to Calcutta, and get back to the college hostel. Please get me a ticket. The train is about due."

Mukti was too engrossed in her own troubles to notice the strange expression of Dhiren's face. "Some local catch, named Habla!" So Mukti did not know who Habla was! Such things could happen only in Bengal. Still, in order to make sure, he asked, "Who is this Habla?"

"How should I know?" asked Mukti rather sharply. "I had no time to enquire, and I am not much interested. He must be some fellow residing in India, and at present I have no use for any of them."

Dhiren wondered what Mukti would have done, had he known Habla's real identity. The problem would have been much more complicated. He felt an insane desire to blurt out the truth, but restrained himself

somehow. No use making matters worse. Still he could not help asking. "Is Habla's successful rival residing out of India now?"

Mukti had not talked of her love for Jyoti to anyone. Between themselves, too, very little had been spoken. They had not made any promises. But they knew each other's heart. Their looks had betrayed them; so had their smiles and their manners. She felt rather shy to admit this love to Dhiren. She blushed and stammered. "Yes, he is abroad. But hurry up, Dhiren Babu, the signal is down."

Dhiren's heart had become numb with despair. Still he followed Mukti to the station. As they reached the platform, Mukti cried out in dismay. "But I forgot to tell you, I am penniless. What shall I do now? Have you got anything with you? Even if we could purchase a third class ticket, it would do."

"Yes, I have got something," said Dhiren. "But the train is already in!" cried Mukti. "It won't wait for us. What shall I do?"

Dhiren looked about him, but found no answer to her question. "Let's go and get in," he suggested. "When we reach Calcutta, we shall pay excess fare."

Mukti looked at him gratefully. "Will you go so far for me?" she asked. "I am putting you to terrible inconvenience. Tell me what to do, and I shall manage somehow. You need not come."

Dhiren averted his eyes from her face. "I cannot let you go alone," he said, "it would be inhuman."

They had no time to spare. The train was about to leave the station. They got into it somehow.

(To be continued)

India and Burma

THE QUESTION OF SEPARATION

By GANAPATI PILLAY

THE question of separation so vital in many ways to the interests of Indians residing in Burma has unfortunately not received the attention it deserves from Indian politicians, not even from those who consider it their duty to safeguard Indian interests beyond the Indian or the Pacific Ocean. The reason probably is that the gulf which separates Burma from India is too narrow to cause any apprehension to our leaders, and Burma, being a province of India, is not looked upon as a foreign land where Indian interests are in need of special protection. But in reality Burma is at least as much foreign as the Malaya States, and Burmans are quite alive to the fact. The position of Indians in Burma is far from comforting and is growing less so day by day. For, Burman nationalism, though a puny little thing to-day, is rooted in a dislike of Indians, of whom the Government of Burma are also none too enamoured. Indians are practically shut out from all avenues

of public service on the ground of domicile, a term which the Government of Burma have persistently refused to define. A veiled attempt at the exclusion of Indians is discernible in every move of the Government as well as of the Burmese nationalists, although India and Indians have contributed so largely not only to Burma's material, but also her intellectual progress. The separatists are, of course, loth to acknowledge the debt and see nothing but calamity in the Indian connection, from which Burma can only be saved by separation. Though no one pretends that the separatists' cry will be a decisive factor in the ultimate settlement of the issue, imperial considerations might make separation an accomplished fact, and in that case, the fate of the eight and odd lakhs* of Indians in Burma will be left in alien hands; Burma will then cease to be

* The number of Indians in Burma is, according to 1921 census, 887,077.

an Indian province; the wholesome check now supposed to be exercised by the Government of India on the vagaries* of the Burma Government will disappear; and the Indian question will speedily become a problem of considerable magnitude, as irritating and difficult of settlement as similar problems in other parts of the British Empire. A survey of the separation question will not therefore be entirely devoid of usefulness at this stage.

The question of separation came to the fore during the recent visit of the Simon Commission to Burma. The Burma Government held that so far as Burma was concerned separation was the main problem before the Commission. But the separation cry is not at all a new one. It is at least about twenty years old. It was first heard in the old Imperial Legislative Council in 1911 when the Burmese nominated member of that Council asked the Government of India for a statement of the financial position as between Burma and India with the object of considering the feasibility of separating the two countries. The statement submitted by Mr. Atkinson, then Accountant-General of Burma, disclosed such a huge deficit against Burma that nothing more was heard of separation until the late Mr. Montagu's visit to India before the introduction of the Reforms. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford did not visit Burma but a deputation of Burmese leaders met them at Calcutta and demanded the separation of Burma among other things. Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, however, while admitting that Burma is not India, held that for military reasons Burma must remain a part of India. The Burmese patriots were not satisfied; and in 1922 the Burmese member of the Council of State moved for the appointment of a committee to examine the question of separation of Burma from the rest of the Indian Empire. The motion was withdrawn on the Government speaker pointing out that it was premature, since separation must follow and not precede the introduction of reforms into Burma. The reforms had not then been introduced into Burma, and meetings were held in different places to discuss the question of reforms and formulate demands. A resolution in favour of separation was adopted at one of the meetings

held in the Jubilee Hall. Then came the reformed constitution on the same lines as in India, and in August 1924, U Pu, then leader of the nationalist party (who later became a minister, and is now the President of the Burma Legislative Council), moved that constitutional reforms should be granted to Burma on the following lines—

(a) all subjects except foreign relations and defence to be provincialized;

(b) all provincialized subjects to be transferred;

(c) Burma Government to be empowered to reconstitute Burma services on provincial lines.

The aim of the mover was undoubtedly ultimate separation, but the resolution in itself did not amount to a separation resolution, as some interpreted it to be, for it is not impossible to conceive of Burma as enjoying complete provincial autonomy in all respects except external defence and foreign relations. The resolution was carried by a majority, and no doubt filed in its proper place. Then followed four years of silence, during which time however the policy of impressing upon the Indians that Burma was the home of the Burmans and of no one else was sedulously maintained. At the advent of the Statutory Commission however quite a number of associations sprang up,* and while yet muling and puking in the nurse's arms, squealed out separation. All these associations and many others submitted memoranda to the Commission, and later gave evidence before the Joint Free Conference; and all of them without one single exception strongly advocated separation. It may not be out of place to note here that the feeling against the Commission was neither so deep-seated, nor so pronounced in Burma as in India; and what passed for boycott was nothing better than a weak and senseless imitation of the Indian movement sponsored by certain Indian agitators.

During the Commission's Burma tour, and even when they had departed, public meetings were held in various places all over the country, and resolutions urging separation were passed and forwarded to the Commission. On the 18th of February the Burma Legislative Council passed without a division a motion moved by the leader of the People's Party to adjourn the house to

* The Burma Sea-Passengers Bill was vetoed by the Viceroy.

† The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para 198.

* Such as the Separation League, the Burma for the Burmans League, the British Burma Association.

consider the separation question. The Burma Provincial Committee have in their report strongly and unequivocally recommended separation, although at the tail of their report one meets with the suggestion that in case separation is found to be outside the region of practical politics, Burma may be favoured with such further reforms as may be granted to the major provinces of India. This has offended the wholehoggers, who have condemned the report. Again, during the August session of the Legislative Council, in the course of the debate on the subject of the Burma Sappers and Miners, the only Burmese unit in the Indian Army, recently disbanded by the Government of India on grounds of economy, the Burmese members of all parties declared that the India Government's action was unfriendly and unsympathetic, and some remarked that separation alone could save Burma from such affronts.

Thus making due allowance for all attenuating circumstances, there is sufficient indication that the desire for separation is very widespread among the intelligentsia. It pervades the younger generation. It is, indeed, universal. For there is hardly any individual who looks upon the Indian connection with approbation. The only difference is that some want immediate separation, while others do not consider the present moment opportune and would wait till India, including Burma, attains Home Rule. The Indians are substantially in agreement with the latter position, while the Anglo-Indian community is in sympathy with the former.

The attitude of the Europeans is well-known. It was they who first raised the alarm that Burma was in danger of being swamped by Indians. * The acute American observer, Upton Close (Mr. Joseph Washington Hall) has thus recorded his experience :-

We mingle with the commercial community in Burma and hear mostly fulminations against the placing of this potentially wealthiest British possession in Asia under the Indian Government. These men want a separation of Burma. They have an ethnological basis for their proposal, Burma being Mongoloid, utterly different from India in race. It would even pay Great Britain, the most rabid of them say, to give up India and concentrate on developing the lead, tin, teak, oil, trade and other allurements of

Burma. It is bitterly opposed by the native politicians in India and their following among the large Indian population in Burma. Downing Street has indicated that it will listen to the proposal only if it is made by the Burmans, and our informants confess that they are endeavouring without much promise of success to get these gentlemen to endorse separatism. †

How far the subject of the "confession" is true it is not possible to say ; but there can hardly be any doubt that a very large and influential section of the "gentlemen" have endorsed separatism.

European interests in Burma as elsewhere fall into two branches—official and commercial ; and both are in favour of separation. At the Joint Free Conference the commercial interests were represented by the Burma Chamber of Commerce and the Association of Business and Professional Men. The attitude of these two bodies towards separation was substantially the same. Burma wants more money for her development ; but under the existing financial arrangements a very large proportion of her revenues goes to India ; Burma is thus handicapped by lack of funds. If this disability can be removed whilst Burma remains a part of India, they would not press for separation ; if not, "this Chamber can see no other alternative, but to press for the separation of Burma from India, an alternative which a section of the commercial community already favours." Not only that. The Burmans are loth to accept the control of Indian officials of pure Indian extraction ; and if, therefore, India is to be granted Dominion Home Rule, Burma would like to be separated. On the other hand, these gentlemen are afraid lest separated Burma enact anti-Indian legislation such as the Sea Passengers Bill which would have restricted the flow of Indian labour into Burma had it not been vetoed by the Viceroy. In other words, they are all in favour of separation provided it does not interfere with the fulfilment of their philanthropic mission of developing Burma with Indian labour and British capital.

The official position has been clearly and effectively stated in the Government memorandum recently published. In that memorandum, the Government of Burma, have from various considerations, come to conclusion that "in principle the case for

* Census of India, Vol. X, part I, para 168 (1921).

† Upton Close, *The Revolt of Asia*, pp. 39-40.

separation must be accepted." These considerations are :

(a) Burma is geographically distinct from India ;

(b) the people of Burma are entirely different from the peoples of India. "They come from a different stock, and have a different history, a different religion, different languages, a different social system, different manners and customs, and a different outlook on life."

(c) Burma was included in India for reasons of administrative convenience ; and it is obvious that the nearer India "approaches the status of responsible government the less justification there is for retaining Burma as part of British India merely on grounds of administrative convenience."

(d) Even if Burma consented to be included in a self-governing India "there are obvious disadvantages in a position where a relatively small country with its own traditions, its own social system and a strongly marked individuality of its own is tacked on to a much bigger and more populous country with which it has no racial or social or religious affinity and from which it is separated by 700 miles of sea and a wide stretch of hill and jungle devoid alike of road and railway."

(e) Burma's representation in the Legislative Assembly is too small (5 in a House of 143) to enable her to have any effective voice in shaping policy in the Indian Legislature.

(f) The policy of discriminating protection followed by the Government of India operates against the economic interests of Burma, witness the protective duty on steel, the protective duties on paper and the export duty on hides and skins.

(g) Burma's constitutional problem will be greatly simplified by separation, as Burma is more truly a nation than India, and by herself has no such complicated problems like the Native States problem or the Hindu-Moslem problem to solve ;

(h) the political life of the province will immensely gain in breadth, as many questions now the exclusive province of the Central Government, will, after separation, come under the purview of the Burma Government ;

(i) Burma will gain financially by separation.

In preparing the case for separation, the Burma Government have no doubt taken into account the disadvantages of separation ; but are apparently of opinion that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. These latter arise out of financial and economic considerations. Take for example the case of trade :

Burma imports on an average 15½ crores worth of goods from India ; while her exports average 24 crores. The trade balance is thus in Burma's favour by 8½ crores. The Government are fully alive to the fact that in the event of separation this favourable balance may be seriously affected if India raises a tariff wall against Burmese goods. But they are optimistic enough

to think that this difficulty can be easily got over by negotiating a special agreement or convention by which India will accord preferential tariff treatment to Burma and *vice versa*. Take again the case of finance and credit. The Government admit that Burma's credit is dependent on that of India and that separation will mean loss of credit on the one hand and added financial responsibilities on the other. But in paragraph sixteen of their memorandum on the subject they have attempted to show how Burma if separated, would, after payment of all additional charges which separation might involve, "have an additional revenue of more than 4¼ crores a year, and that would be the sum available for the purpose of building up Burma's credit and developing the country and for other purposes !" In forming the above estimate, for which however they do not claim strict accuracy, the Burma Government have assumed on the basis of the actuals of 1926-7, that Burma would make 794 lakhs a year from the three important sources which now form central heads of revenue, namely, Customs, Income-tax and Salt. Add to that, 29 lakhs being contributed by the Burma Railways (which would now pass to the Government) at the rate of one per cent on their capital at charge. Roughly therefore Burma "if separated, might expect on a conservative estimate a gross additional revenue of not less than eight crores a year." Of the additional charges that Burma would be called upon to meet when separated, the most important are the cost of defence, annual payment for the liquidation of Burma's share of India's public debt, and miscellaneous charges under heads 'political' 'audit' etc. ; and the Government have allowed roughly a crore and a quarter under each of these three heads, thus leaving a balance of 4¼ crores in Burma's favour.

It will be seen that the Government of Burma have omitted the question of Burma's debt to India from their calculation altogether. Not that they have failed to notice it, but that they have found a very convenient way of shirking the question by assuming that "things as they are now must be accepted as the basis of separation ;" and that "no claim will be made that Burma must repay to India whatever India may have spent on the Burmese wars !" They have indeed sought to justify their big assumption on the

ground that it would be impossible to cast up accounts or "to endeavour to set off against the cost of Burmese Wars the contributions of Burma towards the numerous wars on the north-west frontier and the many advantages direct and indirect which India has derived from the inclusion of Burma within the Indian Empire." Responsible opinion in India however does not view the situation with the same complacency. In any case the argument is fallacious and misleading if not thoroughly mischievous. For, Burma never paid anything towards the cost of the frontier wars in the same sense as India had to meet the cost of the Burmese wars and with the same consequences. "Partly to secure these doubtful gains (i.e. the territories ceded by the Burmese king as a result of the First Burmese War) loans amounting to £19,000,000, were raised. A permanent addition was made to the financial charge for the year of over £1,000,000 sterling in addition to two millions and a half paid in England in 1827-28 for what were termed territorial expenses.* The impression was widely created that all the resources of the Imperial Government were taxed to carry on the conquest.† Did the newly acquired property repay the cost incurred in any way? According to Torrens again, "the apologists for the conquests of 1826 admit that the provinces it was deemed advisable to exact from Ava were at the time of their cession of little value; for many years districts lay wholly waste, contributing in no way to the cost of obtaining them." The financial consequences to India of the Second Burmese War was also ruinous. Says Torrens, "Lord Dalhousie was not blind to the financial consequences of this wanton and inglorious expedition. At the outset, he professed to regard further possession in Burma as second only to calamity in war and on learning that Prome had capitulated he confessed that the maintenance of 20,000 men at such a distance and in such a country would soon bring the Government of India to exhausted cash balances and reopened loans!" § According to a pamphlet recently published, the cost of the First Burmese War amounted to over ten crores of rupees; that of the Second War over five crores; and of the Third

including the cost of pacification, over three crores. (See an Abstract of the Histories of the three Wars by H. M. Roy, B. A., Assistant Accountant-General, Burma). Speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911 Gokhale pointed out that for more than forty years Burma had not been paying its way and that India had to meet the recurring deficits. The total amount so far incurred may be, according to a statement prepared by the Accountant-General of Burma, now in the neighbourhood of hundred crores including interest. As against this huge expenditure what has Burma contributed? Nothing but legitimate share of the cost of the Central administration under the financial settlements in force from time to time. This she was bound to do as a province of India, even if there were no frontier wars. And if a portion of her contribution had at any time gone to make up the military budget of the Government of India, surely Burma cannot, on that ground, reasonably ask India to write off such huge sums as are due to the latter.

From the above it would appear that the many direct advantages which India is alleged to have derived from Burma are more or less of a myth. On the contrary, Burma owes her credit, her security, her efficient administration directly to her Indian connection. Regarding indirect advantages too the balance seems to be in Burma's favour. We have seen that Burma does more trade with India than India with Burma. India no doubt imports large quantities of such essential commodities as rice and petroleum. But the export of rice is a life-and-death question to Burma, as the slightest depression in the rice trade makes evident while India need not necessarily buy rice from Burma. It is, therefore, doubtful whether Burma rice has done more for the well-being of India than what the big Indian market has done for the prosperity of the Burmese people. And so far as kerosine is concerned those who will recollect the intense flutter caused in the dove-cotes of the Burma Oil Company some time ago by the importation of cheap Russian oil into India will easily understand that the Indian market is more vital to the Burmese petroleum industry than Burma petroleum is to India. On the other side, Indian labour and Indian capital have admittedly played an important part in the development of Burma. When after the annexation, the area under cultivation was

* See *Empire In Asia* By W. M. Torrens, M. P.

† *Ibid.* Page 293.

§ See Torrens *op. cit.* p. 353.

greatly extended, and the increased agricultural prosperity was reflected in the industries, "the deficiency of labour in the commercial and industrial occupations was filled by immigrant races, mainly Indian. There was also in some years a deficiency of agricultural labour at harvest time and the cultivator in the delta came to rely more and more on Indian labour for the reaping of his crop... Indian capital also played a part in financing these extensions of cultivation."* The Census report of 1911 bears out the above remarks.† And when it is remembered that the abstinence of the Burmese from a greater participation in urban industries is no self-denying ordinance, and that Indian immigration into Burma is neither instinctive nor natural, but that Indians come to Burma to supply an economic need which the Burmans have failed to supply§ there can be hardly any room for doubt that Burma has immensely benefited indirectly by her Indian connection.

It is thus clear that the Burma Government have been too optimistic in their assumptions. For, there is no reason why things as they are must be accepted as the basis of separation; since it should not be impossible for the financial experts to cast up accounts—to find out to what extent India has been able so far to meet Burma's recurring deficits. But the Government's estimate of Burma's financial gain after separation is vitiated not only by the unwarranted assumption just discussed, but also by the fact that the allowance of 125 lakhs made for the cost of the Burmese Army after separation is wholly inadequate. In the memorandum to which reference has already been made the Government have admitted that the present 'direct' military expenditure in Burma is a crore and a quarter per annum. This evidently excludes all indirect expenditure such as the cost of erection and maintenance of fortifications, arsenals, military academies and the like now borne by the India Government, but which a separated Burma will be called upon to meet. What this indirect expenditure would be is not known, but that it will involve a heavy capital outlay as

well as a large recurring cost is certain. Yet the Burma Government have with apparent self-satisfaction laid down the same old 125 lakhs as Burma's military expenditure after separation. That is not all. According to the Government "the fact that Burma is a part of India enables a minimum garrison to be maintained in Burma in peace time, the theory being that in the event of trouble reinforcements would be sent from India."*. Naturally therefore when Burma is separated she shall have to maintain a maximum garrison at a much higher cost. And yet the Burma Government have found no difficulty in sticking to their 125 lakhs. But their sturdy optimism is not supported by probabilities, and one may ask, how will Burma meet the heavy capital outlay and the large recurring cost? When it is considered that Burma's credit entirely rests on the Indian connection; the answer is not easy at all. It is this consideration perhaps, coupled with the fact that Burma is largely garrisoned by Indian troops, that led Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu to think that for military reasons Burma must remain a part of the Indian polity. Lord Reading too, speaking at the 49th Annual Burma Dinner held in London on June 6th last, possibly had similar thoughts in his mind when he reminded his audience that in talking of separation three things should engage their attention, namely, finance and credit, internal security, and external defence; for the first and third of which Burma was now depending on England and India.

Thus the extra 4½ crores may after all evaporate and melt into thin air, unless, of course, Great Britain comes to Burma's rescue by taking up the burden of her external defence. In fact, among these Burmese politicians there are some who contend on the analogy of the other self-governing Dominions of the British Empire that the responsibility of Burma's military and naval defence after separation should be shouldered by England at least for a time. For example, full responsible government was granted to North America in 1841 and to Australia in 1855; yet "in 1858 the Colonial military expenditure of the Imperial government was nearly £4,000,000, towards which the Colonies gave but £380,000." And "it was not until 1862 that the House of

* J. J. Bannison, Report of an enquiry into the standard and cost of living of the working classes in Rangoon, para 243.

† Census of India 1911, volume IX, part I, para, 364.

§ *Ibid.*, paras 267 and 268.

* Memorandum on Separation, paragraph, 9.

Commons resolved that as far as possible the responsibly governed colonies should bear the expenses of their own internal defences, and *ought to assist in their own external defence.*" * Several years elapsed before the resolution was actually carried out, and the British garrisons did not finally leave Australia until 1870 ; and when they left, "the barracks, fortifications and land and arms and munitions in actual use were handed over free of cost to the colonies." † Again, so far as attack by sea is concerned, "the defence of the Dominions from external attack has never yet been laid upon them by the Imperial Government. The result is that in naval matters comparatively little progress has been made in putting the Colonies in a condition of defence." § Burma may, therefore, with some amount of reason, claim a similar treatment at the hands of Great Britain, as she is undoubtedly a valuable asset to the British Empire. Besides, Burma being the most easterly possession of England, the task of defending the Burmese frontiers is one of great strategic importance, and is therefore, not merely a domestic but an Imperial concern.

Burma's financial gain due to separation is, therefore, only hypothetical. But in any case her present position is intolerable. In the words of the Local Government

The picture . . . is that of a province in which the incidence of both central and provincial revenue is far in excess of that in other provinces ; which furnishes central revenues that in comparison with those furnished by other provinces are increasingly large and rapidly expanding ; in which is levied a provincial revenue that though large and containing receipts of heavy amount not levied in other provinces is in comparison with central revenue inelastic ; and in which provincial expenditure has in recent years expanded with great rapidity.

Surely neither the Burma Government nor the Burmese nationalists can be blamed for their attempt to brighten up this dismal picture according to their lights. And if the situation cannot be mended while the Indian connection lasts the only alternative that suggests itself is to end that connection. In fact, Mr. Layton, Financial Assessor to the Indian Statutory Commission, is reported to have expressed the opinion that Burma's

revenues are likely to develop more quickly by separation than otherwise.

But the nationalist Burman does not base his demand for separation on utilitarian grounds alone. His reasons are more fundamental. He takes his stand on the principles of nationality and self-determination. And here his position is unassailable. "Let Burma go to the dogs" declared the mover of the adjournment motion on the 18th February, "you (i.e. Indians) fight for your salvation first ; don't place difficulties in our way ; we shall fight our own battles ; any Indians who place difficulties in our way are fighting against themselves, because in India they also want self-determination. So when we want self-determination they should not interfere. Surely that is not right." Here is another significant extract from the speech of the same speaker : . . .

I have in my mind that separation must come if we are to obtain Dominion Home Rule. What we want is Dominion Home Rule, and what Indians also want is Dominion Home Rule, and in the words of Mrs. Annie Besant what India wants is given as follows : "She wants everything that any other nation may claim for itself. To be free in India as an Englishman is free in England. To be governed by her own men freely elected by herself. To make and break ministries at her will. To carry arms, to have her own army, her own navy, her own volunteers. To levy her own taxes, to make her own budgets, to educate her own people, to irrigate her own lands, to mine her own ores, to mint her own coins, to be a sovereign nation within her own borders owning the paramount power of the Imperial Crown and sending her sons to the Imperial Council. There is nothing to which any man can aspire in his own land from which the Indian must be shut out here"

Well Burma wants the same things. Now can we get the same things if we remain within the Indian Empire ? (Cries of No.) If you look at Burma's position geographically you will find that she is cut off from India as well as all other countries on all sides, her race, her language, her religion, her culture, in fact, almost everything points to one fact i.e., that she is not for amalgamation with any other country but for an existence by herself to work out her own salvation. Could we do this so long as we remain under Indian control ?

The nationalist point of view has been ably summed up in the report of the Burma Provincial (Simon) Committee, the following extracts from which will prove interesting :

We hold that the first step towards the attainment of full responsible government in Burma is the separation of Burma from the rest of British India Burma's political connection with India is wholly arbitrary and unnatural. It was established by the British rulers of India by force

* Keith, Responsible Government in the Colonies, Vol. III. Chapter X.

† Ibid.

§ Ibid.

of arms and is being maintained for the sake of administrative convenience. It is not an association of two peoples having natural affinities tending towards union. It is neither a combination of two willing partners. In all essential features of corporate life Burma widely differs from India. There is nothing in common between the two peoples except their common allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor which need not necessarily place one of them under the political tutelage of the other.

Besides Burma's political subservience to India has seriously jeopardized her financial and economic interests and even threatens to denationalize her.

Financially Burma's connection with India has placed her within the orbit of the Meston settlement with the result that she has to surrender fifty per cent of her revenue to the Government of India and is left with an income which is hardly sufficient for her increasing needs..... Economically, Burma's connection with India has not been so fruitful of good results as is commonly supposed. The so-called development of Burma by Indian capital and Indian labour has practically meant the exploitation of Burma's resources and has hardly brought any benefit to the sons of the soil. On the other hand, a big slice of Burma's earth has already passed into the hands of Indian capitalists..... While the unrestricted flow of Indian capital tends to dispossess the swain; the uninterrupted flow of Indian labour however advantageous it may be to the foreign capitalists carrying on business in Burma tends to oust indigenous labour from the field..... It will thus be that Burma's political connection with India cannot be justified on any grounds that count in the affairs of nations. We, therefore, strongly and unequivocally recommend that Burma be immediately separated from British India.

Barring the demand for immediate separation the above views are universally held by Burmese politicians of all schools and the Burmese intelligentsia, and therefore, deserve more than a passing notice. That Burma's political connection with India is arbitrary and unnatural no one I think will deny. That the effect of such connection on her finances has not been very beneficial also does not seem to admit of any doubt. Under the Meston settlement she has to surrender fifty per cent of her revenue to India. In 1926-27 out of a total receipt of 18.98 crores as much as 9.31 crores represented the receipt under Central heads. "The province was... far below the level of other provinces both in material and administrative development," says a Government memorandum, "when the separation between central and provincial finances began to be effective. From this time until the inception of the Meston settlement the financial history of Burma may be summed up as a prolonged and

ineffectual effort on the part of the provincial Government to secure the means of development." The result of this ineffectual effort is manifest in the remarkable decrease in Burma's expenditure on buildings and communications, during the period. For example, during the ten years 1907-8 to 1916-17 the average expenditure on new buildings in Burma decreased by 35 per cent of the average of the previous ten years; while in India there was an increase of 111 per cent on the previous ten years' average. Similarly during the same period the expenditure on new communications in Burma decreased by 32 per cent, while in the rest of India it increased by 97 per cent. Again, the expenditure on civil works increased in Burma by only 9 per cent while in the rest of India it increased by 123 per cent.

The above figures tell their own story. So also has the so-called development of Burma by Indian capital led more to the spoliation of her natural resources than to her lasting benefit. Over 4,000,000 acres of land has already passed into the hands of foreign, including Indian, capitalists. But this was to some extent inevitable. The position has been fully described in the Census Report of 1911, from which the following is extracted :

The last quarter of the 19th century found Lower Burma in a uniquely favourable economic situation. The depreciation of the rupee had stimulated a demand for increasing exports. There were large areas of culturable wastes capable of sustaining a large population. In the vicinity the comparatively congested population of the Upper Province provided large numbers of skilled agriculturists..... And in Rangoon was a large amount of surplus Indian capital seeking for a remunerative investment. The three elements of production, land; capital and labour were each available for mutual employment. The one thing needed to bring them together was confidence or credit or security. The Burman could not furnish on his own account the capital needed to transform virgin jungle into cultivated land and for his sustenance until the transformation should be completed. On the other hand, the Indian capitalist could not advance his money to unknown persons without even the means of subsistence unless some security for its due return with interest was forthcoming. The problem was solved naturally by the utilization of the land about to be reclaimed as the security..... It was by this method that the waste areas of the delta were colonized..... In many cases the loans and interest were paid off. But in a very large number the capitalist waited till the cultivator was hopelessly involved and then foreclosed." * In this way large areas

* Burma Census 1911, part I, para 364.

cleared and cultivated by the natives were transferred to alien non-agriculturists. But the Government was alarmed; and rigidly enforced the conditions regarding the non-transferability of land within a certain period of the date of the grant. "The danger of the transfer of such land to alien non-agriculturists was averted, but at the cost of retardation of the rate of extension."

The Burmese contention that the unrestricted flow of Indian labour tends to oust indigenous labour from the field, though theoretically correct, is in fact, only partially true. According to Mr. Bennison to whose report on labour conditions we have already referred "unless the methods of agriculture are improved a keener competition will take place between the Burman and the Indian for a share in the urban life of the province especially in the more skilled occupations." * But at the same time Mr. Bennison has remarked that

Although the Burmans may be expected to take an increasing share in industry the province will be dependent on Indian labour for many years to come; especially for the hard, monotonous unskilled work which is so distasteful to the Burman. In Rangoon, Burmese unskilled labour is practically non-existent, and it is difficult to imagine how industry could be carried on without the disciplined gangs of Indian coolies.

The truth of the above remarks was borne out by the representatives of the Burma Chamber of Commerce in their evidence tendered before the Joint Free Conference. That Indian labour supplements and does not supplant indigenous labour is, in fact, admitted on all hands.

But whatever may be the truth in the allegations made against Indian labour and Indian capital the fear that the "Burmese as a race are doomed by the modern incursions of Indians into the province" is entirely baseless. The following extracts from Census reports are illuminating :

As far back as the history of the Burmese national life can be traced by means of its chronicles and its legendary lore, migration from India has been one of its most prominent and continuous features. Both the Burmese and the Talaings owe their evolution from a number of small, wild, scattered, disunited and nomadic tribes into large and cohesive kingdoms to their contact with Indian colonists who had settled in numerous small colonies in the valley of the Irrawaddy. The earliest attempts at any form of government beyond a mere tribal organisation were commenced under Indian auspices at Tagaung, at Prome and

at Thaton. The religion of Burma equally with its system of government was obtained from Indian sources. Indian influence is to be found in every branch of Burmese life, not only in its religion and its government, but also in its architecture, its festivals, its ceremonials, and its more intimate and domestic phases. The further back in point of time the investigations are carried, the greater is the degree of Indian influence perceived. In view of the prevailing tendency to assume that the Burmese as a race are doomed by the modern incursions of Indians into the province, it seems necessary to emphasize the fact that the existence of the Burmese as a powerful and a widespread race is due to Indian immigration. Just as in the past the Burmese tribes assimilated what was essential and what was advantageous from the immigrant Indian, and evolved a highly individualised racial existence from the amalgamation, there is reason to believe that the present phase of Indian immigration is strengthening rather than weakening the hold of the Burmese on the province. *

Again,

This immigration is to a great extent neither instinctive nor natural nor permanent. It is an artificial enhancement of the labour supply in a sparsely populated country. It looms large in the public eye because the resulting population has settled in the most conspicuous lines of observation, the large towns and villages on the main lines of communication. But its resultant ethnical effect is insignificant. †

Due to the small percentage of females § the birth-rate among Indians in Burma is exceedingly low. On the other hand, the death-rate is high. Consequently,

The Indian population in Burma tends to decrease naturally and the greater the population the greater is the decrease. If the birth and death rates and the excess of immigrants over emigrants remain unaltered a state of equilibrium will be reached when the decrease in the population due to natural causes is equal to the excess of immigrants over emigrants.**

According to Mr. Grantham, too,

To a nation alive to the conditions the present number of Indians and their rate of increase offer no menace. There will be room for them always. But while the Indians may come to Burma and work for the advantage both of themselves and of Burma there are at present no signs that they will within any reasonable time dispossess the Burmese and convert Burma into an Indian country. Those who come only for a short time cannot do this; those who stay will tend to be absorbed as they are being absorbed now. By their absorption they will, of course, influence

* Census Report (Burma) 1911, part I, para 75.

† *Ibid.* para 268.

§ In 1901 the percentage was 25.08; in 1911 it was 25.10; and in 1921, 26.27.

** Bennison's Report, para 245.

* Bennison's Report, para 244.

Burmese development as they have always done, but the essential character of the country must remain Burmese.*

Yet when all is said the case for separation stands clear and unchallengeable. It is not for Indians to adopt a patronising attitude and say that they are opposed to separation because separation will not be in the best interests of Burma and the Burmans. Indians should do unto Burmans what they expect others to do unto themselves. Separation may expose Burma to a menace greater than what the so-called Indian menace ever was or could ever be. It may leave her weak and isolated, to quote the words of a dissenting member of the Simon Committee, an easy prey to the vastly more powerful foreign exploiters. But if the Burmese with their eyes open choose to take the risk, why should Indians stand in their way? The Burmans cannot be blamed if they interpret the oppositionist attitude of the Indians in the same manner as the Indians interpret the oppositionist attitude of British vested interests in India.

Of course, neither Burmese clamour nor Indian opposition, neither the recommendation of the Provincial Committee nor the disapproval of the Central Committee will have the casting vote in the final settlement of the issue. That will necessarily depend on the audited accounts both political and commercial of the Imperial shopkeepers. There seems to be a good deal of truth in the Burma Government's observation that the more India approaches the status of a self-governing Dominion, the less justification there is for keeping Burma tied to India for the sake of administrative convenience. It may be presumed that if India can force the hands of Great Britain to place her on the real road to Dominion Home Rule, Burma

will be separated. The suggestion has also been made in interested and influential quarters that if Haji's Coastal Shipping Reservation Bill ever becomes law, the best way to take off its sting would be to separate Burma from India. The hurried departure of the Hon. Mr. Smyth, Finance Member of the Government of Burma, to England on urgent 'private' business is significant. Meanwhile, it is the duty of Indian politicians to urge upon the British Government in all seriousness that in all future constitutions of Burma the rights and interests of Indians must be amply safeguarded; not only by reserving a certain number of seats in the legislature for Indians, for that is hardly any safeguard at all, but by providing for the education of Indian children, removing all restrictions of race and language that now debar Indian children from entering certain institutions, and by reserving a certain percentage of appointments in the public services for qualified Indians. Reservation is bad in principle but reservation alone is the antidote for the unequal administration of laws which appear equal on paper. For, it should not be forgotten that Burma was won at the price of Indian blood and Indian money; that for years the Indians have efficiently run the administration side by side with the Europeans; that Indian labour is working her industries, and performing many of the essential services; that Indian capital has transformed her virgin forests into smiling plains, that Indians have made Burmese commerce what it is to-day, and have substantially helped, by way of paying rates and taxes, to build up her metropolis on modern lines; that Indians have lavishly contributed towards the Rangoon University Endowment Fund; and that Indians are largely responsible for Burma's political awakening.

* Census Report (Burma) 1921, part I, para 168. Mr. Grantham was Superintendent of Census operations in Burma in 1921.

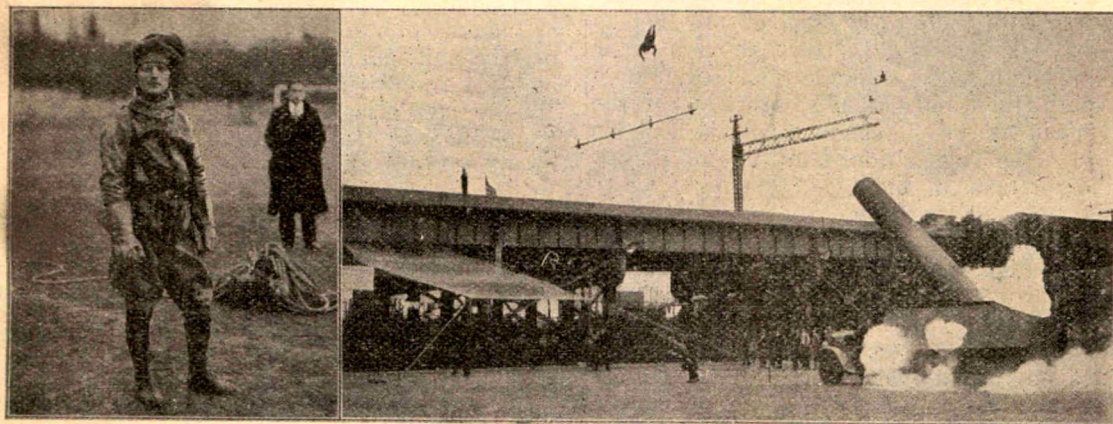


The Circus has a new High Diver—from a Gun

The old time high diver who used to thrill us by his spectacular leaps from a high tower into a water tank, has been outdone by Hugo Zacchini, now travelling with a famous American circus, who is shot from a gun daily as a feature

straight into the parachute to turn it inside out and spill the air out of it so that it wouldn't drag me. Everything was O. K. A few seconds later, they told me I had fallen nearly 3,400 feet before pulling the release ring."

Jack Cope who has made nearly 2,000 para-



of the programme. At the left is shown Hugo, the dare-devil; and at the right, Hugo, the projectile. The secret behind this feat is believed to be a spring which throws Hugo, at the same time a small charge of powder is fired. He lands in the net shown at left.

(Scientific American)

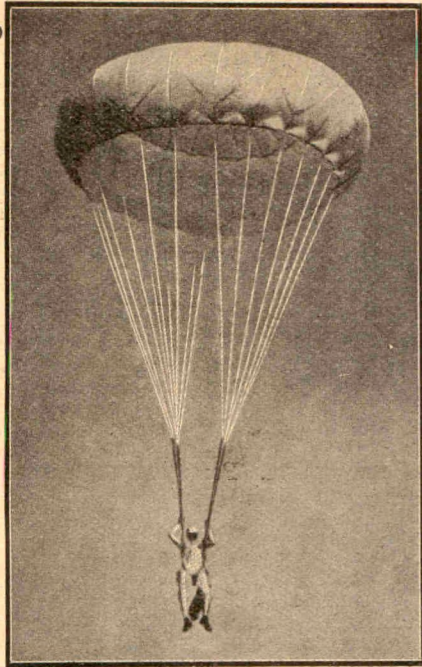
How it Feels to Fall 3000 Feet

"I was dropping feet first, and there was a terrible rush of air past my ears. Then I was rolling over and over on my side, next head over heels, and the rush of air hurt my ears. I reached over, grabbed the release ring and pulled. Something seemed to have put a pillow under me and I had fallen into it. The chute was open. I swung back and forth as if in an old-fashioned rope swing.

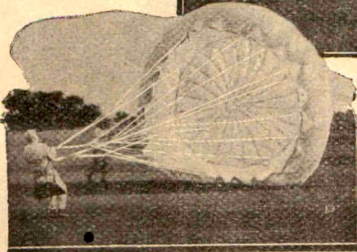
"I saw the ground coming up to meet me. I grabbed a handful of ropes, pulled down and held, and the swinging motion ceased. Then I grabbed another handful, pulled hard this time and almost stood still in the air. The next instant, my feet hit the ground. My legs were forward and I sat down, but got up again quickly and ran



Where Will He Land? Jack Cape Ready to Step Off for a drop into Space with His Parachute



Coming to the Finish of the Long Drop : Cope
as He Neared the Ground after the 3,400
Foot Leap, before Pulling the Ring



Navy and Marine Parachute Jumpers Larding
after Leaping from Plane, and View of
Cope as He Reached the Ground



Parachute Instructor W. T. Dodson, Second from
the Left, and His Crew of Navy Flyers,
Who Gave Exhibition Jumps at the
National Air Races in Los Angeles

chute jumps in the last nineteen years, and has never suffered an injury in the business, was telling of his longest leap before opening the parachute. He started his career as a jumper before the days of the aeroplane, and was one of the first to make a parachute leap from a plane, a feat then considered highly impractical.

"All during the long drop, it was possible for me to put my hands on any part of the parachute within reach and I could see the aeroplane following me down. I could see the ground plainly and was never on the verge of unconsciousness at any moment. Except for the rush of air that pained my ears, there was no feeling that I would call uncomfortable. The jerk when the parachute opened did not hurt, and it never should hurt anyone if his harness is properly adjusted and of the right type.

"Jumping from such a height before pulling the ring, is purely a stunt, of course, and I doubt if anybody would ever be compelled to do such a thing. In fact, flying is so safe to-day that the parachute is hardly ever needed. Lighted airways, better planes, more competent pilots, frequent landing fields and many other factors are co-operating to make aviation safe in every way to-day.

"The parachute has reached a state of relative perfection to-day and is little thought of in connection with exhibition or stunt work, but principally as a valuable life-saver. Colonel Lindbergh used it on three different occasions and many other flyers have joined the ranks of the 'Caterpillar Club,' the organization of men who have made successful parachute jumps. I predict that parachutes will be needed less in commercial aviation, but doubtless they will be employed in wartime flying and in various other air manoeuvres. I simply want to repeat that making a jump is not nearly as terrifying an experience as you may imagine; that it is real sport and will end happily if you keep cool, do not hurry, use your head all the time and pull that ring."

(Popular Mechanics)

Chinese Women's Coiffure

The object of this paper is to illustrate the various types of coiffures cultivated by the Chinese women from ancient times till modern. It will be noted that there is considerable difference between the styles cultivated by the higher, as distinguished from the lower, classes. The former wear an ultra-modish and sophisticated style of precise and carefully arranged coiffure, which is the despair of the lower classes, who have neither the leisure nor the wealth for such head-dresses. No aid to the study and cultivation of beauty has proved so potent as the art of hair-dressing; and in this most fascinating art the Chinese woman is certainly supreme. By much care and discrimination in picking up points in the matter of dressing the hair, the Chinese women have, in most cases, arrived at a composite type of coiffure which it would be difficult to improve upon. Besides, fashions and types of beauty do not change so often in China as in foreign countries; hence, we can learn a great deal about the prevail-

ing fashions throughout the centuries. The Chinese women are, however, handicapped because they are mostly all of a dark and generally petite type; although often with regular and expressive features. But among them we look in vain for the fair girl with blue eyes. This makes all the difference in the various types of female beauty, and particularly in the way they dress their hair. And although some of them are moderately tall, elegant in carriage and aristocratic in features, yet, we cannot pick any of them out and say, she is of a Gloria Swanson, Mary Pickford, Betty Compson, Gladys Cooper, Martha Lorber, Norma Shearer, Pauline Frederick, Nazimova, Shirly Mason, and a host of other types of foreign female beauty. Hairdressing is sometimes decorative in intention, and sometimes traditional or symbolic in character, intended to convey the idea of personal dignity, attainment of a certain age, or a certain rank in the community. Among the Chinese the statues and bas-reliefs of the earlier centuries show a very elaborate style of dressing the hair common to both men and women. Periwigs, too, were worn,



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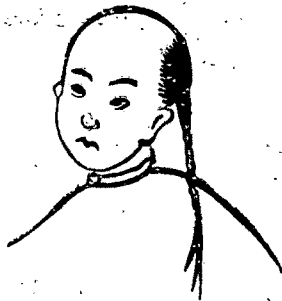
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but not so commonly, as in Europe. Chignons, also, were in vogue but not the style of chignon worn by the Japanese women. At some periods the hair was divided into tresses, thickly plaited, or into two very broad and flat braids, somewhat similar to the ancient Egyptian hair-dressing as shown in the mural sculptures and paintings.

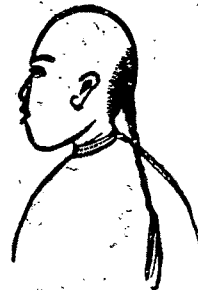
In some of the coiffures the hair is rolled back from the forehead and temples in a way which reminds us of the "Pompadour" style of hair-dressing which has been in fashion in foreign countries for some decades now. On the whole, the coiffure of the Chinese women is extremely tasteful and well adapted to the head, face and complexion, varying as it does, according to the age and stature of the wearer. But many Chinese

women, especially the modern girls, have taken to bobbed hair; so that the "crowning glory" the poets used to rave so much about, and limned in illuminated letters on rare parchment, is now fast becoming just plain hair! Perhaps not the least interesting are the curious names given to the various styles of coiffure, and some of our foreign lady friends might not regard it as beneath their dignity to adopt some of the styles—name and all. Following are the names and short descriptions of the various types of coiffure worn by Chinese women given in the accompanying figures.

Fig. 1.—Cheng-feng-chi. Principal (as opposed to Secondary) phoenix head-dress. Style worn by Pao Ssu Yu Wang's favourite consort, B.C. 781-771. Note the nine tall feathers of the phoenix which



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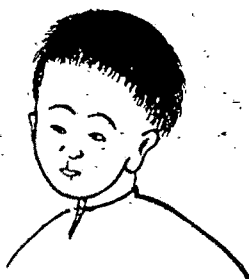
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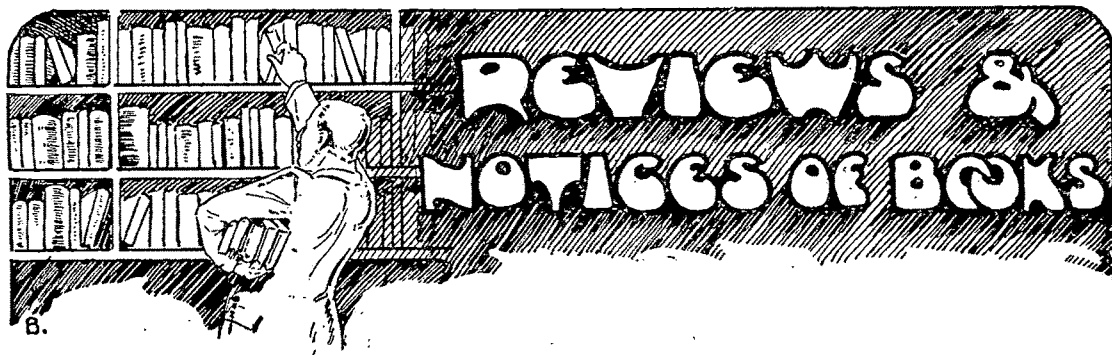


26a

form part of the headdress and which give the name to this style of coiffure. The ladies of the Court wore phoenix emblems according to their rank; the highest was a phoenix with nine tail feathers; the next in rank, seven tail feathers; these were followed by five, three and one tail feathers. There were no even numbers. A court lady could therefore be distinguished by the number of tail feathers in her headdress, just as an official was distinguished by his insignia of official rank. For further particulars of Pao Ssu, see *The China Journal of Science and Arts* for September, 1923, p. 454. Fig. 2.—Hsiang-feng-chi. Soaring phoenix. A modified form of Fig. 1. The hair is smoothed down, not puffed. One tail feather denotes the wearer to be one of the lowest ranking court ladies. Fig. 3.—Chin-hua-chi. Brass or gold-leaf ornaments. The ornaments give the name to this style of coiffure. Invented by Teng Man, consort of Duke Chuang of the Cheng State, B. C. 774.

Fig. 4.—Wu-yun-huan. Five clouds coiffure. Invented by Ch'i-chiang, consort of Duke Wu of the Chin State, B. C. 739. Fig. 5.—Feng-chi. Phoenix coiffure. Note the three tail feathers, showing the wearer to be a court lady of the third rank. Invented by Wu-yen consort of Prince Hsuan of the Ch'i State, C. B. C. 330. She was noted for her extreme ugliness. Fig. 6.—Chui-ma-chi. Toppling horse knobs. Han Dynasty style. Fig. 7.—Shuang ho-chi. United twin knobs. Invented by Bi-chi consort of Duke Hsien of the Chin State, B. C. 672. Fig. 8.—Ju-i-chi. As-you-wish style. Supposed to resemble the ju-i sceptre signifying good wishes. Said to have been first introduced by the infamous Wen Chiang consort of Duke Huan of the Lu State, B. C. 719. Fig. 9.—Lo-feng-chi. Spiral peak headdress. Invented by Hsia-chi wife of Hsia-shu yu, a Minister of the State of Ch'en, B. C. 590.

She was the consort of three reigning emperors and the wife of seven different officials. In spite of her varied career, great rivalry existed among the princes and nobles to gain her favours. Fig. 10. K'wei-hua-chi. Hollyhock coiffure. Invented by His Fu Jen, wife of the chief noble of the Hsi State, C. B. C. 681. The hair is elliptically arranged in ascending coils. Fig. 11.—To-yun-chi. Clouds cluster. Also known as Ch'iu-hai-t'ang *Begonia Evansiana*. Style worn by the peerless beauty Hsi Shih, 5th cent. B. C. Fig. 12.—Pao-lo-chi. Precious spiral headdress. First introduced by Chang Ch'u-ch'en known as Hung Fu Red Flicker, 615 A. D. Note the pendent called *t'iao kar'h* which is suspended from the head. See *China Journal of Science and Arts* for September, 1923, p. 456. Fig. 13.—Pai-ho-fen-shao-chi. Divided lily bulbs headdress. This style was said to have been in great favour with the Han Emperor Wei Ti, B. C. 90. Fig. 14.—T'an Twin tufts. Used by young maidens only. Fig. 15. Lu-chi-chi. Style named after Lu Hou, consort of Kao Tsu, the founder of the Han Dynasty, B. C. 206. Fig. 16.—Wai-pien. Oblique queue. Generally worn by boys. Fig. 17.—Chui-ken. Hanging root. Also known as Hsiao-shun-mao, Filial and obedient queue; and as kuei-chien ch'ou "demons are depressed thereat," that is, because of the shortness of the queue which they cannot grasp, his life is thus prolonged. Fig. 18.—Shuang-wai-pien. Oblique twin queues. Fig. 19.—Wang-pa-pien. Tortoise queue, from its fanciful resemblance to that creature. Worn by young boys and girls. Fig. 20.—Wai-chua-chi. Twisted hair locks. Fig. 21.—Chen-pien. Regular (ordinary) queue. Fig. 22.—Shuang-Wai-mao. Double wisps. Fig. 23.—La-ch'ien. Candle stick, from its shape. Figs. 24-26a.—various styles worn by little boys and girls.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA: STUDIES IN VATSYAYANA'S KAMASUTRA, by Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, Lecturer in Anthropology and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Greater India Society Publication No. 3; Calcutta, 1929: Pp. ii+212.

Social life in Ancient India is certainly a fascinating subject for all Indians, but up to this day we had but one book on it and that from the pen of a German scholar viz., Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*. Even this work being written in German was a sealed book to the large majority of Indian scholars. In recent years a few works have appeared in this country, both in English and in the vernaculars, on Vedic society, but they are all based on a fantastic notion of the dates of Vedic works, and as a rule they suffer from the regrettable inclination of their authors to read modernities into ancient literature. They cannot be called scientific works. We therefore accord our heartiest welcome to this new publication of the Greater India Society, coming from the pen of the veteran scholar Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar. This is the first work by an Indian scholar on social life in Ancient India written in a truly scholarly and strictly scientific manner. Of course social life in Ancient India is too vast a subject to be fully dealt with in this little volume, and it is obvious that only a particular period in the history of Ancient India can be successfully tackled within the limited bounds of this work. Much depends upon the choice of a period, and no choice could be happier than that of Prof. Chakladar: he has taken up the age of Vatsyayana, the author of the *Kamasutra* or the "Science of Enjoyment." It is an additional advantage accruing from this singularly happy choice that after the brilliant dissertation by Prof. Chakladar, comprising the first chapter of the present work, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the approximate date of the *Kamasutra*, "one of the most important secular documents that have come down to us from the ancient world," as Dr.

Kalidas Nag truly says in his introductory note. In itself this is a rare achievement in Sanskrit philology, but that is but a minor feature of this work. The chief merit of the book lies in its treatment of ancient Indian society in a language so lucid and perspicuous and in a manner so charming and naive, which could hardly be expected in a strictly scientific work which it certainly is.

The age of Vatsyayana marks the zenith of India's well-being and prosperity. Just before the rise of the Gupta empire, the country already enjoyed all the blissful amenities of life. A man did live his life in those days and wanted to make the most of it. No wonder that Vatsyayana thought it wise in those days to teach people how to make the most of this short life. In so doing he has revealed to us a completely new picture of ancient Indian society which is but faintly reflected on the face of profane Sanskrit literature and has therefore been always conveniently ignored. Vatsyayana, no less than Kautilya, has shown that Indians were not always steeped in stoical ataraxy. There was a day when they actually lived and wanted to live. All the eloquent details about the life of the affluent, easy-going, voluptuous and refined *Nagarika*, so adroitly brought together by Professor Chakladar from Vatsyayana, conjure up before us the familiar figure of the man of fashion of modern days. Indians could well indulge in fashions and luxuries in those days for India was at that time the centre of the trade and commerce of the world. Her sons bore the tale of her super-abundant wealth and affluence to distant lands but they awakened the jealousy of northern barbarians, and about the same time as Rome, her compeer in the West, and in like manner, after long resistance India fell before their barbaric onslaughts.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

LEGAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM:—By Paul Appasamy, Esq. M.A., LL. B. With a Lecture on Hindu Law Reform By Sir P. S. Sivaswami

Aiyar, K. C.S.I. Price Rs. 3. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. (1929)

This is an ably-written presentation of India's crying needs for social reform. It endeavours to forcibly point out to India's sons and India's daughters the direction in which Hindu Law reforms should drift in order to ensure a better and a healthier tone of India's semi-paralysed nervous system. The book consists of three parts, the first on the status of women, the second on caste, and the third on joint family.

The first part treats of infant marriage, widow re-marriage, marriage expenses, bride and bridegroom price, marriage brokerage, monogamy, concubinage, prostitution, women's rights, education and the laws of *stridhanam*. The woman's problem, so long selfishly stowed away by man, the law-maker, has been actively canvassed. We agree with the author that the citadel of family life in India having always been held by women, so long as they are uneducated or unprogressive, India's place in the world would naturally be unworthy of her true worth. Though we do not quite agree with the author that the Government's position being rather delicate on account of the Queen's Proclamation, the Government could not be expected to make much headway in social reformatory legislation, but we admit that so long as the mythological slumbers of a twentieth century Kumbhakarna are freely indulged in our chances to effect any improvements are remote. Our legislatures have of late been busy in their attempts at uprooting the pernicious system of infant marriage. Some of us have also been trying to work at anti-dowry movements and propaganda, but the real remedy lies in education, both extensive and intensive. The writer has raised a strong plea for the compulsory registration of Hindu marriages as a solution for many of the social evils, but we do not quite see the utility of it. Legal formulae are cure for no disease.

The second part deals with inter-caste marriage, inter-dining, temple-worship, use of public roads, wells, tanks etc., mass education, village sanitation, communal associations and reclamation of castes. Most of the evils exposed are peculiar to Southern India, the problems whereof the writer must have made a special study. In Northern India we have been able to eradicate much of these, thanks to a growing spirit of liberality brought on by the Brahma Samaj. Legislation in the directions indicated will be futile without the growth of this spirit, though we shall be glad to see the enactment of laws for compulsory education of men and women alike.

The third part discusses joint family problems, namely the principle of survivorship, self-acquired property, testamentary succession, inheritance, guardianship, adoption, *benami* transactions and usurious loans. Suggestions have been made for bringing the Mitakshara laws of succession more in accord with the Dayabhaga. In our opinion, the legislators should seriously deliberate on the inclusion of females in the list of successors, specially of widows of predeceased sons, and on conferring the guardianship of female children both on the father and on the mother, before they attempt any other measure suggested in this part of the book. Suppression of immoral traffic acts

should be passed everywhere in India, for the protection of minor girls.

There is throughout the book a ring of sincerity and the author's criticisms, though expressed in clear and unmistakable language, are at the same time, sympathetic and constructive.

AMAR PALIT

AURANGZEB. By Prof. Upendranath Ball, M. A., Author of "Hindu India", "Medieval India", etc. Atma Ram and Sons, Lahore. pp. 184. Re. 1-10.

This book deals with the reign of Aurangzib in eight chapters of which two are devoted to Shivaji and the Maratha affairs. It has neither an "Introduction", nor a formal "End"; but what it seems to require badly is a long errata, without which it is difficult to distinguish between the printer's devil and the author's lack of information. Apparently the author intended this volume to be a more respectable production than cheap bazar-notes which periodically overflow the market. But rigid economy and carelessness in proof-reading have marred its value to a great extent. Major portion of the book reads like a string of hastily-prepared lecture notes to satisfy a class of docile mediocrities. Had not the author written under the dread of infringing the copy-right of others from whom he extensively borrows with, and sometimes without, an acknowledgment, he could have perhaps produced a more readable book. No one can justly expect much originality in a book of this category; but it is to be regretted that the author has failed to utilize even the secondary sources with sufficient discrimination. Among the authorities quoted in the book are Elphinstone, Grant Duff, Lane Poole, Elliot and Dowson, Bernier, Manucci, and "a modern writer". We wonder how Mr. Ball could venture to write a book on Aurangzib without consulting Sir Jadunath Sarkar's works. Where he differs from Sir Jadunath, and even from Shah Jahan's Court-historian Abdul Hamid Lahori, *e.g.*, in saying that Aurangzib was the *ninth* child of Mumtaz, he ought to have quoted authority for such an astounding piece of information.

A few words about its contents. There is a map facing p. 1 to illustrate the extent of the Mughal Empire in 1700 A.D. It gives merely the outline without the names of provinces; outline leaves out about half of Eastern Bengal and Assam, though the text contains a section on the conquest of Chittagong. The author quotes with approval a passage of Bernier describing the education of Mughal princes in the harem, which they leave "quite ignorant of the duties imposed upon them by their new station. They appear on the stage of life, as if they come from another world, emerged for the first time, from a subterranean cavern, astonished, like simpletons, at all around them" (p. 3-4). Is it the sort of education which Aurangzib received? Mr. Ball says, "Most probably". It is amusing to read "He [Aurangzib] was brought up as a theologian... was not given any broad culture or sound education. His knowledge of philosophy was very crude..... He was not made acquainted with the nature of man or trained in the first principles (of ?), and was not taught the sublime and adequate conception of the universe" (p. 5-6). The author says, "He

(Aurangzib) was faithfully served by Rajah Jai Singh and Maharajah Jaswant Singh." Was it fidelity on the part of Jaswant to plunder the camp of Aurangzib on the eve of the battle of Khajwa? As regards Aurangzib's character, policy and administration Mr. Ball has nothing new to say; nor has he given us the best of the old. What the average student may find useful is the summary of Aurangzib's campaigns, though his topography is occasionally unintelligible; e.g., "Prince Muazzam who had arrived at Ujjain was ordered to take his position near the Lake Ana Sagar eighty kos from Ajmer" (p. 88). The two chapters devoted to Maratha affairs are fairly well-written, and the map illustrating the kingdom of Shivaji is also accurate. The book in spite of its manifold limitations is, however, worth its modest price. To the average under-graduate who does not care to specialize in history it will be of some use as an introduction to the long and eventful reign of the great Mughal Emperor Aurangzib.

K. R. Qanungo

RURAL SURVEY OF BALLABHPUR: *Sriniketan Surul, District Birbhum. Edited by Kalimohan Ghosh of the Visva-bharati Village Welfare Department. Price six annas.*

This booklet contains detailed information relating to Ballabhpur, a village in the Birbhum district of Bengal, collected by the workers of the Visva-bharati Village Welfare Department. The plan according to which facts have been collected was drawn up by Dr. Rajanikanta Das of Geneva. Some of the workers were trained under him. It is a very interesting and important publication. To village welfare workers, it would be of very great use and help. As India in general and Bengal in particular are mainly rural in character, all educated persons should read this booklet.

R. C.

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: *by Jwala Prasad M. A., Robertson College Jubulpore, With a foreword by R. D. Ranade M. A. Published by the Indian Press Limited; Allahabad. Pp. viii + viii + 196, 8 vo. Price Rs. 4.*

There are five chapters in the book. The first chapter discusses the philosophy of the Samhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishad. The second discusses the philosophy of the Epic period. Herein is also discussed the philosophy of the Gita. The subject matter of the third chapter is the philosophy of the Heterodox schools, i. e. Materialism, Jainism and Buddhism.

The fourth chapter deals with the six schools of Hindu philosophy. In discussing the Vedanta the author has also expounded the philosophy of Gaudapada, Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhava and Vallabha. The fifth chapter contains the remarks of the author on "The Present outlook in Indian Philosophy".

In Appendix 1, The author tries to prove that there are "germs of modern Psychology in the Yayurveda."

There are also (a) bibliography, (b) list of works consulted, (c) glossary of important terms, (d) index.

It is an excellent introduction for beginners. The author's composition is clear and brief.

THE USE OF PHILOSOPHY: *by John H. Muirhead Published by George Allen and Unwin Limited. Pp. 208. Price 7s. 6d.*

The book consists of lectures and addresses given on different occasions in California. There are twelve chapters in the book. The last four chapters are of minor importance and the subjects discussed in the first eight chapters are (i) Why everybody needs a philosophy. (ii) What is philosophy, any way? (iii) The place of philosophy in American Universities. (iv) The Spirit of Man. (v) Social Life. (vi) Religion. (vii) The Life of knowledge (viii) Philosophy and Politics.

Though these chapters are more or less philosophical, they are written in popular style and will be easily understood even by those who are not conversant with philosophy. The book is worth-reading.

The author is a distinguished writer belonging to the Idealistic School of philosophy and is the editor of the well-known "Library of Philosophy."

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH

MUKUNDA-MALA TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH—*by M. V. V. K. Rangachari. Published by the author (Cocanada P. O.) Pp. ii + 158. Price not known.*

It is a book of hymns addressed to Mukunda i. e. Krishna. It was composed by Kula-sekhara "a King of Malayala (Travancore) a province in Southern India."

There are 40 verses in the book. The Sanskrit text is printed in Roman character. All the words of the verses have been explained in English. The translator's exposition is important. It is a useful publication.

THE OUTLINES OF VEDANTA BASED ON SRI SANKARA'S DAKSHINA MOORTHY STOTRA *by M. Srinivasa Rau M. A., M. D., etc. (Shankarapuram, Bangalore City) Pp. xii + 88. Price Re 1-8.*

Dakshinamurti Stotra is generally attributed to Sankara. This book contains (i) an introduction, (ii) the text of the stotra printed in Devanagari character, (iii) an English translation of the hymn, and (iv) exposition of the Vedanta based on this hymn.

The author's exposition is clear. The book is worth-reading.

THE SAINT DURGA CHARAN NAG, *Published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore. Madras. Pp. vi + 170. Price Re 1.*

"Nag Mahasaya" was a saintly house-holder. We have read his biography with interest and benefit.

The 'shoe-beating' incident (pp. 80-81) might have been omitted.

DIALOGUES IN AN ASHRAM: *by A. H. Jaisingani with an introduction by T. L. Vaswani. Published by Ganesha and Co., Madras. Pp. xvi + 82.*

The subjects dealt with in this booklet are (i) Religion and Science (ii) Man and the superman (iii) Art and the Ascetic.

Suggestive; worth-reading.

(i) SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA : Pp. 42, Price 3 As. (ii) *The Message of Swami Vivekananda* Pp. 50. Price 4 As. By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri., B. A., B. L. Published from Sri Ramakrishna Math Myapore, Madras.
Delightful and inspiring.

Mahes Chandra Ghosh

SANSKRIT

PITRIDAYITA : By Mahamahopadhyaya Aniruddha Bhatta. Edited by Pandit Dakshinacharan Bhattacharyya. Published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shambazar, Calcutta. Pp. 94.

During the reign of the Senas there was a Hindu revival and the scholars of the day wrote many works on the rites and practices enjoined by the Vedas and Smritis. The book under notice is one of them and it follows the Samaveda and quotes extensively from the Gobhila Grihya Sutras. The author was a religious preceptor and minister of justice at the time of Ballala Sena. The *śrādh* ceremony, which is one of the main Hindu rites, is elaborately dealt with in this work. Among various other things we have the curious description of the burning of the image of *sara* grass.

There is an introduction in English discussing the work and the author.

KARAKOLLASA : By Bharata Mallika. Edited by Pandit Janakinath Sahitya-Sastri. Published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shambazar, Calcutta. Pp. 10.

The author of this booklet was well known as a Sanskrit writer. He wrote on grammar, medicine, genealogy and commented on Sanskrit poetical works. The present book is a monograph on the Sanskrit *Karakas*. The English introduction discards some misconception of the scholars as to the life times of the author.

RAMES BASU

HINDI

PRACHIN JAIN SMARAK : (of U. P.; C. P.; C. I.; Rajputana; Madras and Mysore; and Bombay in 4 vols.) By Brāhmachari Sitalprasad. Published by Mr. M. K. Kapadiya, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Surat.

Brahmachari Sitalprasad is well-known as an indefatigable worker in the field of Jain history. He took upon himself the arduous task of compiling and editing all the Jain relics and records found in the various provinces of India and the outcome is this series of volumes. The author had to ransack all the available Government and other publications on various aspects of Jainism and Jaina history. Besides the epigraphic records there are quotations from various Jaina MSS. and printed books. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the amount of labour spent on these volumes in the course of this short notice. These will immensely help other scholars to build up a history of Jain India. We are thankful to the author for what he has done and say only by way of suggestion that the volumes could be made

more useful by maps, charts, illustrations, etc. and by arranging the materials according to the ages and not the find spots. But the volumes will remain indispensable as books for reference and as a mine of information.

RAMES BASU.

BENGALI

JANOARER KANDA—by Jogindranath Sarkar. City Book Society. Re. 1.

CHHOTODER CHIRIAKHANA : Jogindranath Sarkar. City Book Society. Price Re. 1.

We have received the above two Bengali books for juvenile readers from the publishers. Both of them are from the pen of Mr. Jogindranath Sarkar. The books maintain the high reputation of this pioneer in the realm of Bengali juvenile literature in all respects.

K. N. C.

MARATHI

SORROWS OF YOUNG WERTHER—translated from the German by S. B. Hudlikar M. A. Publisher : S. V. Chaudhuri Law College, Poona. Pages 172. Price Re 1-8.

Goethe was a German poet of international reputation and *Sorrows of Young Werther*, one of his famous works, was to a great extent instrumental in making him known beyond Germany. It is a novel in the form of letters, in which is depicted the emotional and sensitive nature of Werther with considerable delicacy and skill. However, it is feared that the novel is not likely to appeal to all sorts of Marathi readers. The Marathi version is carefully done.

LIFE OF RAMANAND BEEDKAR MAHARAJ : by L. G. Bapat, Shanwarpeth, Poona City. Pages 380. Price Rs. 2.

India has never been in the want of spiritual Gurus and Sadhus of the type of Beedkar Maharaja and these gurus, have never wanted followers. There is over-abundance of faith in India, and it is faith which can see, if not create, virtues which ordinary mortals fail to see. On Page 11 of this book the author has claimed for his work certain merits which thoughtful men will hesitate to ascribe even to the Bhagavad Gita. Those who have propensity to believe, let them believe.

SUWARNA CHAMPAK : by the poet 'Shri Krishna.' Publishers : Prabhakar and Co., Sadashiv Peth, Poona. Price Re. 1.

Prof. S. N. Chapekar of the Deccan College is well-known as a Marathi scholar and a powerful and fluent speaker. That he is also a poet of considerable merit is however known only to a few, and but for this book of songs his identity with poet 'Shri Krishna' would probably have remained shrouded in obscurity for a long period. Mr. Chapekar is a happy link connecting the old with the younger generation of Marathi poets, and combines in his poetry the best of both. His choice of subjects is happy, his language is simple and terse though

occasionally it is over-burdened with Sanskrit words. The manner of expression is pleasant. The book is nicely got up.

Tridal or a group of three leaves is a name given to a collection of poems of three members of three well-known aristocratic families in Maharashtra viz. Shrimant Yuvaraj Pant Sachiv of Bhor, Shrimati. Girijabai Vinchurkar and Shrimati Shantabai Heblikar. It is a happy sign of the times that goddess Lakshmi is showing her willingness to shake hands with the sister Muse of Poetry. Yuvaraja's poems are full of charming descriptions of Nature's beauties and evince the spirit of optimism ruling over his mind. In Shri Girijabai's poems a peculiar ring of sadness is clearly reflected, which is probably accounted for by the misfortune which overtook her in her youth. Shrimati Shantabai's poems display the reflective mood of the poetess's mind and the happy

combination of these three peculiar characteristics of three individuals lends a peculiar charm to the volume.

DAULAT—(a novel) : by Prof. N. S. Phadke of Kolhapur. Publisher : Vijaya Press, Poona City. Price Rs. two.

Prof. Phadke has successfully cultivated the art of exploiting the inmost secrets of young educated minds and holding them up to his readers in an unmistakable manner. His novels therefore appeal more to the educated youth than to the reading public in general. This description of Mr. Phadke's novels is specially applicable to his "Daulat," which will be read by educated young men and women with unflinching interest, though an uncultured mind will not feel quite so enthusiastic over its reading. The get-up is excellent.

V. G. Apte

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

To

The Editor, *The Modern Review*
Calcutta.

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to an article on "Greek Artists in Buddhist Afghanistan" by Mr. R. S. Pandit, published in the *Modern Review* for June 1929, in which the writer made certain observations on the Kafirs of Kafiristan. During the last three months an extensive anthropological investigation on the Kafirs was carried on by Dr. Georg Morgenstierne, and myself. Dr. Morgenstierne, working on behalf of the Norwegian Institute for Research in Comparative Human Culture, confined himself to the linguistic side and I, on behalf of the Zoological survey of the Government of India, studied the physical and social sides of their life.

In the course of his article Mr. Pandit remarks that "the Kafirs living in inaccessible mountains preserved their ancient religion and customs which appear to be a mixture of ancient Greek, Buddhist and indigenous beliefs. Although their language is of Prakrit origin they cherish a tradition of Greek descent" (p. 682). None of these statements are true. Excepting a rather vague general likeness, based no doubt on their common Aryan origin and very much exaggerated by travellers, the Kafir religion does not show any resemblance either to the Greek or Buddhist beliefs and to describe it "as a mixture of ancient Greek, Buddhist and indigenous beliefs" is a great travesty of facts. Dr. Morgenstierne's very careful enquiry shows that the Kafir language is certainly not of Prakrit origin. If it can at all be considered as belonging to the India branch of the Aryan family, it is very old, and certainly branched off before the Vedic times. My thorough search likewise failed to find

among the Kafirs any tradition of their Greek origin. It is to be remembered in this connection that Sir George Robertson—the only other man who made a systematic investigation of Kafir customs and religion—also does not make mention of any tradition among the Kafirs of their Greek descent in either of his works viz., "The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush" (London, 1896) or "Report on Journey to Kafiristan" (Confidential Document of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, London 1894).

Mr. Pandit's further statement that "the Kafir religion centres round Gish" is incorrect. If the Kafir religion can be regarded as centring round any god, it is Imra and not Gish. Gish is the god of war and occupies a high position, but his position in the Kafir pantheon has without doubt been below that of Imra.

Lastly, as regards Mr. Pandit's impression (who, I presume, never visited Kafiristan) that "the majority of the population still continues to cherish their ancient religion", our experience has been very different. Thanks to the thoroughness of Amir Abdur Rahman's work of conversion there is not a single Kafir now living in Afghanistan. There are only two villages in the Mehtar's territory in Chitral, namely Kurisht in the Rambur and Brhimital in the Bambout valleys, where genuine Kafirs still survive and practise their ancient religion and customs; their number not exceeding 2 or 3 scores in all however. And it is not a rash prophecy that a few years hence, after the death of the priest and a few old men, hardly any follower of Kafir religion and customs will be found to be existing.

The Political Bungalow
Chitral,
Sep. 4, 1929.

B. S. Guha.



MISS MRINAL DAS-GUPTA, daughter of the late Rai Kamala Nath Das-Gupta Bahadur of Dacca, has stood first in first class in the last M. A. examination of the University of Dacca in the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali. Her father was an ardent supporter

MISS SHANTA VASUDEO SUKHTANKAR is the daughter of Dr. V. A. Sukhtankar, Ph. D., Director of School Education of Indore and is now 19 years of age. At 15 she passed her matriculation examination from the Allahabad University in the first division



Miss Mrinal Das-Gupta



Miss Shanta Vasudeo Sukhtankar

and encourager of female education and Miss Das-Gupta has realized her father's eager aspirations. Miss Das-Gupta intends at present to take up research work in the same University.

with distinction in Sanskrit having studied in the Chandravati Mahila Vidyalaya of Indore. She then joined the Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow and when she was seventeen years of age, passed the Intermediate

examination in the first division in Science. She then took the Arts course and this year she passed the B. A. examination of the Agra University in the first division,

standing first in the University. She has also won the Jones Municipal Medal for standing first in English at the B. A. Examination.

Modern Persia

By SATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJI

NADIR Shah was assassinated in 1747. In his lifetime he had utterly failed to establish some sort of settled government in Persia and thus to restore peace and order in the country. Consequently, his exit from the tumultuous stage over which he had passed like a whirlwind, was followed by a wild scramble for the throne of Persia, which passed to and fro like a shuttle-cock from one covetous power to another.

A group of short-lived Shahs followed in quick succession, almost all of whom came to a tragic end at the hands of the assassin. This run had a break in Karim-Khan-i-Zand, who reigned for the considerable period of thirty years. Karim Khan was born to no high position. He had served Nadir as a soldier of the lowest rank. But he gradually worked his way to the throne and almost made himself a successful ruler. Of his sense of justice and humour we have many tales, and documents prove that he was extremely anxious to see his subjects happy and prosperous.

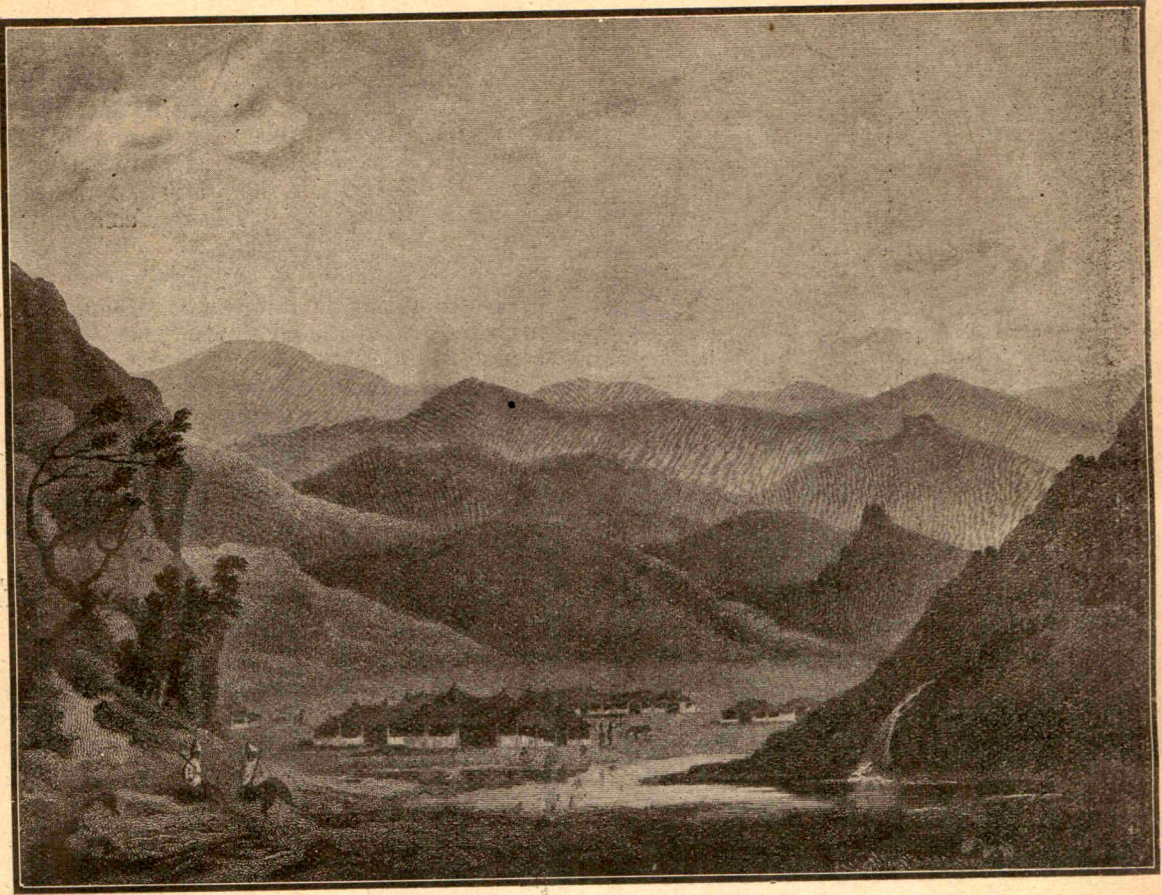
The final act of this drama was, however, played by Aga Mohammad, who in 1794 defeated Lutf Ali, ravaged Kerman, and founded the Qajan dynasty, which ruled Persia till very recently. Aga Mohammad, the eunuch monarch, was a chief of the Qajan tribe, which is of Turkish origin. He was given to brutality and treachery, and all historians are unanimous in decrying his vile character. Love of power, avarice and vindictiveness were his ruling passions, and he never hesitated to stoop to anything to satiate his thirst for power. He had hardly reigned for three years, when he was murdered by his servants. But so long as he lived he stood as a glowering menace to both his friends and foes. The portrait of this eunuch Shah almost reveals

his mind, and of this Sykes remarks that "at a distance his slight form resembles that of a youth, but a close inspection revealed a beardless and shrivelled face horrible to contemplate."

The confusion following the sudden death of Aga Mohammad saw the dispersion of the army, which added to the general lawlessness. But the strong figure of Hazi Ibrahim, who as Sykes puts it, had a 'strong and stout personality somewhat after the type of Bismarck', could rally a group round him. Reputed as a 'king-maker' he marched to Teheran in support of Fateh Ali, the nephew and descendant of the deceased Shah and actually placed him on the throne. Thence followed a group of Shahs, who require no special mention.

The despotic Qajan Shahs were anything but successful and popular rulers and their whimsical autocracy created an atmosphere of violent indignation, which increased with time. Amongst this group Nasir-ud-din, gained decided popularity by relaxing his orthodoxy, which he could do as a result of his extensive tours in Europe.

But it was after his death that the culminating point of the government in corruption and oppressiveness was reached, and this resulted in a bold cry all over the country for a constitutional order. This movement was supported and propagated by the "Anjumans," both official and non-official. The official "Anjumans" represented the municipal, departmental and provincial committees. The non-official were ordinary clubs with systematic activities. Eventually, autocracy ceded to the constitution, resulting in the establishment of a "National Assembly" or the 'Majlis' which was actually inaugurated in 1906.



View of the Encampment of a Wandering Tribe

This assembly consisted of about two hundred members elected from the several electoral areas in which Persia was divided, and it was to assist the internal government and also to settle and dictate the relations with the external powers. All males between thirty and seventy were eligible to vote in the election of representatives to the 'Majlis.'

Even then autocratic ideas did not reconcile themselves to the constitution. Reaction revealed itself, in the worthless reign of Ali Mohammad who ascended the throne in 1907. This unprincipled and avaricious Shah had ultimately to abdicate the throne in favour of his son, Sultan Ahmad, a lad of twelve and his further attempts to recover the kingdom proved futile.

We might look now into the war and the post-war situations. Sultan Ahmed had hardly attained majority when the Great War broke out in 1914. The Shah, in

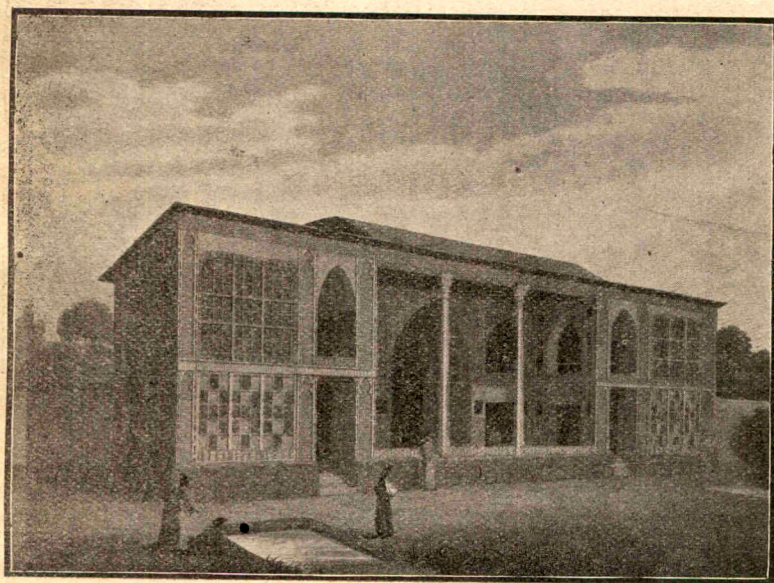
compliance with the decision of the Assembly proclaimed austere neutrality. But a stronger party in the 'Majlis' was far more inclined to side with the Germans and the reason is not far to seek.

The diplomatic activities of the German agents in Persia had earned strong support for them throughout the whole area. Wasmuss, the chief agent was formerly a Consul at Bushire. He organised an anti-British confederacy in several districts and it is surprising to learn that by the end of 1915, seven, out of seventeen branches of the Imperial Bank of Persia, were under his control! The following lines which reveals the real scope of these plots may prove interesting.

The activity of enemy agents in Persia was remarkable and documentary proof was obtained of wide-spreading schemes, which included plots for organising mutinies in the Indian army, rebellions in India, and attacks on British representatives and communities throughout Persia. The plan of

operations, so far as Persia was concerned, was twofold. Agents, furnished with ample funds, machine-guns and rifles were to enlist levies and create anarchy throughout the country. They were to rob and drive out the small British and Russian colonies living in the Persian towns, murdering their representatives, and seizing treasuries of the Imperial Bank of Persia and the property of British and Russian firms. These groups were, furthermore, to form supports to other parties, destined to push through into Afghanistan and Baluchistan, which were furnished with letters written on vellum, signed by the German Foreign Secretary, and addressed to the Amir of Afghanistan and the ruling princes of India. The Germans carried on propaganda which was distinctly anti-Christian and appealed to the fanaticism of Islam, their agent proclaiming the conversion of the German nation and their monarch to the teachings of Mohammad and referring to the Majesty as "Hazi Wilhelm".

(History of Persia : Sykes, vol. VI., p. 442-43)



View of a Palace at Isfahan

The post-war period represents a different phase in the history of Persia. There seems to grow up a concerted attempt to develop the educational and commercial activities of the country and this was rendered possible by a broader outlook, brought on by the last confusion.

But Sultan Ahmad, the Qajan Shah was more than worthless. Mr. Balfour, who had been in Persia for a considerable period, holds that "he is possessed of a morbid terror of infection and germs to which he gives way to such an extent that at times, he refuses to sign even the most important

documents, lest he should risk infection through a contaminated penholder!"

Vitality, to some extent, had been regained by the Persians in the post-war period and they disdained to tolerate such an imbecile monarch. In February 1921, the Cossack division of the Persian army marched to Teheran under Riza Khan Pahlavi, their Commander-in-Chief, and seized the government without any opposition whatsoever.

On capturing the throne, Riza Khan devoted his attention to military re-organisation. Of course, till 1925, Sultan Ahmad had been the nominal Shah. Chaotic rules of the former Shahs could not afford to pay salary to the soldiers and this resulted in wild indiscipline. Riza Khan's idea was to establish a

republican government in the country, but his activities met with vehement reprobations from orthodox quarters. They protested against republicanism, lest they should incur the same fate as their neighbouring country, Turkey, where the Caliphate was automatically abolished as a result of a republican constitution.

Necessarily, this opposition tended to make Riza Khan's position comparatively weak, but his prudent activities made the table turn in his favour. The result was that he was unanimously voted to the throne and Sultan Ahmad had to retire. Since 1925, Riza Khan continues to

be the Shah of Persia. It was not natural to apprehend some intrigue and dissension from the Qajan family, the established Imperial House, but it seems that they find themselves quite handicapped to raise any cry of discord. The new Shah is a capable ruler and along with the Persians, the whole world looks for the days when he will restore the old glory of Persia.

The religion of the people of Persia is a medley of diverse beliefs. There are old Zoroastrians, with their pure Aryan blood, with the Jews, New-Muslims and the Muslim all around. Shia sect of Islam continues to be

the state religion but Bahaism is the only other faith which has a really grave claim to stand on an equal footing with it. Bahaism claims to be a system within Islam, but this statement is vehemently contended in view of the diversities in their fundamental principles. While Islam does not recognise the validity of any prophet and scripture other than Mohammad and the Koran, Bahaism is liberal in its acceptance and recognition of other religious beliefs.

Looking into its origin, we need remember Bab, who preached his religion in 1844. Bahauallah, a latter disciple, annulled and annexed some of his doctrines and preached this new system. Since then, it has been promulgated and held by men of prominence and has gone out to find its admirers and proselytes in Europe and America. Jews who accept Bahaism, call themselves New-Muslims. But Bahaism is not tolerated by the State, and its members are almost treated as apostates. Discussions about this new development in Islam is highly interesting.

The fundamental difference between the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam is interesting. The former does not recognise the validity of the first three Caliphs, namely, Abu Bekar, Omar and Othman and holds that the fourth Caliph Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet, had been appointed by him as his successor. This gives a rude shock to the rulings and tenets of the Koran. Further, it is a common belief with the Shias that the twelfth Imam did not die but would return in the fullness of time to subdue the world to the true faith and to secure the triumph of the faithful. With such a belief, there is hardly any room for a Caliph and as such the Persians do not in a sense recognize the Caliphate.

Persia is essentially an agricultural country but the system adopted for cultivation is most primitive. There is scanty rainfall in the country with its consequent effect of scarcity. Navigable

rivers are absent. Vegetation, in general, is meagre. The prevailing feature of the land has no green exuberance, and except where irrigation brings life, all verdure succumbs to steppe and barren waste. On the other hand, Persia is exceptionally rich in fruits. In spite of the lack of innovations and development in the time-honoured ways of cultivation, one is apt to wonder at the profuse produce. Pears, apples, apricots, black and yellow



Sketch of some Families of the Ghishkee Tribe

plums, peaches etc. are found everywhere in abundance. Persia has an established reputation for her grapes and melons.

Near about the Caspian sea, vegetation is profuse. Rice, maize and potatoes grow in hot districts and the staple crops are wheat and barley. Sesame and similar other oil-seeds grow everywhere.

The entire absence of the middle-class is a remarkable feature of Persian society and to this is attributed her generally slow progress. The disparity between town and the village people is more than imaginable, and there are no educational institutions to establish the missing link.

Like all other agricultural countries, Persia has also got her rural entities, which group themselves in small scattered villages. The land belongs either to a chief or to the government, who distributes plots among the population in return for some percentage of the crops produced. Every such village has got its *hammam* or the

bath, which is the central club. This is built either by the land-lord or by the villagers themselves. Every village family has got to subscribe a fixed amount of grain to the maintenance of this institution. This is one of the charms of life of a Persian, and with gossip, tea, 'kalyan smoking' and story-telling, make it no doubt one of the pleasantest of lounging places.



Aga Mohammad

At the bottom of the Governmental hierarchy is the village community, presided over by a "Kad Khoda" or the mayor. He is generally selected either from the rich vassals or from the grey-beards. In case of dispute, the local governor has the final voice. 'Kad Khoda' is assisted by 'Pakar' and 'Mirab', as the executive authority and the water distributors are respectively called, and he is solely responsible for the welfare of his village. He looks to the proper distribution of lands, maintenance of peace and order, approves of and pays all common expenses and collects revenue and taxes on behalf of the Government.

Next to this, comes the "Blouk", consisting of a group of villages, with the "Blouk Khoda" as its head. In most cases, this official is selected by the Government from the local influential men and he represents the district under him. He advises the

government in all matters relating to his district and he has an effective voice in all such cases. The present government has ignored this arrangement to a very great extent.

Position of women in villages is almost like that of animals which help the farmer in cultivation. The agricultural people always need a helping hand and to secure such at the lowest cost, they always indulge in polygamy. This has moreover been increased by the custom of temporary marriages, which are widely prevalent among the Persians. At the time of harvest, they contract such marriages for a fixed period of three or six months, which may further be renewed on expiry. They have thus helping mates, both for indoor and outdoor works and this is certainly a question of economy with them. At places of pilgrimages, which entail long absence from home, this is a very common affair and under the auspices of the local ecclesiastics, pilgrims are provided with temporary wives. This is tantamount almost to prostitution, which is further proved by the fact that there is no provision for the children of such unions. The position of women in Persia can be well understood from what Mr. De Lorcy



Pateh Ali

says. To quote his words, "the Persian women is what man has made her. To the rich man, she is a luxury for the

gratification of his pleasures, to the poor man a more or less useful animal until she becomes a mother."

But the post-war period has brought about a revolution in this matter, and Bahaism is trying to introduce education among girls, which is contrary to the injunction of the Koran. This is having satisfactory result all over the country, and now there are women in Persia who are not only left to decipher the languages of the flowers and the nightingales, but also can understand human lores.

Merchant is the most courteous type among the townspeople. He has cultivated all the traditional virtues of the Persian. Even with his immense riches he is so polite with one and all that on the face of it, one is apt to consider him otherwise. But truly he retains his traits most sincerely.

Medical science has not yet been developed in Persia. Till very recently, there were no trained doctors and the healing science was exclusively in the hands of quacks. These quacks were doctors by heredity, and no learning was required at all. But now medicine is being studied by Persians and these quacks are gradually being supplanted by real physicians.

People in general, can be divided into two broad classes. Apart from the settled section, there are tribesmen, who cover at least one-fourth of the whole population. These people are practically nomads, and live in black tents woven from goat wool. They never marry beyond their own tribes. Their splendid health, specially that of their womenfolk, is worth mentioning. The present Shah is, however, aspiring to get them settled. Control over the tribes is exercised by the immediately superior chief, who is practically paid for this work by the government. But if this hold is relaxed disorders set in, more wildly on account of their nomadic habits. Without settlement, the task of civilizing them seems to be an idle idea.

Womenfolk are secluded in the 'Anderum' which is a distinct feature in every Persian house. There they are left to grow like wild flowers, in absolute confinement and without any healthy nourishment from the outer world. They spend their hours in idle gossip, in quarrels, and in listening to phantastical stories which retard their mental development. Owing to this, the Persians are deprived of any healthy family life.

When they go out they are all veiled in their usual black cloaks and are said to be the perpetual phantoms of Persia.



Shah Ali Mohammed

Child marriage is still a very prevalent in the country. People usually marry their girls between seven and ten and the result is anything but healthy. But this has attracted the attention of many social reformers and the system, it is hoped, will at least be modified, if not totally eradicated.

The common educational institutions in the country are the 'Maktabs' and the 'Madrashas'. The latter are an improvement on the former, which had only its crude arrangements and faulty methods. In the Maktab "a boy's education", says Bishop Linton, a veteran in the field, "is complete when he can read the sacred Koran in Arabic and has also acquired the art of Persian writing, and can read one of the simpler classics."

But the Madrashas are gradually developing under an organised body of the progressives, and have quite a fair standard of education.

One of the deterrents of the progress of Persia lies in the spreading contagion of



Riza Shah

opium smoking which is gaining ground. Both the rich and the poor are addicted to this bad habit.

Dervishes are prominent and conspicuous with their peculiar bowl, stick and dress. They are said to be the ascetics, who have renounced worldly pleasure, for a religious mission. Their idea is 'to let the body suffer to enrich the soul'. With their peculiar shout, 'Huq' 'Huq' they roam from place to place, but their high ideals, which may be traced to the Sufi philosophers,

have been altogether lost. These unworthy people take to this as a profession to make money out of human credulity. At present, they are certainly more tolerated than liked.

In Persia, it is as easy to get a servant as it is difficult to get rid of him. But for their habit of pilfering, they would have been quite good helping hands. Their notoriety in this matter is quite an established fact, and sharing the 'percentage' as they usually call it, is with them by no means a dishonesty to be reprovved by their religion.

Nomadic tribes are the heroes of many robberies. To put a stop to these, the government have engaged some chiefs from such tribes as guards on the road. As a result their direct attacks have, to some extent, been checked but their levies have increased through a different channel. In lieu of such safety they demand some "honourable presents" from every traveller, which it is useless to refuse. But sometimes the call of the road proves stronger, and then, all on a sudden they resume their inborn habits. In a word, it is highly risky to travel in Persia.

Persia is pretty rich in minerals, but none of her metallic mines have been properly worked. Her main prospect lies with petroleum, which has long since attracted the attention of the whole world,

Carpet-making is the most promising industry of the country, and in this she excels. Though it is contrary to Islam to represent human figure in art, painting was allowed in Damascus, Bagdad and Cairo schools which have a general reputation. The existing and traceable monuments, pillars and palaces go to represent the superior standard of architecture. Persian literature, with its high philosophy and poetry has always attracted the attention of the scholars of the world. The language is exceptionally expressive and is attuned to the song of the nightingale and the mourning of the rose.



How Tolstoy Died

The Soviet Government, says the *Living Age*, has always displayed the greatest zeal in publishing documents which throw new light on the career and personality of Tolstoy, perhaps because Lenin once said that *War and Peace* was the greatest novel ever written. The latest of these is a collection of telegrams sent from the little railway station of Astapovo where Tolstoy died. We quote the following account of the last days of Tolstoy from the *Living Age*:

At the end of October, 1910, the aged Count had quitted his family, fondly believing that his movements were unnoticed, but actually followed closely by the police, who kept his wife in touch with all his activities. He had purchased a ticket to Rostov on the Don River and was travelling there in the company of his friend, Dr. Makovich, when sickness suddenly assailed him during the late afternoon of October 31st, while their train was passing through the village of Astapovo.

The stricken writer was immediately bundled out and the local station master placed his own quarters at the disposal of his distinguished visitor. The police, the Tolstoy family, the Press, the clergy, and the doctors were at once notified, and they all came pouring into the little town. Countess Tolstoy lived in a private car on a near-by siding and the governor of the province stayed in another. Troops were called out and guns and ammunition were rushed to the scene. The Church refused to pray for him unless he would agree to return to the fold. But, though all the authorities were nervous and hostile, the whole Russian nation was agog and overflowing with sympathy.

Meanwhile, a flood of telegrams was pouring in and out of the little station. These are what compose the bulk of this newly published book, and their laconic style gives a vivid picture of the various states of mind that prevailed in different circles of society. The collection opens with an exchange of messages between local police officials. 'Writer Count Tolstoy on Train 12 sick. Station Master Ozolin gives him room.' Next morning Tolstoy himself wired to a friend, 'Fell sick yesterday. Travellers saw me leaving train in distress. Fear indiscretions. Better to-day. Continuing trip. Take measures. Notify. Nikolaev.' But it soon became clear that 'Nikolaev,' as he signed himself, would never leave the station alive. Here is the way the telegrams describe the rest of his story: 'If aid needed to maintain order, can send police from Lebedyan'—signed by the governor of the neighbouring province and sent to the local governor. 'Arrived to-day Astapovo. Count's

family here. Another telegram to-morrow. Earnestly solicit prayers'—signed by Father Varsonofi. A journalist transmits this dispatch: 'Dark rainy autumn night harmonizes unpleasantly in souls of all present with anguishing thought, shall Russia's sun set?' The police are more noncommittal: 'Complete calm Astapovo. Population indifferent fate Count Tolstoy. Measures taken.'

As the end approached, messages became more agitated: 'Dangerous heart trouble. Serious.' 'Family awakened. Summoned. Terrible alarm.' 'Heart weakening. Family arriving station. Countess too. Doctors weep.' 'Be ready.' 'Sleeping. Pulse weak.' 'Two-thirty. No news.'

'Three. New alarms.' 'Morphine injections. Sleeping unchanged. Legs warm.' 'Five o'clock. Sudden weakening of heart. Condition extremely dangerous. Fog, wind, police on guard.'

Five minutes later the police official in charge sent a telegram to his chief: 'Tolstoy dead.' The first news of his death, like the first news of his illness, was communicated through the police.

China, England and Russia

The power behind the Sino-Russian conflict, say some German writers (quoted in *the Literary Digest*), is Great Britain. According to them, China has made up her mind that England is her best partner in Asia. She has outgrown the stage at which she wanted the help of Soviet Russia to protect herself against the imperialistic designs of the Great Powers, and what she now wants is a financial helper. *The Literary Digest* goes on to summarize the conclusions of the German editors: •

Always jealous of what they call "England's brilliant diplomacy," certain German editors view the present situation as proof of British dexterity in outwitting Soviet Russian aspirations in Asia. The present Chinese-Russian clash is only a new link in a long chain of events, remarks the Socialist Democratic Berlin *Vorwaerts* which declares that the world-revolution project and the Far East expansion programme of Soviet Russia may be traced closely to the progress of events. This newspaper continues:

"It is true enough that the 'new' China, with Moscow's help, was firm in the belief that it could fight off the imperialistic great Powers and the militarists secretly in their pay. But now unified China refuses to be the arena first for the battle of Russia with Japan and again for the world revolution of the Komintern

"From Moscow a year or two ago was engineered the Canton revolt. This was meant to be the first phase of a Communistic seizure of power. It led to the first rupture between the China that is revolutionary in the ordinary sense and the China that is the child of the Soviet Union.

"But ever since that upheaval, the Nanking Government, eager to arrive at an understanding with the capitalistic Great Powers, has tried to get rid of its distasteful Soviet allies. Ordinary revolutionary China needs no more instruction from Bolshevik tutors. What China looks for eagerly is a teacher of high finance, like the American envoys to their capital. Just as in Persia and in Turkey, the Bolshevik has been allowed to play his part, and the part is played out."

The recent events in China should be read in the light of the steady decline of Moscow's might in Asia owing to England's brilliant diplomacy there. This is the summing up of the *Kreuz Zeitung* (Berlin). The quick-witted Chinese at Nanking, it adds, have followed with discerning eyes the progress of England and the decline of Moscow everywhere in Asia:

"Only a few years ago China was persuaded that she could win her freedom through an alliance with the Soviet Power alone. Later on we see the crowd of commanding Chinese generals freeing themselves from their Soviet affiliations. Before long the Soviet envoy Borodin had to retire to Moscow a defeated man. In the Kuomintang party the conservative wing triumphed over the radical wing, which could not dissemble its predilection for the Bolsheviks. To-day we see the man of real power in China, Chiang Kai-shek, daring to come to grips with the Soviet. He did this even when developments proved that the hands of the men of Moscow were in the latest disturbances.

"The naval agreement recently concluded between England and China may be deemed a sign pointing the way for the new diplomacy of Nanking.

"In the nearer Asiatic East, the quite too modern monarch, Amanullah, under strong suspicion of keen sympathy for the Soviet Power, has had to yield. Even this collapse must be ascribed to British influence. For, in the heart of Asia we find the Soviets everywhere in retreat before triumphant England.

"We may take it for granted that the present situation in Asia results from the loss of prestige sustained by the Soviet Power when England broke off her diplomatic relations with it."

The Example of Turkey

Mr. Agaoglu Ahmet, a Turkish writer contributes to *The Century Magazine* an article on the Turkish Republic, in which he characterizes his country as a bridge on which the Orient and the Occident may meet. The reforms which have transformed the government and social life of Turkey from top to bottom in the last decade, he tells us, have made it a striking example of social regeneration in the modern world and put it before

the less advanced nations as a model to copy:

The Turkish Republic finds itself in a unique position in the world, looking, as it does, over one shoulder at the Orient, over the other, at the Occident. To the Orient, Turkey has given a demonstration of will-power and energy. She has broken the ice of fatalism which weighed so heavily upon Oriental peoples and condemned them to stagnation. She has proved by her example that an Oriental people, inspired by the spirit of sacrifice and denial, is capable of supreme patriotic achievements for the love of liberty and independence.

She has accomplished in so short a period as ten years not only the miracle of a political and military resurrection, but also the complete transformation of life, from changes in the status of women and the family to modifications in the form of government, civil and criminal law, and intellectual outlook. Turkey has become an example for the entire Orient. Already all the Mohammedan countries are following to some extent Turkey's lead. Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia, Egypt and Morocco are imitating her.

The new Turkey has become the moral and intellectual guide for the peoples of the Orient; her prestige and influence among them has become real and effective. To-day an actual and strong influence is awakening among the Eastern peoples—sentiments of dignity and honour, liberty and progress and a profound admiration for Western civilization. And it may be said that Turkey has become the honoured agent of civilization in the Orient, serving as the link between the Occident and the Orient, and contributing effectively to the establishment of human solidarity. She has broken down walls of hostility and isolation that have so long separated the East from the West, and which have prevented the interchange of ideas, caused much misunderstanding and brought on numerous wars. Turkey has become the bridge on which Orient and Occident may meet, with their community of institutions, laws and conceptions of life.

As for the West, new Turkey has shown it an Oriental people in love with liberty and independence and as capable of supreme patriotic sacrifices as any Western nation. By that she has proved that it will not be as easy as it has been heretofore for Western powers to infringe upon the independence of an Oriental people consciously aware of its dignity and honour. This is an important gain in the peace of the world, for imperialism and the thirst for colonies and external expansion menace world peace and engender wars. Up to the present it was above all else the passivity of Oriental peoples, the absence among them of love for country and independence, and their submission before force, which encouraged this thirst for colonies, for external expansion among Western powers and led them to quarrel among themselves for the domination of the Orient. Why has no power dared to infringe upon the independence of such small countries as Switzerland and Holland? Because it is known that, conquered, each Switzerland, each Holland, like a bone in the throat, would strangle the conqueror. The day when the Occident accepts this same idea and

this same conviction regarding the peoples of the Orient, imperialism and colonial policy will cease of themselves and it will be understood that in place of armies and conflagrations, they must come to the Orient with commerce and industry, science and art; they must seek not to dominate the Orient but to understand and co-operate with her; to seek peaceable ways and means for utilizing to the full the natural resources of the world.

Turkey has demonstrated that an Oriental people is as capable of assimilating Western civilization as any other. By that, she has brought to an end the legend of the essential incompatibility of Orient and Occident, which, dominating European thought for so long, obscured the truth. Many Westerners consider the Oriental an inferior being, incapable of raising himself to the level of European culture, of having a taste for the higher moral and intellectual conceptions, of appreciating the value of institutions and ways of living which characterize the Western world. This attitude has been another cause for hostility and isolation between halves of the world. Here again Turkey has broken the ice. Europe has seen with amazement how a people, crushed and ruined, betrayed by its own government, won its independence and liberty at cost of incalculable efforts and sacrifices, changed its life completely, and in a short time became a state altogether modern.

Dr. Schweitzer's Estimate of Goethe

The Hibbert Journal for July publishes a translation of the address delivered by Dr. Albert Schweitzer at the Goethe-haus, Frankfort-am-Main on August 28, 1928 on his receiving the Goethe Prize from the city of Frankfort. After narrating how on different occasions, he had come into touch with Goethe and how Goethe had reacted on his life, Dr. Schweitzer sums up his impressions by giving the following estimate of Goethe's personality and genius:

He is not one who inspires. He puts forward in his works no theories which rouse to enthusiasm. Everything that he offers is what he himself has experienced in thought and in events, material which he has worked up into a higher reality. It is only through experience that we come nearer to him. Through experience which corresponds with his he becomes to us instead of a stranger, a confidant with whom we feel ourselves united in reverential friendship. My own destiny has brought it about for me that I can experience with a vividness that goes to the very marrow of my soul the destinies of our time and anxiety about our manhood. That in an age when so many whom we need as free personalities get imprisoned in the work of a profession, I can feel all these things as such a free personality, and, like Goethe, can through a happy combination of circumstances serve my age as a free man, is to me an act of grace which lightens my laborious life. Every task or piece of creative work that I am allowed to do is to me only a return of gratitude to destiny for that act of grace.

Similar anxiety about his age and similar work for it Goethe went through before us. Circumstances have become more chaotic than he, even with his clear vision, could foresee. Greater, then, than circumstances must our strength be, if in the midst of them we are to become men who understand our age and grow to be a part of it.

A spirit like Goethe's lays upon us three obligations. We have to wrestle with conditions so as to secure that men who are imprisoned in work and are being worn out by it may nevertheless preserve the possibility of a spiritual existence. We have to wrestle with men so that in spite of being continually drawn aside to the external things which are provided so abundantly for our age, they may find the road to inwardness and keep in it. We have to wrestle with ourselves and with all and everything around us, so that in a time of confused ideals which ignore all the claims of humanity we may remain faithful to the great humane ideals of the eighteenth century, translating them into the thought of our own age, and attempting to realize them to-day. That is what we have to do, each of us in his life, each of us in his profession, in the spirit of the great Frankfort child whose birthday we are celebrating to-day in his birthplace. I myself think that this Frankfort child does not move further away from us with the course of time, but comes nearer to us. The further we travel forward the more certainly we recognise Goethe to be the man who, as our own duty is, amid the deep and widely varied experience of his age, cared for his age and laboured for it; the man who would become a man who understood his age and grew to be a part of it. He did this with the abounding talents which were laid in his cradle here by destiny. We have to do it as men who have received only one small pound, but who in our trading with that pound wish to be found faithful. So may it be!

The Pope on Catholicism and Freedom of Thought

The Roman Catholic Church has never had a reputation for tolerating freedom of thought—there are few books from the works of Galileo to the "Origin of Species" which have marked a stage in the irresistible march of scientific thought which it has not put on the Index, and the liberal thought of Europe has retaliated by holding up the Catholic Church as the greatest enemy of human progress. It is, therefore, of interest to read an authoritative statement on this subject from no less a person than Pope Pius XI. The occasion was furnished by some speeches of Signor Mussolini who put his own interpretation on the agreement recently signed between the Italian Government and the Holy See. Signor Mussolini said that the treaty and the concordat had not diminished liberty of conscience or taken away full freedom of discussion. The Pope takes him to task for this. The

following passage from his open letter to Cardinal Gasparri is quoted from the full text published in the *Current History* :

A more delicate question is presented by the statements made with so much insistence that liberty of conscience has not been diminished and that full liberty of discussion has been maintained.

It is not admissible that the understanding is that there is to be absolute liberty of discussion including such discussions as might easily mislead the good faith of the less enlightened and readily degenerate into disguised propaganda damaging to the religion of the State, and by that fact, damaging to the State itself precisely in that which, in the traditions of the Italian people, is most sacred and most essential to its unity.

It is even less admissible, it seems to us, that it has been understood that absolute liberty of conscience, untouched and intact, has been guaranteed. This would be equivalent to saying that the creature is not subject under the Creator ; it would sanction by law every kind of formation—deformation would be perhaps a better word—of the conscience, even the most criminal and socially disastrous.

If it is meant that conscience escapes the power of the State, if it is intended to recognize, as it is recognized, that, in matters of conscience, jurisdiction lies with the Church, and with her only, by virtue of her divine mission, then from that flows the recognition that in a Catholic State liberty of conscience and liberty of discussion are to be understood and practised in accordance with Catholic doctrines and Catholic laws. Logic further requires that it be recognized that the full and perfect mission to teach does not belong to the State but to the Church, and that the State may not prevent nor interfere with her in the exercise and fulfillment of that mission, not even to the extent of restricting the teaching of the Church exclusively to the teaching of religious truths.

From this there can come no injury to the true and proper rights or, we might better say, to the duties of the State with regard to the education of citizens, it being understood always that the rights of the family are safeguarded.

The State has nothing to fear from education imparted by the Church and under her direction : it is this education which gives to modern civilization the foundation upon which rests all that it has that is truly good, all that it has that leads to better and to higher things.

Less even than the State, if that be possible, have science, scientific method and scientific research anything to fear from the progress of religious instruction, no matter how far nor to what heights it may attain.

Catholic institutions in the field of education and science, whether of low grade or high, need no apology. Evidences more than sufficient in their favour are the favour they enjoy, the praises they receive and the scientific works in ever-increasing numbers which they promote, but above all the men perfectly and exquisitely trained whom they give to public office, to the professions, to education, to life and every field of activity.

But we are unable to place among the eulogies these institutions have received, and much less among the eulogies they have earned, those which it seems, are attributed to the Catholic University

of Milan, to us truly most dear, and to the professors of that university for studies and volumes concerning the historical personality and the doctrines of Kant and for others which are out of line with good scholastic philosophy and with Catholic doctrine, and may almost be said to be the result, as they are the evidence of a leaning toward those doctrines and not as is more probable, the consequence as well as the evidence of the fact that teachers who, being scrupulously conscientious, not willing to refute things which they do not well understand, are bound by the requirements of a curriculum that has been imposed ; these requirements are all that is required to explain and to justify our good Salesians, who have earned so high a place in the field of Christian education, for including (proper precautions being taken) among books selected for their schools certain authors and texts, which the blessed don Bosco who had such a profound knowledge of men and things, who was so eminent an apostle of learning both classical and professional and above all of sound education, would not have included among those adapted to this high purpose, especially in a country and among a people like that of Italy which he understood so well.

Our own rather personal experience with education and with books brings frequently to our mind the thought and the fear that there is being prepared for our own dear young people the injury to which long ago Saint Augustine called attention when he said : "They will not know the things that are necessary because they learned the things that are superfluous."

Progress of the Negro in the United States

The Negro problem is one of the most difficult questions that face American domestic statesmanship to-day. The Negroes of America have made a good deal of progress in education, economic development, health and political status since their emancipation in 1862. Their progress during the last two decades forms the subject of an article in *The New Republic* :

During the last twenty years the revolutionary changes that made the United States the world's foremost nation have brought the Negro the greatest progress since emancipation. He has now entered what has been called the era of opportunity, and is fast being accepted as a part of the nation's life.

Twenty years ago he was considered a drag on the country's progress, a permanent and essential inferior, and a being apart in American life. At that time he had little confidence in himself, a strong feeling of inferiority, and no belief that he could organize his own people to secure his rights. The science of that day classed him as a lower order of man, his background was supposed to be that of a mere savage ; and it was assumed that he had no history. Mobs lynched three Negroes a week. Peonage still continued in the lower South. Negroes there were disfranchised, and in the North were blind party-slaves. The United States Supreme Court had never passed on

the Fourteenth Amendment; southern legislatures from time to time demanded its repeal, as well as that of the Fifteenth Amendment. Foreign immigration had forced Negroes out of the jobs that were traditionally theirs in the North. In the South public sentiment and attempted legislation combined to take the skilled occupations from them. In fact, they had no appreciable place in the basic industries that made America great. Few Negro students were in the colleges, and few Negroes could be found in the learned professions. There was no Negro literature. Writers like Chestnutt and Dunbar were regarded as exceptions. Negro education in the public schools in the South was of the poorest. Statisticians were confident he was doomed to extinction by tuberculosis, crime, and inefficiency.

To-day the Negro has powerful national organizations to safeguard his rights, stimulate his progress, and care for his needs. He is learning his own power. He has developed race pride. The science of to-day is on his side, indicating that there is no proof of essential inferiority on his part, nor unfitness to meet any demand of American life. Negro history is being taught in white and coloured schools; Negro culture in Africa is at least somewhat understood and appreciated. Lynching in 1928, has dwindled to eleven for the whole year; peonage has lessened. The Negro now has council-men in many cities, members of state legislatures, and even one Congressman in the United States Congress. The emancipation from blind partisanship goes forward bravely. Negroes vote in Democratic primaries in some Southern States; and have won a decision in the United States Supreme Court, which declared unconstitutional their debarment from the Democratic primary. Ten thousand Negroes graduate each year from our colleges and universities. They have 45,000 teachers, 1,400 of whom are in institutions of higher learning. Negro novelists, essayists, and poets have given definite contributions to the literature of America. George Carver and Ernest Just, both Negroes, are regarded as great scientists. Broadway is not itself unless it has a Negro play. There are 3,500 Negro physicians and surgeons. More than a thousand Negroes are lawyers, among whom are several judges administering justice to both races.

The gloomy prophecies of the Negro's early extinction have not been justified; on the contrary, there has been a greater decrease in the death-rate among Negroes than among any other group. Deaths from tuberculosis alone declined 42 percent between 1911 and 1922. The life expectancy of Negroes in the United States to-day is what that of whites was thirty years ago, and ahead of that of whites in many European countries. It is steadily improving, with more knowledge, better economic status, better public and private health service, and better environmental conditions.

The Negro has gone far along the road to opportunity in the last twenty years, but there are many problems yet to be solved. There is the question of Negro housing. In many urban centres, persistent attempts have been made to force the Negro into the ghetto. The United States Supreme Court, in a case pressed by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, declared unconstitutional ordinances passed by cities to this end. Covenants and mob action

have tried to do what law will not permit, with resultant friction and strife.

There is also the problem of caste proscription based on colour, the general acceptance of which would be most undesirable in a democracy. There is the disfranchisement of millions of Negroes in the South through subterfuge and fraud; lynching; mobbing; injustice in courts; and discrimination in travel.

It is a long way yet before the Negro will reach the full goal of citizenship and opportunity. But his feet are on the right road and the review of the short period of twenty years clearly indicates what he can look forward to within a reasonable time.

The Next Ten Years

Perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the restless age in which we are living than that in these days, people should be so eager to get a peep into the future, and demand of their wise men a modern apocalyptic literature. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has also felt himself called upon to satisfy this craving, and he contributes to the *Sunday Dispatch* of London a forecast of what is going to happen to the world in the next ten years. The following extracts from his interesting prophecy are quoted from the *Living Age*.

On the industrial side I see the whole world being apportioned into vast economic fields controlled by powerful syndicates which recognize no boundary lines other than those of markets and which will hold in their keeping the lives of millions upon millions of human beings.

What may be called 'social materialism' is growing vigorously, and during the next ten years it will become increasingly a problem for those who care about individual liberty.

The self-determination of nations has been the great cry since 1914; it will be displaced by the still more important cry of self-determination for individuals.

Nationality, which in the practical work of the affairs of the world is precious but limited, will have to be supplemented by individuality and personality.

On the political side the outlook is equally interesting and the first thing one thinks about is: 'What will the League of Nations be like in 1940?' It all depends upon the moral and political power which the smaller states of Europe are to acquire in the interval.

If they can make themselves really felt at Geneva, there is no reason why, within the next ten years, we should not have something corresponding to a United States of Europe.

If, on the other hand, they fail to do this and the Great Powers continue to dominate at Geneva, and use the machinery there primarily to transact their own business and carry out their own policies, the condition of affairs will be less hopeful and more confused.

Before ten years are over the Western races will also have to face some very difficult problems in relation to the Eastern races.

One of the almost unobserved effects of the Russian Revolution and the very short-sighted policy we have pursued during the last four years has been to make Russia turn its face eastward. Its influence on the whole at present is mischievous, and we have made that unfortunate development of policy not only easy but inevitable.

The greatest problem that confronts us now is : How is the present period of transition between the days when the West dominated the East by force of arms and those when the East will be regarded as equal for the purposes of negotiation to be bridged over ?

Russian influence is trying to answer that question by means of revolution, or at least, of a revolutionary mentality.

I mean by that that the East is assuming that the only way it can win freedom and assert its self-respect is to say to the West :

'We shall not negotiate with you. Your dominion over us has to be ended in accordance with our will. We do not trust you to make changes by reason and by your sense of fair play. *This* is what we want, and by boycott and force we shall compel you to accept it.'

In this attitude the question of democratic progress is involved. In days of revolution democracy is of no use. It is meant for days of peace and conditions determined by peace.

I do not believe that ten years from now dictatorship in Europe will have strengthened itself, nor do I believe that European dictatorships are in the end to damage European democracy.

It will probably be found that if European democracy is shattered the real blow will come from the failure of the West and the East to come to such friendly terms during the transition period to which I refer as to justify democracy both in the East and in the West.

That is how the outlook for the next ten years presents itself to me. It is full of dangers and the way is beset by innumerable possibilities of short-sighted mistakes.

The Arthasastra, Beast Fables and Diplomacy

In course of an article on Chanakya and the *Arthasastra* in the *Political Science Quarterly* a writer traces the influence of Chanakya's doctrines on European statecraft through the unsuspected channel of beast fables. The highly refined cunning employed in the interest of kingship, says his writer, is not only interesting for its own sake, but also for its influence on political science in general :

The *Arthasastra* is not only related to conditions in India, but that the *niti* of the old Indian rulers embodied in such treatises, became in course of time a system coveted and adopted by foreign potentates. It was exported chiefly in the form of the *Beast Fables* which, after the decline of Buddhism, became the manuals *par excellence* of

statecraft for lands outside as well as within the bounds of the peninsula.

The *Beast Fables* had already had an exceedingly interesting history. Originally they were illustrations of genuine human delight in the dispositions and habits of animals, with whom companionship in the jungle was easy and familiar.

In the preaching of the Buddha, however, another role was assigned to the beast stories. Gautama used them (much as Christ used the parables) for religious ends, especially for the purpose of linking his mission with experiences in earlier incarnations. Then, again, as Buddhism waned, the collections became *nitisastras*, instead of *jātakas*, and such book as the *Pancatantra* and the *Hitopadesa* were compiled not as *subras*, or as literature of entertainment, but for the instruction of princes in the way they should go. Such instruction was bound to take the form of inculcating craft and shrewdness rather than the higher human virtues. A policy of *divide et impera* was the inevitable corollary to such stories as that of the two jackals who broke up the friendship between the lion and the bull. It seemed perfectly natural for a Brahman, like Vishnusharma, when called upon to instruct the sons of King Sudarsana in the principles of polity, to start in with the story :

"Sans way or wealth, wise friends their purpose gain—
The Mouse, Crow, Deer and Tortoise make this plain."

So it came to pass that lands outside of India began to covet so effective an instrument for controlling a realm. As an illustration we may take the case of the great Sassanid ruler Khosru Nushirwan whose ambassador in India, unable to get possession of the whole treatise in any normal way conceived the plan of learning it tale by tale, and so transmitted to Persia what was regarded as the very quintessence of political wisdom. That after this the Persian collection, known as *Qalila and Dimnah*, passed to Arabia and thence, along the highway of a conquering Islam, to North Africa, Spain and Provence, is simply a chapter in the fascinating story of the migration of fables.

The fable literature of Europe, it is true, became popular for its qualities as entertainment, yet the original purpose of the collections was never lost sight of, and almost unconsciously proceeded to colour the methods of European statecraft. Kings and ministers, with few exceptions, still regulated their relations with their subjects and with foreign states by relying upon the slyness and shrewdness of the animal world instead of taking counsel with the higher qualities of civilized men. Thus weak kings learned by the examples of *Br'er Rabbit* or *Reineke Fuchs* how to capitalize fraud and sow the seeds of dissension among physically stronger foes.

The Japanese Lyric

The chiselled and polished gemlike charm of the Japanese lyrics forms the subject of an article by Dr. J. Ingram Bryan in *The Japan Magazine*. Japanese poetry, says Dr. Ingram,

is the art of a nation disciplined to sober self-control. Only by centuries of cultural repression could verse have thus been kept within the narrow bounds prescribed by tradition:

Japan has often been called the land of poets for nowhere are there more writers of verse or a greater appreciation of poetry. It is in the lyrical mode, however, that Japan mainly excels. There is little or nothing in the way of epic and drama in the national poetry.

It is often quite marvellous the degree of brilliance that can emanate from these tiny gems of Japanese verse. Though lacking the subtle and elusive power of rhyme, at the disposal of the Occidental poet, Japanese poetry has yet that *elan vital* essential to all that can be called poetry. One can only account for the indifference of the Occidental mind to Japanese verse by the fact that it is in a form of writing impossible for the Occidental to read without years of study, and the translations into English usually let the poetry evaporate. There is nothing really esoteric or vaguely transcendental in Japanese verse, nothing but what experience can imagine and understand, though sometimes it has the double edge of allegorical or historical significance which only a profound acquaintance with Japanese literature and civilization can illuminate.

The true Japanese poem is an intense point revealing and fixing an intense moment in life's span, often a brief moment of immortality. In the glow of the poet's sympathy and power of revelation we gain foretaste of the Eternal as in no other way. If the true poet be he who sees the truth so clearly and feels it so passionately that it sets him singing, Japan has long had, and still has, many poets.

Those at all familiar with Japanese verse know that it is very brief in mode, the classical stanza, known as *tanka*, being always written in the seven-and-five measure, called *shichigocho*, which is believed by psychologists to be an echo of the racial pulse-beat, echoing the music of the Japanese soul.

As an example of the *tanka* measure we may take the following stanza by the poet Yukihiro, which shows that even in the eighth century love had its fidelities:

Though we be parted,
When, on Inaba mountain,
I hear that music
In the pine-tops playing
I'll back to you be straying.

Though Japanese verse cannot be longer than the *tanka*, except by making a sonnet sequence, known as *naga-uta*, or long verse, there is a still briefer stanza known as the *hokku*.

An example of this may be taken from the poet Basho (1689) who was one of the greatest epigrammatists of his time:

If it did but sing,
The butterfly would suffer
In a cage, poor thing!

The only permissible departure from the ancient form and mode is in the case of popular

songs, like the *dodoitsu*, *Gidayu* and *ha-uta*, which naturally break bounds in their efforts at expression of free emotion and passion. Some of these are double-edged weapons that are as delightfully surprising as they are aesthetically effective:

Only a picked plum, you say!
But you despise without avail:
For I was once a blossom gay,
For oft made sing the nightingale.

A Picture of the British Cabinet

Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes in *The New Republic* about the first phase of the Labour Government in England, and incidentally gives a vivid picture of the temper of the present cabinet. While it is possible that one of the reasons of the caution of the Labour Government lies in the triangular party organization of Great Britain, the real reason is to be sought in the temperament of the outstanding personalities in the cabinet. As Mr. Brailsford says:

This timidity springs partly from tactics, but it also reflects the balance of power in the leadership of the party. Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Snowden dominate a cabinet in which none of the abler, younger men—except Wedgwood Benn—were included. Of the three chiefs, Mr. MacDonald has an instinctively conservative temperament, combined with the racial caution of a Scot. Mr. Thomas is an unusually able labour union leader, who never professed to be a Socialist, has no interest in theories of any kind, and combines the outlook on life of the average "man in the street" with ten times the average man's capacity; Mr. Snowden's effective beliefs—the convictions for which this singularly honest and courageous man will fight to the bitter end—are those of a Liberal of the late Gladstonian epoch. Free Trade is a religion to him; he expects marvels from the removal of the few remaining taxes on food; he is resolute over the taxation of land values; the "City" trusts his views on money, and his instincts are for deflation; finally, he is an enthusiastic dry. But like Mr. MacDonald, he has an unbending faith in peace, and an uncompromising hatred of war, which accounts for the curious notion, still surviving in old-fashioned circles, that they are dangerous persons.

No great gap in years separates these leaders from the younger members of the party of whom the ablest occupy the junior ministerial posts. The gap is rather between the men who did their formative thinking before the war, and the men who acquired or revised their outlook since the peace. The Socialism of Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden had an ethical basis: it is an ideal of human relations which belongs to a Utopia so distant that it seems to have no bearing on our daily problems. The Socialism of the younger generation is, on the contrary, an immediately practical economic policy, which aims at the scientific control of industry, of credit, and of

imports, and at a wider diffusion of buying power among the masses. Of this policy Mr. Snowden is probably the most formidable opponent in British politics, while with much of it a typical Liberal intellectual, like Mr. Keynes, is in agreement. These contrasts exist, however, in every big party: with patience and charity, not to mention the distribution of offices, they can be softened or concealed. It is more doubtful whether the men who represent the stricken areas of mass-unemployment and the desperate population of the coalfields can adjust themselves to the moderation of the leaders.

Agriculture and the State in Great Britain

The Agricultural situation in England is admittedly serious, and all the three political parties in England have given their attention to it. *The Countryman*, an extremely attractive little paper published from Idbury Kingham (Oxford), and entirely devoted to the interests of the countryside, approached representative rural minds on the question—"Can the State help and can it help now." They got answers to this question from all the leading authorities on agriculture. Though mainly applicable to British agriculture, these views are not without interest to Indians concerned with the question. One of the replies is quoted below:

The most essential help the Government can render is better education for the rural population in general, with ample opportunity for continuation of farming instruction later on. Special schools should not, however, follow immediately on the first school, as the child should learn farm work properly before starting at the special school. This special instruction is just as needful for girls as for boys. The proper capacity for the farmer's wife is the only secure foundation for success.

The Government should set up a great number of model farms as training centres—the lack of properly-trained farmers, bailiffs and foremen, is the main reason for so much slipshod farming.

The Government and the county councils must work together. The latter ought to have much stronger farming departments co-operating with farmers' associations set up encouraged, and helped throughout every country. At present the small farmer feels rather forlorn and unsupported: his only attachment, when he can afford it, is the Farmers' Union, which has a few meetings at the county town but remains something intangible.

The late Government made a splendid start in helping farmers by introducing the egg-grading and marketing scheme. Let this good work be extended to every kind of produce.

Short cuts to salvation might be very disastrous if forced on the nation before the standard of education is high enough for the individuals to benefit by them. Any unbiased person who has studied developments say in Denmark or Sweden has found (1) Practically all pioneer work in connection

with the introduction of modern methods and more intensive farming was done by landowner-farmers. (2) Co-operation started among these men. (3) These men were the first to send their sons and young men from their farms to the new farming schools. (4) Only later, when the education was sufficiently general, did the smaller farmers follow, and finally; (5) The breaking up of the large estates into smaller units began.

It is a shame that here in England so few landowners are really proper farmers. The State and the counties should appeal to every owner of land to take up farming properly or sell out. No man has a right to own land and hold it for pleasure or waste only. We must strive with all our might to create a class of serious hardworking gentleman farmers, to show the way to those who have had fewer chances in life but who will surely follow if a good example is set.

Cocktails and Life

We quote the following attack on the cocktail habit by a writer in the *Daily Mail* without comment. Perhaps it requires none:

When one is twenty the physical process of decay do not show themselves quickly. The only real manifestations are psychological. And this is how I would describe the psychology of the cocktail girl.

She starts slightly below normal. By noon she feels fairly human—especially after a liberal application of vanishing cream. She goes to luncheon party, and five minutes after she has had her cocktail she begins to wake up. The whole rhythm of life quickens, expands.

That is why luncheon parties are becoming louder and louder. People who normally whisper begin to shout. People who are normally secretive reveal the most astonishing confidences.

Lunch is over. At three o'clock the reaction begins. We will assume that she has no work to do. She will be unfortunate if she has. For she has a slight headache. The sun seems too bright, the streets are a maddening kaleidoscope of confusion. Tea-time—but there is no such thing as tea-time. There are only the dull hours of four to six. And then it all begins again.

A celebrated decadent, thirty years ago, described life as a *mauvais quart d'heure* lit by exquisite moments. When he wrote, men were still drinking sherry, and girls were not drinking at all. But it was a perfect description of the cocktail era. If you turn life into a sort of fireworks display, lit only by rocketflares of artificially stimulated emotion, your normal existence will be indeed, a *mauvais quart d'heure*.

That is why there is so much brilliance to-day and so little merit. I know dozens of young men who might write a good play or a good novel. Their highest ambition is to write a *revue*. For a *revue* is to the theatre what the cocktail is to wine. In a few hours one may write a tune or a lyric or a sketch—and then, quickly, the curtain comes down, and one wants to start something fresh.



The Only Way

Under the present juncture, what should be the course to be followed by us? Some people yet have faith in the Labour Government and hope that they would find a way out of this *impasse* by keeping their promises made prior to their assuming control of the Government. On the other side, there is a strong feeling amongst the more advanced section of the Nationalists that the only way lies in a resumption of the Non-Co-operation programme in its fulness. S. J. Rajendra Prasad contributes in the August issue of the *Hindustan Review* an article entitled "Back to Non-Co-Operation: Our only Slogan". In the first part of the article—which is to be concluded in the next issue—he gives a survey of the Non-Co-operation movement, starting with its genesis:

It is unnecessary to detail in this survey, the causes which led to the inauguration of the Non-Co-operation movement in September, 1920. It is well-known that India had contributed liberally and even generously, both in men and money, considering her resources, during the Great War. She had helped considerably in stemming the onrush of the German offensive in the early days of the War, and her gallant sons had shed their blood side by side with that of the Britishers and their Allies in several theatres of War. As the German efforts increased and more men and money became increasingly necessary, pressure was brought to bear upon the people of various parts of India for recruits and other contributions. This, combined with a systematic resort to the provisions of the Defence of India Act—involving internment on mere suspicion of a large number of persons—served to create a deep discontent among the people. And when to this was added the economic dislocation of business and rise in prices particularly of cloth, as a consequence of the War, it is easily understandable that the people, as a whole, were in a state of desperation. On the top of all this was made the attempt to perpetuate the Defence of India Act in the shape of the Rowlatt Acts, and to deprive the Mussalmans of what they considered to be their legitimate fruits of victory to which they had contributed, by going back on the promises solemnly made by the then Prime Minister to deal with the Turks in a fair and generous spirit. Again, the promise of Responsible Government, made in the declaration of 1917, had been accepted by the people in good faith. But in place of the fulfilment of the promise made in times of danger, they saw the brazen-faced attempt on the part of Government to go back

upon it (in effect and substance) while keeping to the letter, now that the crisis was over and Britain had gained a victory, which was as complete and crushing as she could never have hoped to achieve without the help of India. The feeling naturally was one of deep resentment not only at the many hardships and privations the people had been subjected to during the War, but also at the attempt to tighten the grip on them, by means of the proposed enactment of the Rowlatt Bills, which were measures of Draconian severity. Naturally there was widespread agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. But Government treated it with supreme contempt, and forced the Bills through the Imperial Legislative Council in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the elected members—including men of the moderation of the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. At this time when all classes of people and all schools of thought felt the humiliation of being under foreign domination and were keen on finding an effective method of protest Mahatma Gandhi came forward with his proposal to start *Satyagraha*.

His proposal came as a relief to the earnest-minded people, who had been smarting under the humiliation, but were unable to devise any effective means of redress. There were great demonstrations all over the country, the like of which had never been seen before. Not only the educated classes but even the masses, whole-heartedly joined in the great demonstrations and it seemed as if India had really re-discovered her lost soul. There were riots at some places in the Punjab followed by reprisals in the shape of the Jallianwala massacre and the horrors of the martial law in that province. When the news of these Punjab atrocities (which had been kept secret under a strict and stringent censorship) began gradually to percolate, the fire of indignation, smouldering till then, began to burn fiercely. Nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi kept it in check and till as late as the Amritsar session of the National Congress, in December, 1919, he stood out for co-operation with Government, hoping (against hope) that the Report of the Hunter Committee, which had been investigating into the Punjab disturbances and the consequential atrocities, would do justice to the people. But the publication of a white-washing majority report and the fatuous action of the House of Lords a little later (approving of the late General Dyer's action at Jallianwala in shooting hundreds of unarmed men and children) broke even his faith once and for all in the much advertised sense of justice of Government and converted him from one of its strongest supporters into one of its bitterest opponents. The result was the inauguration of the Non-Co-operation movement at the special session of the Congress held in Calcutta in September, 1920, under the presidency of that great patriot, the late Lala Lajpat Rai.

It is no exaggeration to say that the moderate politicians who had till then led the Congress, and who had represented the best elements in the public life of the country kept themselves aloof from it, though (be it said to their credit) but few of them carried on any agitation against it.

The country responded to the movement with great enthusiasm as this offered a chance of salvation to a people disarmed and rendered helpless by an unsympathetic foreign Government.

Deprived of arms, untrained for purposes of the defence of even their hearths and homes, divested even of the right of free speech and association and rendered thus wholly incapable of offering any resistance to Government they were in a mood of despair and despondence, and knew not how to end the intolerable system under which they lived and suffered silently. Some youths, here and there, organised secret societies, and having secured a few bombs and pistols killed a few officers, mostly Indian. But there neither was nor there could be any serious or widespread attempt to organise an armed resistance against Government after what had happened in 1857.

The Non-Co-operation movement in its destructive aspect "aimed at striking at British prestige and institutions through which Government had consolidated its moral and physical resources."

The British Government has consolidated its strength by banking upon the good-will of the people of this country. The wealth and well-to-do and (unfortunately) even some of our public men, are gained over by it into a mentality of complacent acquiescence in the continuance of its rule by the very cheap expedient of attaching some meaningless words or letters before or after their names which pass in common parlance as "titles of honour." By a strange but nonetheless sure method, we have been drugged into the belief, which we hug so dearly, that all honour proceeds from Government, forgetting the obvious fact that honour cannot stand rooted in dishonour and that there can be no greater dishonour to a man with feelings of self-respect—personal or national than to be under a foreign domination, be it the best of its kind.

Again the British Government in India had built up a false prestige about its justice. There are courts all over the country, many of them presided over by Indians themselves. They are all—with some exceptions in non-regulated areas aided and supported by the best brains of the country, who earn their livelihood as lawyers practising before them. There is a kind of belief which had been sedulously propagated by Government agencies (amongst whom the most powerful, because the most intellectual, are the practising lawyers) that Government had established the rule of law in this land, that it dispensed even-handed justice to all, that before its advent there was neither law nor justice in this country and that its disappearance would let in the rule of terror. Now, it is an altogether unfounded assertion that before the advent of the British there was no law and no justice in this country.

We had a system which was cheap, speedy, and really, justice-dispensing, in which the length of the purse of the party did not help to win a losing or false case, in which false evidence had not to be suborned to support a true case, from which the element of gambling was altogether absent, and which on the whole served its purpose without demoralising the people. And, after all, what is the value of the much-advertised British justice? How few are the cases in which Britishers are concerned and in which justice can be expected or is administered as a fact? How many have been the criminal cases in which Indians have been wantonly done to death and how ludicrously inadequate the punishments awarded to the British culprits? How inordinately severe the punishments awarded to Indians for even slight wrongs done by them to the British? In his *Imperial Rule in India* (p. 27) Sir Theodore Morison writes: "The people of India commonly say that no Englishman has been hanged for the murder of a 'native.' It is an ugly fact which it is no use to disguise that the murder of 'natives' by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence..... I do unhesitatingly assert that very few Englishmen in India believe that an English jury would even on the clearest evidence convict one of their countrymen of the murder of a 'native'—their moral sense does not endorse the legal theory that an Englishman should atone with his life for killing a 'nigger.'"

There is more on the subject in this outspoken book, but the passages quoted are quite sufficient to bear out my contention.

Above all, how is the law of sedition administered in this country against people, who in all honesty desire and attempt to make themselves and their country free, as every Britisher wishes Britain ever to remain. Are not people aware of the special laws enacted, from time to time, creating new offences and casting new obligations to suit the exigencies of a growingly unpopular foreign rule and to repress and suppress the ever-growing, ever-widening and ever-deepening discontent which seeks to find outlet of expression? And yet it is these courts of law, and their dispensation of justice, which stand before the masses as the embodiment of British domination and British prestige. The army of occupation, with all its engines of destruction, is very seldom seen by the people. The infinitely more effective agency of economic exploitation is also not always visible to the ordinary man in the street. Nor can the Viceroy or a Provincial Governor—not to speak of royal personages like the Duke of Connaught or the Prince of Wales—be always requisitioned to impress the greatness and grandeur of British rule on the minds of the masses by means of showy processions comprising caparisoned elephants, uniformed soldiers and gilded magnates, all pressed into service to conquer the imagination of a simple, guileless eastern people. The day-to-day work of building or rather keeping up British prestige is left to the law-courts, and with the help of the large number of educated Indians dependent on them they do succeed most admirably in carrying out the object which Government have in view.

The attack was also directed against the educational system as recognised and instituted by the

Government. And in this connection the movement did some constructive work too, as a result of which the Government had to give in to public opinion to a certain extent and modify the educational methods in force. The effects of this wide programme was soon felt in the country :

As the movement has passed through its several stages, while the doubts of the weak and the hesitating have become confirmed, the faith of those who look upon this education as an evil of the greatest magnitude, and as one of the greatest obstacles in the way of freedom has become stronger. No nation can hold another under bondage for any length of time unless it can impress it with its own superiority. That superiority need not be real. A sense of their own inferiority in the ruled is all that is necessary, and nothing create this sense so successfully as education of the youth organised with that set purpose. The every-day life of our students in Government institution, the treatment of Indian teachers and professors at the hands of their European superiors (superiors not necessarily in learning and culture but in the grade of service, their inclination in favour of Government and against nationalist views and tendencies) and above all the general outlook which is the result of all those forces which work in educational institutions, are proofs positive of the, on the whole, denationalising tendencies o Government imparted education.

The last items of attack were the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

The Central and Provincial Legislatures formed the last item of attack. Amongst the older and more experienced politicians there were many who believed that the Reforms (under which the first elections were held in 1920) gave powers to Ministers to carry out many reforms in the administration and that it was necessary that Indians should by utilising the opportunities so offered prove their fitness for further instalments of Reforms, and that it would be suicidal to refuse to exercise the powers newly conferred. In its ultimate analysis their belief was the outcome of a faith in the declaration of Government that they intended to confer responsible Government on India provided Indians proved their fitness by utilising opportunities of service conferred on them and of a corresponding lack of faith in themselves and their countrymen. The Non-Co-operation movement, on the other hand, was based on the absence of that faith in Government declarations and on a conviction that in its totality the British domination in India had in fact worked for India's deterioration—political, economic, and above all moral and cultural—that it was not likely that Government would part with any of their absolute and effective powers unless their hands were forced by mass agitation, that the so-called powers conferred on Indians were a mere make-believe, that the Reforms were but a blind to cover under their showy and glittering exterior the hollowness of the system, and that Indians (instead of being satisfied with tinsel which while appealing to the eye had no intrinsic value) should show their worthlessness by exposing to public view their inward rottenness. It also aimed at turning the people thoughts, hopes and

aspirations from Government to themselves. The masses joined in the boycott and but a small proportion of voters participated in the voting. But the older politicians as a class, with some exceptions, and not a few ambitious nonentities got themselves elected to the legislatures without any real contest. The first reformed councils of 1921—23 consisted, therefore, of only those who were keen on working the Reforms and who had braved the popular opposition and odium to prove and justify the fitness of Indians for responsible Government. Subsequent events have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that that pitiful faith was misplaced that Government scheme did not purpose the emancipation of India, and that Government would yield, if at all, to popular demand only when it feels it must. On account of the strong feeling in the country outside the Legislatures, Government was at that time reasonable in its dealings with and treatment of those who had gone to the Councils, much against popular wishes, to co-operate with it. But as soon as that wave of popular enthusiasm was on the ebb, Government were not slow to show their mailed fist, and those who had gone to pray remained to curse—the more self-respecting and sturdy among them resigning their places of honour and responsibility, while the others stuck on to their jobs with a faith which gave them credit more for those self-regarding instincts which rule human actions and motives than to their much advertised desire to serve the country from inside the Government citadel.

Realism or Symbolism for the Theatre ?

The world of the theatre is at present in a state of transition. The two principal forces in action being realism and symbolism. The struggle that is going on is in nature like that which has been taking place in the sphere of art—meaning the plastic and graphic sections—since the time of the Pre-Raphaelites. The question as to which is the better method has caused an enormous amount of controversy. In the "*Triveni*" for July-August Mr. Kathardekar treats the subject from an Indian angle of vision in an article entitled, "Thoughts on the Art of the Theatre."

Life as we see it is full and varied in its presentations, but art is fuller and richer. Life is limited by physical circumstances, but art which is the creation of mind and emotion has no limitations. Where imagination has full play, fanciful dreams are raised and we reach out to regions which life has never so far touched.

To present life in vivid reality seems to be the ideal of the play-producers. The more accurate and conventional things are, the greater is the satisfaction of the play-producer ; and in that feeling of satisfaction is to be seen a grave danger to the progress of art.

To use art for imitating life is narrowing its ideal and purpose. It all depends on what you go to the theatre for. If you want to see life as it is, nature as it usually exists, and emotions as

they are normally and conventionally expressed, go to the modern theatre and you will be satisfied provided you go to the best of its kind.

The modern theatre at its best is indeed delightful; but one wonders if that is all. Life—flesh and blood life—is attractive. There is a loveliness even in sorrow. The story of a life-time is written on the wrinkled forehead of an old woman who carries on her head a bundle of fire-wood. The dawn of love as painted on the face of a maiden has a poetry which words could never interpret. The innocent baby-tricks, it is for the child alone to do. Life embraces all these little scenes of human existence. But there is, now and again given to us a vision of something more wonderful than the world of life: it is the vision from the world of dreams, the vision of dancing spirits lovelier than men, the vision of colours lovelier than nature, the vision of emotions lovelier than love. To interpret these on the stage is the work of art, art that is not limited by life.

In order to release this art from the commonplace, we must aim high. We must cultivate our imagination and dwell in the abstract. Hundreds and thousands of people, weary of heart, careworn, down-trodden, full of longings and disappointments, go to the theatre every night. If the theatre could lift them up to the sublime regions where everything is lovely, where they see life from a higher altitude, where sorrow spreads its wings of pain only to carry them from experience to experience till at last they get the glimpse of the snowy heights of attainment: if the theatre could soothe and uplift the sorrow-laden humanity, will it not bring greater harmony in human relationship?

"It is in and through Symbols" says Carlyle, "that man, consciously, lives, works, and has his being", and the noblest age is that which can the best recognise symbolical worth and prize it the highest.

Keeping these ideals in view, the need of being 'creative' instead of 'imitative' on the stage will at once be felt. You can be realistic to a fault and never attain the sublime effect which is intended by two artists. You could present a sentiment on the stage in many ways; let us take two of these, typical of the realistic and the idealistic in art. For instance, take this idea from Omar Khayyam:

"For in and out, above, about, below,
"Tis nothing but a magic shadow-show,
"Played in a box whose candle is the Sun
"Round which we Phantom figures came and go."

You could present it on the stage either by dressing up a man in a Persian costume, taking, of course, good care that every fold in the dress is accurately Persian!—and flooding him with top-lights, and foot-lights, make him recite these lines in front of a Persian lamp. Or you could present this idea in another way, such as this: let a huge lamp, hung from above, with fantastic figures on its sides, revolve in the centre of the stage; keep just under it, flasks of wine amidst a heap of pearls and jewels; with no other lights but the one in the centre, let there emerge people dressed with flowing, flimsy garments—never mind Persian or Arabic—and let them hungrily, blindly dance round the weird lamp, and gradually vanish into darkness. Let the words come from nowhere, so

to speak, and then let the vision fade. Both these presentations, neither of them the best in their line, are, perhaps, good enough to make my meaning clear, and to speak for themselves.

Gordon Craig complains of the realistic actor: "He never dreams of his art as being an art, such for instance as music. He tries to reproduce Nature; he seldom thinks to invent with the aid of Nature, and he never dreams of creating. Is it not a poor art and a poor cleverness, which cannot convey the spirit and essence of an idea to an audience, but can only show an artless copy a facsimile of the thing itself?"

To produce plays of symbolic nature is by no means an easy task, even for Stanislavsky, a master at his art. "It is a hard nut to crack—the Symbol", he says, "it is successful when it has its source not in the mind but in the inner soul. . . . It is necessary to play a role hundreds of times, to crystalize its essence, to perfect the crystal, and in showing it, to interpret the quintessence of its contents. The symbol and the grotesque synthesize feeling and life. They gather in bright, courageous and compressed form the multifarious contents of the role."

Symbolism is interwoven in the life-fabric of the Hindu. From the misty height of symbolism it is easy to tumble into a travesty of art. To build well and truly the structure of a new Theatre in India, are required men of the genius of Stanislavsky and Copeau, and also constructive critics of the type of Craig, men of keen perception, refinement, and intelligent imagination. To fulfil this mission, who knows, but that, even as centuries ago the melody of Krishna's flute hailed the Gopis from far and near, likewise, in its own time, the dance of Nataraja may draw together artists of the highest order!

Freedom for Indian Womanhood

"Much is being said and written now-a-days about the free woman, the rights of women, the place of women in society, the equality of woman with the opposite sex," writes Mr. M. Hensman, in her article entitled "The Rights of Woman" in the *Stri-Dharma* for August. She continues:

The word "Freedom" is at times misunderstood. Through false exponents it has sometimes come to mean a boldness, a neglect of necessary conventions, and a flouting of due authority, but the true interpretation of the word is quite compatible with modesty and wise behaviour. In the hurry to escape from the domination of the mother-in-law, a girl is apt to trip over the threshold of life, and rush headlong into all that lies beyond the home. Freedom is, if I may put it so, like a sari—to be worn always, but adapted to the needs of the moment. When we sweep our house or cook, when we bathe our children or play games with them, we cannot wear such trailing draperies as when we sit at ease; the Benares sari and embroideries of life are beautiful and desirable but the khaddars and cotton also must continue with us. So it is with freedom. The woman who works for her country's good in the capacity of a Municipal Councillor or Magistrate, who can influence the passage of Bills and

health-giving laws, is the pillar of her country, but all of us cannot do that, we have smaller spheres to fill, but we can, none the less, be free. The bondage that has held us women up to now is that of ignorance. We have not known how to develop mind as well as body, and throw off the domination of superstition. How many educated women of to-day still cherish certain customs and superstitions which are harmful, or, at least meaningless, and they bind the coming generation with their own chains when they pass on the foolish fears and fancies that have controlled themselves.

The light of freedom is dimmed when the sphere of a woman's influence is too distinctly set apart from that of a man; woman being the counterpart of man, both should work together; and in the ideal home, the wife must be able to enter intelligently into all her husband's work and ambitions, and the father do his share in the discipline and care of the children. The purdah must go before India can be free; the curtain before the eyes veils the understanding and makes a firsthand knowledge of life impossible. Many of the future leaders of womanhood are at present handicapped thus, and debarred from all but a dilute form of freedom.

How to attain freedom through all the barriers that are set before our womenkind?

Education spells the quickest way to freedom of the mind, by which factor alone a nation can best enlarge itself. I do not speak only of education in the school and college sense, which must of necessity be of an impersonal sort, fitted rather for the syllabus and examinations than for the individual mind of the student. This is good as far as it goes, but, to be free, woman must follow the light of knowledge further, each along the line that most appeals to her.

There is small excuse in this century for the woman who has had some education and lays the precious gift aside to rust. I know of some who took their degrees and even trained as teachers in an Indian University, and they never open a book now, or glance through the papers—their minds stagnate; they are content to frame their certificates of prowess for their children to see and rest upon their laurels. But they forget it is not possible to stand still—as in the physical, so in the mental world, if there is not progression, there must be retrogression.

The gifts of women vary, and none can dictate the course each must follow save that woman herself. Some who pass out of college and schools find their life-work in teaching, some in ministering to the physical needs of others, some in the less frequented paths of law and commerce, while others still take to themselves a husband and children and are lost in the sea of domesticity. It is to the last I would specially point the finger of warning when I say that nothing and nobody should make the educated woman forsake her place as a true citizen. The right training of children, and the care of a home demand the whole attention of a woman,—she may or may not have time for active civic life, but she should never turn a deaf ear to the cries of the outer world. A husband and children need not entail a complete submersion of the intellect nay, rather, family life, being the natural life, should quicken the senses of the mother, and help her to inspire her house-

hold with the spirit of service, with that sympathy and understanding of life that makes true friendship possible, and with a keen interest in the right relation of individuals and nations. Every "professional woman" finds it to her interest to keep abreast of her times, and I fail to see why she who has adopted the greatest of all professions, and is striving to be what God primarily intended for her—the true home-maker, should alone sink her individuality; and become but a poor shadow of what she was when she first left the ranks of intelligent spinsterhood.

The "Freest" woman, if I may use such a term, is she who has the wisdom to guide her child intellectually and morally as well as to guard him from bodily ills, and, to do this, she must work out her own code of freedom first, and throw off the fetters of ignorance and superstition, prejudice and spiritual blindness.

It is fatal for a woman not to realize that she may fall behind the times, and, to be useful to her community, each one must make a continual and determined effort to keep up with things, even the married woman whose day can so easily be absorbed by a thousand and one small but important duties. The active-minded girl of nineteen who married in 1909 and made her aim and end a passive domesticity need not wonder that her daughter of to-day speaks a different language of freedom from that her mother knew. We, in our turn, will be out of date with our ideas and ideals of freedom, and lose touch with our emancipated children of the future unless we open wide the windows of our minds to the free currents of public opinion and contemporary literature. Freedom itself is immutable, but its interpretation varies with place, with circumstance and time.

Lest I be misunderstood when I urge a married woman to consider her home no impediment to the growth of her mind, and to her freedom I am not advocating the methods of the gallant, but rather hybrid band of feminists who seek to combine the life and privileges of a woman with those of man. Having chosen the comparative seclusion of married life they yet burn to forsake the tiny audience of the home to speak in public and expound their views on the greater platform of the crowd. The woman who was a message for the world will find a way to deliver it—whether it be through her own or her children's mouths. Experience must be enlarged and knowledge widened for the better training of a child, but in order to gain these things, home life should not suffer. She who has no time to guide her children cannot be the right person to serve the world.

Education is the quickest way to freedom, but not only one—by many and devious paths have the nations of the world been led to personal and political freedom, and by as many ways shall we, the women of India, come into our own.

The Causes of Industrial Decay in India

One of the principal factors in the impoverishment of India is the gradual extinction of its industries. Many causes have contributed to this downfall, as is shown by Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose. B.Sc. (London) in

his article on the "Decay of Indigenous Industry" in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for September.

The industrial independence of India was maintained during the earlier years of British rule. In fact, her industrial situation then was probably better than that of England. Calicoes had long been exported from India before they could be manufactured in England. English cloth had to be sent to Holland to be bleached or dyed, while dyeing was a flourishing industry in India. The silk-trade of England had to be protected in 1765 by the exclusion of the French silk from English markets. The English were indebted for the finer varieties of linen to Germany and Belgium, while India manufactured muslins of such exquisite fineness, that a piece could be made fifteen yards wide weighing only 900 grains. England imported nearly two-thirds of the iron and much of the salt, earthenware, etc., used by her.

But since the middle of the last century, the economic position of India has undergone a most deplorable change. Her indigenous industrial fabric has been shattered, and she has been reduced from the economically sound position of industrial independence to the very unsound one of industrial servitude, and from that of one of the wealthiest countries of the world to one of its poorest.

One of the most important causes of this industrial decadence was the industrial Revolution in Europe due to the introduction of labour-saving machinery. While Europe was being industrially modernised, India remained in the old-world condition. And the marvellous quickness and suddenness of the Industrial Revolution did not give the Indians any time to adapt themselves to the new order of things. English manufactures poured in, like an avalanche, and swept the indigenous industries before them. The day of manual skill, in which the Indian artisans excelled, was over. Hand-made manufactures could no longer compete with machine-made manufactures. Indian artisans had neither the time nor the education to assimilate the mechanical skill of modern Europe. It was not to be expected that illiterate weavers, or illiterate dyers, or illiterate miners, would apply the scientific methods of modern industries to their occupations. If India had her own way, she would probably have protected her industries as most civilised countries protect theirs at the present day. But India could not have her own way; a protective tariff by a British Government against British manufactures was not to be thought of.

Thus the first effect of the industrial expansion of England was the ruin of the artisan population of India. The introduction of the power-loom at first caused great distress among the weavers of England also. They invoked the help of Parliament. "They begged to be sent to Canada. They proposed that the terrible power-loom should be restrained by law; and when that was denied them, they rose in their despair and lawlessly overthrew the machines which were devouring the bread of their children." But the distress of the English weavers was only temporary. They soon had a share in the wealth created by the expansion of the cotton

industry. It was not till the middle of the nineteenth century that the mechanical skill of modern Europe was transported to India, and the mills and factories on modern methods found employment for a small fraction of the artisans who were thrown out of work by the importation of the English manufactures. But the great majority of the displaced artisans have been thrown upon agriculture for subsistence.

Besides the absence of a protective tariff the construction of railways which has been going on apace since the middle of the last century has by facilitating the transport of imported goods proved an important cause of the decadence of indigenous industry. It is true, the railways have developed the export trade in raw produce. But the cultivator, if he gains at all, does not gain to the extent it is generally supposed. He unquestionably gets better prices for his crops. But a portion of the increased profits is consumed in enhanced rent. A portion also goes to pay enhanced wages for labourers, though unfortunately the enhancement is not in the same proportion as that of the prices of food grains. The profits which he has left after meeting these charges may be considered to be the equivalent only of the grain he would have stored, had not the introduction of railways offered him tempting prices to sell it. Whether he is any gainer for having cash instead of a store of grain is a very doubtful point, especially when we consider that the temptation to spend money where one has it in hand, upon festivities and upon various imported articles which the railway has brought to his doors. The cultivator and his family probably make a better show of respectability than they ever did before. But when famine threatens they find they have little money and no store of grain to fall back upon. And famines have become more frequent of late than ever before.

True the railways have facilitated the transport of food to famine-stricken districts. But they have also resulted in conditions which are favourable to famines. In the first place, they have by facilitating the transport of imported goods helped to destroy indigenous industries. The artisans whom these industries afforded occupation have been yearly swelling the number of needy peasants and labourers. No doubt some of them have found employment in the railway workshops, and many more find work in the mines, factories and plantations which the railways have helped to develop. But their number is very small. Just a little over two millions. Besides, as the largest and most important of the new industries with but few exceptions are owned and managed by foreigners, their profits swell the economic drain from India which leads to her impoverishment. The great majority of the displaced artisans have been driven to be labourers or agriculturists. The increase of agriculture at the sacrifice of artisan population is certainly not advantageous for India. There can be no doubt that a great portion of her wealth depended upon her manufacturing industries, as indeed the wealth of every country must do. Down to the early years of the last century she did not export her food grains, but cotton, silk and various other manufactures. It was especially to participate in the trade of these manufactures that

the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English came to India.

Then, again, the railways have contributed to the impoverishment of India as she has long had to remit to England a large amount as interests for them. As has been observed by H. J. S. Cotton, "the country is too poor to pay for its elaborate railway system and being compelled to borrow in England, has incurred an ever-accumulating debt at what has unfortunately proved to be an ever-increasing rate of interest." Moreover, what with the obstruction to drainage caused by the embankments of railways and their feeder roads in many parts of the country, notably in Bengal, and the pestilential pools choked with weeds on either side of them, they have been the main cause of the fulminant type of malaria which has prevailed since their construction."

Thus the railway has directly and indirectly contributed to the decay of indigenous industry.

Indian Music—its Past and Future

Music forms a part both of tradition and of culture in every civilized country. In our country it may be said to have formed a part of our history down to the fall of the Mughals. It is all the more deplorable that this ancient cultural force is now enfeebled to the point of extinction. Sir Sultan Ahmed, in the course of his presidential address at the Behar Provincial Music Conference—as given in the *Indian Educational Journal* for August—has given a short historical survey with some opinions as to the causes of decay of this art in India.

From known records there is no doubt that music in India in an organised form is certainly not less than 3,000 years old. You are aware that the *slokas* of the Sama Veda were always sung in temples; but Indian music, as it stands to-day, is the result of various subsequent internal and extraneous influences. It must not, however, be understood that these influences have in any way demolished the base, and the foundation of the modern structure is entirely on the principles laid down in the ancient books of the Hindus. As far as I have been able to find out, Ratnakar, the great Encyclopædia of Indian music which was compiled by Sarangdeo Pandit over 700 years ago in spite of some defects, still holds the field as the greatest classical compilation on Indian music. The principles laid down there are basic, but consistent with these principles great advances have since been made. It would be idle to say that "modes and times continue in their old primitive condition." English of the days of Chaucer is not the same as the English of to-day, nor is the Hindusthani of the days of Mir and Sauda the Hindusthani of the present day. Nothing can remain still, and so Indian music cannot.

I claim that music must always answer the immediate instincts and needs of the people; it must be consistent with their traditions and their

civilization; it must appeal to their intelligence and to their sentiments; it must reflect their manners and customs; it must also take into account the climatic conditions of the country. Western music as perhaps any other music, responds to all these maxims. It would be impossible and unnatural therefore to construct Western musical structure on the Indian musical foundation; the ideals are different. "European music is poor in modes, poor and uncertain in intonation and represented by a notation which applies exactly to artificial and not to real music, Indian music lacks explicit harmony and cannot vie with the European art instrumentation." I, therefore, claim that Indian music is a science based on defined principles and is as difficult to master, as music of any Western country.

Apart from those who preceded them, the great Naiks, Baiju and Gopal, who were exponents of Dhrupada, Hori and Alap did not develop music on any artificial lines. Their genius and perseverance brought to them their reward. They lived for music and they died for music. They needed no compliments from people. They laid their tributes at the feet of the goddess Saraswati, music for them had only objective which was to reach the Divine Creator through it. That is why Indian music is rightly called the music of the temple.

The second milestone was reached when Amir Khusrô who lived during the Tughlak period and was perhaps the contemporary of Gopal and who was a poet of great repute introduced "Telana".

The third milestone of Indian music was reached when during the reign of Akbar, Tansen introduced a touch of human feelings and sentiments into the music of temple. This great genius was born in an humble home in the south of India. When still young, he had mastered the technique of the art. He was ambitious, and so decided to move north to reach the court of Delhi. On the way the cordiality of Patna nobility was irresistible and for a few years he lived with one Ram Raja in a house near the present house of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan. From Patna he went to Delhi where he soon found himself in the Darbar of Akbar. His innate intelligence resulted in the introduction of a large number of Ragas which have made Indian music as rich as one could think of. So far Dhrupada, Hori and Alap held the field. But about that time the impatience of genius introduced changes and we find Sultan Hosain Sharqi introducing 'Kheyal'. The simplicity and richness of 'Dhrupad' did not allow great latitude of 'thread play.' This again was however not found enough and we see still greater attempts being made to take the Indian Music outside the confined limits of temples. The later introduction of Tappa by Mian Shori of the Punjab and the creation of new school of Thoomri during the regime of Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow brings the chapter of historical survey to a close.*

With the advent of European influence in this country and with the advent of materialism all

* The marvellous technique of this Lucknow School was brought down to Calcutta along with the exiled Nawab. Its magnificent pathos and thrilling realism are even now preserved in the Urdu songs of Babu Bamacharan Banerjee of Behala, perhaps the only surviving exponent of this school.—Ed., I. E. J.

round, Indian Music has suffered badly since the middle of the 19th century. But the responsibility for the decay cannot be attributed only to these causes. The tendency to engraft vulgar instruments to accompany our songs and also the inclination to introduce Western tunes into our music and lastly, the lack of respect for our national music are great factors which have contributed to the decay of our music in recent times.

In my opinion, however, nothing is more fatal than the tendency which has grown within recent times to regard Indian music as an art which should be the monopoly of a certain degraded section of the people. I cannot too strongly condemn such an idea. I admit that it has gone into the undesirable miserable hands, but it is due entirely to our lack of sympathy and our lack of interest in the advance of the science.

Without dealing with the conditions in other parts of the country and confining ourselves to Behar itself, there are many of us present here in this hall who have seen men of position, standing and respectability such as Ostads Mohammad Ali Khan, Pearay Nawab Saheb and Dhirjee who were really masters of the art. The science was the monopoly really of the nobility. The only way therefore, of wresting it from the hands of undesirable people is once again to cultivate the art yourselves. We are convinced that it is a fine art and it must be cultivated as such. It can bring wealth of happiness, it can have soul-inspiring influences and it can mould the character of the children in every home.

With regard to the revival of this art Sir Sultan Ahmed advocates the teaching of music in schools—indeed, he expresses his gratification in that a Faculty of music has been established in the University during his Vice-Chancellorship. With regard to the opinion held by some that music if introduced in the school curriculum, might displace more essential subjects, he says :

It has been suggested in some quarters that if Indian music is treated as an additional subject, it is likely to attract more boys and they may be deflected from taking up subjects like additional mathematics. Such a suggestion is bound to provoke strong comments. It betrays complete ignorance of the subject. Indian music even in its elementary stage is much more difficult than commercial geography or commercial correspondence or any of the languages like Hindi, Urdu, Oriya and Bengali.

Land Revenue Assessment and the Bardoli Episode

The assessment of land revenue is done in most provinces in India without any clear-cut standards to serve as the basis of such assessment. This sometimes results in great hardship on the poorer section of cultivators. The trouble at Bardoli was the outcome of such improper assessment. Prof. V. G. Kale, writing in the *Indian Journal of Economics* for July comments as follows :

The Bardoli episode has once more thrown into bold relief, the serious difficulties that surround the proper assessment of land-revenue in India and the fundamental difference of opinion that prevails on the subject between the Government and the public. The constitutional, the administrative and the political aspects of the problem usually loom large before our eyes, but the purely economic significance of the methods of assessment of the land-tax is not less important. It is necessary to remember that in the controversies which have raged and are at present raging with to the revision settlements of the land-revenue of talukas and groups of villages in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the State's right to levy the land-tax and to enhance its amount in certain conditions, is not disputed. What is in dispute is the fundamental principle which ought to govern the assessment of the tax. Is the increase of revenue levied or proposed to be levied by Government, justified by the circumstances of each case? This is the question that is pointedly asked, and no satisfactory answer can be given to it unless a definite standard and an intelligible and a well-recognized measure are available for the purpose. It is true that difficulties will not end with the discovery and the acceptance of such a general criterion which will guide the assessment. But it will certainly go in long way in assuring a large measure of security and justice.

In support of his statement regarding the lack of a proper basis for assessment he says :

A very good account of the land-revenue systems prevailing in the different Provinces may be found in the report of the Taxation Inquiry Committee which was, however, itself divided in opinion as to the nature of the revenue, *viz.*, whether it is a tax or a rent and which was forced to the conclusion that "the uncertainty as to both the basis of the assessment and the rate is one of the chief respects in which the systems are open to criticism."

After the Hague Storm

By COX-VOX

NOW that the wind has abated, which blew into a tempest for a whole fortnight of the last month over the old and hospitable city of the Hague, where were assembled the plenipotentiaries of European Powers to take up once again that Penelope's web known as the "Reparations Problem"; and negotiations have recommenced on the transparent waters of Lake Leman in a courteous and friendly manner; and from Geneva come, in subdued tones, the rocking and calming refrains of the international concert of the Great Powers, it is not perhaps too late to cast back a serenely critical glance on certain questions which found at the Hague and elsewhere energetic and resolute champions.

The Press, whether English, German, French, Italian or Belgian, has approved of and defended in a disciplined chorus the declarations made at the Hague by the delegates of the respective countries. Let us not forget, too, the Anglo-Indian Press, which although far away from the scene of the dispute, thought it, also, its duty to take a part in the discussion. It has done so, on the whole, with moderation and prudence, with the exception however of one or two journals which thrust themselves headlong into polemics, and poured, on France in particular, a shower of vehement, and naturally partisan criticisms (for, as everybody knows, passion is blind), from which to all appearance, France has not yet suffered and perhaps never will, though the obvious trend of these thunderbolts was purely and simply to efface this nation from the map of the world.

It was thus that we came across some sensational discoveries of this nature, in an article styled "Plain words to France", and from which we cite at random for the article abounds in them: "After the Great Mutiny(?) following the Chemin des Dames disaster, the French troops were practically idle spectators of the victorious termination of the war" or still: "the sooner the French people realize their dependence upon the Anglo-Saxon nations, the better

it will be for France. She is a dying country, etc."

What a poor opinion has this journal of its readers that it can speculate in this fashion on their supposed ignorance and try to make them swallow such extravagances. Is this defending a cause, whatever that may be, to put forward such poor arguments in its favour?

To bring the term "Great Mutiny" referred to above, to its exact proportions, one must say that there was no regular outbreak and no regular suppression. In the spring of 1917, that is to say, long before the termination of the war, sporadic causes of discontent spread over a few units. They were rapidly removed and discipline restored by the firm and conciliatory handling of the situation by Marshal Pétain, and everybody is aware of the preponderating part taken by the French Army, and by Marshal Foch as the Generalissimo of the Allied armies, in the battles of 1918 and in the final victory over the German armies sealed at Rethondes. Instead of other evidence which might not be agreeable to the journal, we only refer it to the memoirs of Marshal Hindenburg and his Chief of the Staff, Ludendorff for information on the role of the French armies in 1918.

As regards the dependence in which France would have to place herself, it is hardly necessary to pause before such a stupefying remark and recall that a nation, which could to the astonishment of the whole world repulse on the Marne in 1914 the invaders of her territory, pass for four years through a hurricane of destruction, lose nearly two millions of her men, see her villages razed, her industries destroyed, her fields ravaged, and has nevertheless been able in less than ten years, to be reborn out of her ruins and re-establish her previous activities in every domain, is not to die out so soon and submit itself to a dependence,—no one knows of what manner—originating out of the deranged imagination of a polemist.

But let us leave these retrospects alone, and come back to more peaceful, though still difficulty-strewn, years of the after-war. The Hague conference has been a new and painful surprise for a Europe still incompletely healed of her wounds. England has finally obtained, and everybody will congratulate her on the result of her success, the *two million* pounds a year she desired and which is, after all, not a very high sum compared to the total budget of Great Britain. This sum of approximately *two million* pounds represents in fact only one four-hundredth part of the British budget. Her error perhaps was not to have disavowed at the very beginning of the Hague Conference, the British experts who had agreed to the Young plan. Fortunately, this plan had many secret pockets which it was possible to open

up and give to England a series of compensations.

The storm and the slightly heated exchange of words of the beginning have at least afforded the plenipotentiaries an opportunity to benefit their respective countries with a lesson in philology, from which diplomatists might enlighten themselves on the subtle nuances which in French and English, separate certain words similar in appearance but differing in meaning. The *Entente Cordiale* has not come out with its horns broken in the adventure, and as has been said by one of the principal French delegates, a native of the beautiful country of Normandy: "the Normans and the English have visited each other so often that there cannot exist between them any long-standing difference."

Some Pioneers of Medical Education in Bengal

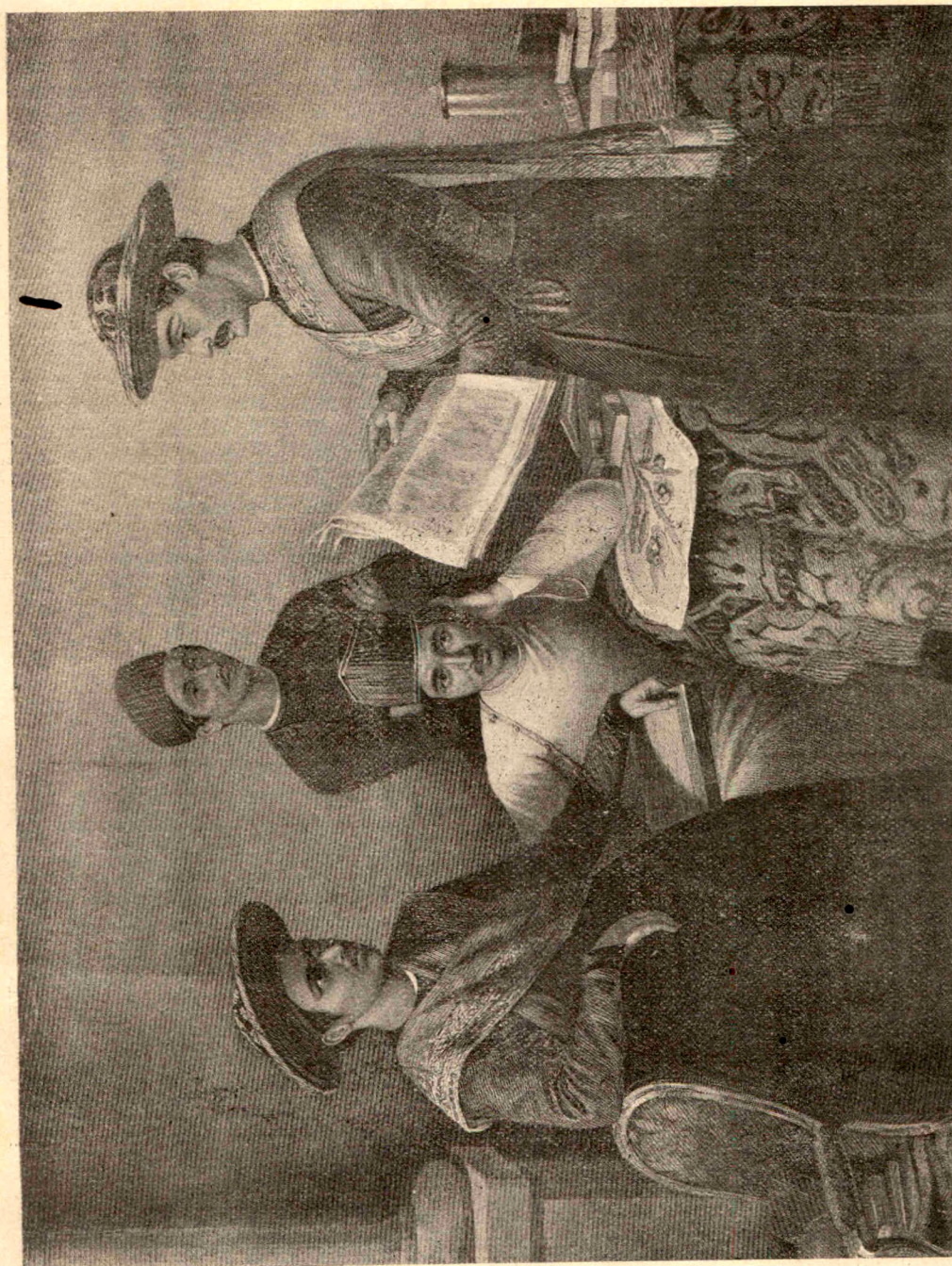
IN these days, when nobody thinks anything of going to England or of joining a medical college, a man finds it difficult, if not impossible to reconstruct in imagination, the spiritual physiognomy of an age in which both had the lure, and the risks, too, of an adventure and a revolt. And the four Bengalee students who set out for England on board the S.S. *Bentinck* on March 8, 1845 to complete their medical education in London undertook all the risks and deserve all the honours of pioneers.

It was on March 7, 1835, that Lord William Bentinck issued the famous order which introduced English education as the official policy of the government and declared that the "promotion of European literature and science among natives of India ought to be the great object of the British Government." The Calcutta Medical College had been founded in previous January as a practical application of the new policy. Colleges which imparted a purely literary education had no difficulties, for English education as a means to literary culture and as a qualification for professions was already very popular with Indians. But medical education on new lines hurtled against the deep-rooted prejudices of Hindu society against dissection. At first, no Hindu students could be found who was prepared to risk the chances of social ostracism for the sake

of science, and it is said that when at last in 1836, a highcaste Hindu student used his scalpel on a corpse guns were fired from the fort.

The second great step was taken in 1845 when four Bengalee students were taken to England by Professor Dr. Goodive. It was Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore who in 1844 offered to take two medical students to England and have them educated there at his own expense, and the next year Professor Goodive volunteered to proceed to Europe in charge of the pupils and to watch over their education and to bear the expense of an additional student, provided the Government allowed him to retain half his staff salary and treated the period of his stay in England as special duty. The Government accepted his proposal and Dr. Goodive raised an additional sum of seven thousand five hundred rupees, more than half of which was contributed by His Highness the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

We reproduce an early engraving of the four students who ultimately sailed with Dr. Goodive in March, 1845. Their names are: (1) Bholanath Bose, (2) Gopal Chunder Seal, (3) Dwarkanath Bose, (4) Soorjee Coomar Chuckerbutty. On their arrival in England they were admitted to the University College, London and resided with Dr. Goodive who supervised their education.



*Longo Comar Bhikar Singh Govind Chandra Seal Durand's with Das Basu
Bholanath Bose*

The Bengali Pioneers of Medical Education

On the arrival of these young men in England, they were placed at University College, London. They resided with and were personally superintended by Dr. Goodive, and were treated with marked kindness and attention by many distinguished personages, among whom the Earl of Auckland, Sir Henry Willock, Sir Edward Ryan and the Professors of the University College were most prominent. It appears from the first half-yearly report of Dr. Goodive that during the summer session of 1845 Dwarkanath did not gain any honours; that Gopal "for his proficiency in practical anatomy was selected by Professor Quain to dissect the subjects for his lecture—a post of considerable honour in the anatomical class;" that at the botanical examination which took place in August, Bholanath was third in the list in a class of more than seventy students, and only failed to obtain the silver medal by two marks, and that Professor Lindley presented him with a copy of his own work as a testimony of his approbation, accompanied by a very complimentary certificate; and that Soorjee Coomar became a favourite pupil of Dr. Grant, Professor of comparative anatomy, and a frequent companion of his leisure hours, thus getting valuable opportunities of learning this branch of science.

At the conclusion of the following winter term, Dwarkanath obtained the seventh certificate in Midwifery, and Gopal the seventh certificate in Medicine and the ninth certificate in Physiology. Bholanath gained the first silver medal (second prize) in *Materia Medica*. Soorjee Coomar gained the gold medal in Comparative Anatomy after answering a series of unusually difficult questions on the subject, as also the seventh certificate in Anatomy, and the twelfth in Physiology. He obtained also the silver medal (the only prize) in Zoology. His paper on this subject was so superior that the examiner recommended the substitution of a gold, instead of the silver, medal, but at this change would create an inconvenient precedent the examiner's request was not acceded to.

In July 1846, Dwarkanath, Gopal and Bholanath passed the examination for the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeon of England, and became members of the College. After the conclusion of this examination "the President (Mr. Lawrence) in the name of

the Board of Examiners complimented these youths highly upon the very satisfactory manner in which they had passed the ordeal. He stated that no favour whatever had been shown to them, the questions having been perhaps more searching than usual, while the replies bore more favourable comparison with those of the great bulk of English students subjected to the same test. After this Dwarkanath returned to India.

Gopal and Bholanath next passed the first examination for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine at the London University (than the most difficult medical examination in Europe).

During the first term of the year 1847, Gopal, Bholanath and Soorjee obtained honours in the class examinations at the college.

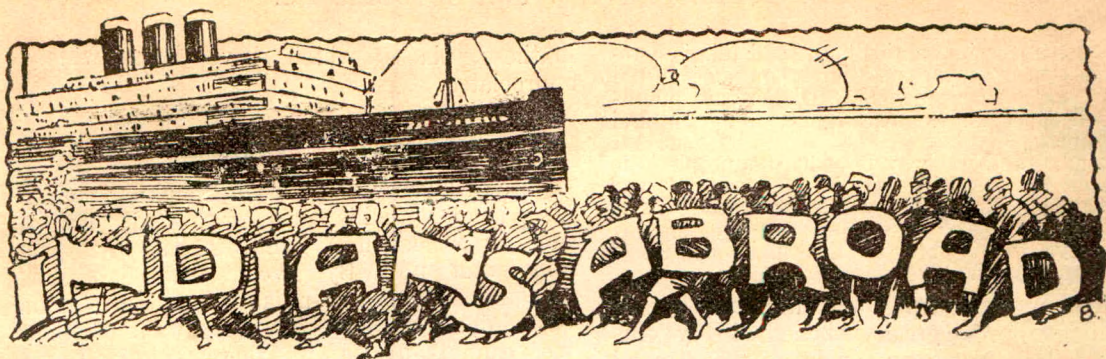
This fact of nine honorable marks of distinction besides the gold medal gained by Bholanath having been obtained by three Indian youths, was noticed by Lord Brougham in his public address delivered on the 30th April 1847 on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the University College.

In November 1847 Gopal and Bholanath passed their final examination for the M.B. degree at the London University, and were placed in the first division.

Soorjee Coomar passed the first examination for the degree of M.B. in August 1847 with much credit, and was placed in the first division.

Before returing to India, Dr. Goodive solicited the Honorable Court of Directors to confer upon his pupils such rewards and appointments as their distinguished career in England would merit. The Court entirely acquiesced in the sentiments expressed by Dr. Goodive, but left it to the Government of India to provide them with such employment as that authority would consider to be suitable.

Well might the late Council of Education congratulate itself on the results of the experiment of sending medical students to England,—one of the most important and interesting in the history of Native Education,—which reflects "the highest honour on Dr. Goodive, as well as on the succesful graduates themselves and the institution in which they received the ground work of their professional education."



BY BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Teacher's Training School in Fiji Islands *

We have had occasions to criticize the Fiji Government in the past for their negligence of Indian education and we are, therefore, duly bound to appreciate any sincere effort that they may make in this direction. They have now opened a new training school for teachers in Natabua. Here is an extract from the speech of the Acting Governor :—

I am much gratified that it has fallen to me to open this Natabua Teachers' Training School,

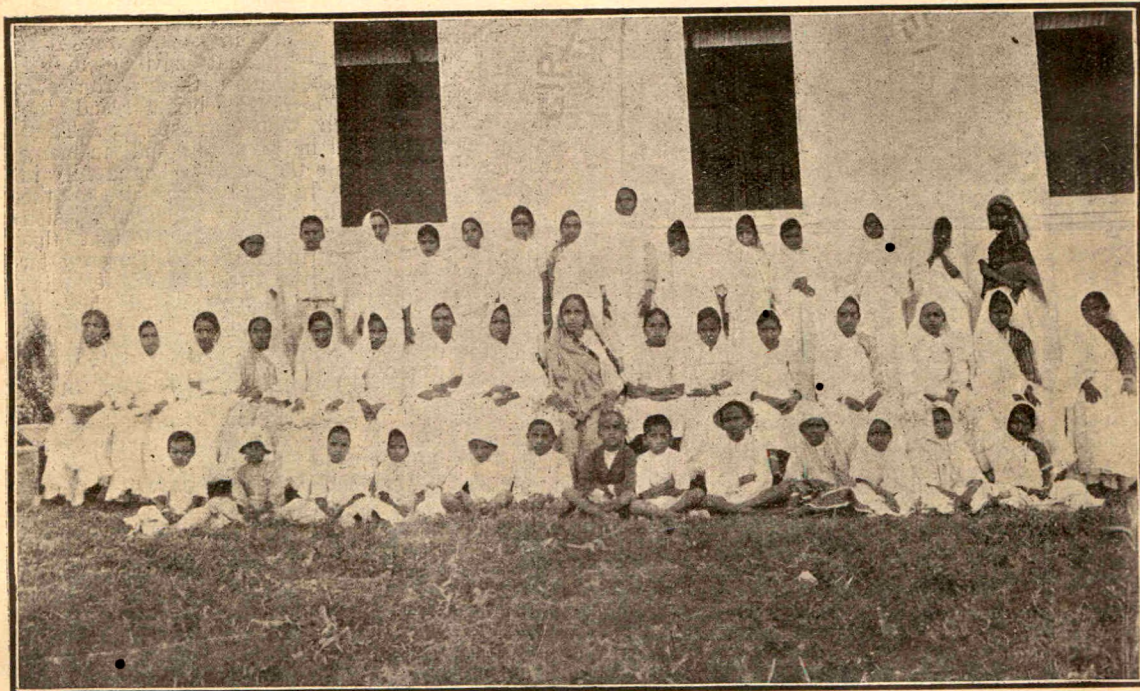
as I regard the occasion as an important milestone in the development of our Fiji educational scheme.

There has been a primary school for Indians here for some years, but we have now grappled the bigger problem of securing a supply of teachers for the new schools which are arising on all sides to meet the needs of the population.

We have not yet been able to open new Indian Primary Schools, as the demand for Indian schoolmasters was greater than the supply.

We are starting in a modest way with 12 Fijian and 12 Indian students and we expect to increase the number at the end of this year.

Now this Central Training school is established here for several reasons. First, the Government recognise that the fortunes of this small Colony



The Students of Visesi Girls School.

are bound up with agriculture, and this is a recognised centre for the most important agricultural industry *viz.*, sugar production and here are afforded good opportunities for training in agricultural instruction.

Second, the best way to educate people is to put them in localities which are peaceful and where outside distractions will not interfere with study.

Thirdly, this is near to the main centres of Indian population.

There is no doubt that our countrymen in Fiji will be greatly benefited by this school. The Governor spoke of the demand for Indian school-masters being greater than the supply. Will it not be advisable to import a few teachers from India?

At this stage of development of Indian education in Fiji it is essential to have efficient teachers to lay the foundation and if Fiji cannot supply them Indian Government ought to be approached to recommend some teachers from here.



Visesi (Fiji) Girls School.

Appreciation of Mehta Jaimini's Work

Mr. Andrews writes in one of his letters :—

I have lived with Sriyut Jaimini Mehta, B.A., LL.B. in British and Dutch Guiana and have found him always doing good and trying in his own way to bring peace and goodwill. He has gone round the world visiting the different Indian communities abroad and has been welcomed by them in every country he has visited. He has made great sacrifices of health in this voluntary work and it has always been a great pleasure to me to have been with him.

Mehta Jaimini has already visited Mauritius, Siam, Fiji, Panama, British Guiana, Surinam and Trinidad and he now intends to proceed to Canada and the United States of America. He has delivered several lectures

in these places which have been widely appreciated.

Indians in Dutch Guiana

Mr. Andrews has been simply flooding his friends with his articles, circular letters, newspaper cuttings and interim reports and what not. By every mail he sends something about the Indians of British Guiana or Trinidad or Surinam. For want of space we cannot utilise in these notes all the information sent by him. We can only give extracts from one or two of his letters.

Here is something from his last letter. He writes :

This will be one more circular letter to tell my experiences in Dutch Guiana and Trinidad. The former place has never been visited before and it is very hard for the people there who number 34,000 to be thus deserted. They received me with deep affection and I shall not soon forget their desolate condition. The Colony is in almost bankrupt state. The Dutch government has to give 300,000 pounds towards its upkeep every year. This means an immense expenditure for a colony containing only 120,000 people. The Indians have to learn the Dutch language and they are thus cut off from others who know only English. The common medium of Hindustani is rapidly passing away and very soon there will be a great gulf fixed between the East Indians in Demerara. In all the places in the West Indies this condition of Dutch Guiana appears to me in some ways the worst, yet the Dutch Government have done all they can and I do not blame them. Here in Trinidad the prospect is much brighter and the East Indians are much more prosperous. They are much more forward in education and in many ways they have become the leading community in the island. This is due in a great measure to the very wonderful work done by the Canadian Mission in early days. There can be no question that this good work rescued the indentured labourers after their release from indenture from utter dejection. Without that they would have sunk as low in misery as the Indians in Fiji did.

In this connection the following note sent to us by Mehta Jaimini will be found interesting.

Surinam is under the control of Dutch Government. It was colonised by the African slaves. The Dutch Government abolished slavery in 1863. Since that time they after corresponding with British Government obtained permission to get labourers from India under indentured labour system and so the Indians began to be brought in as labourers to this colony. At present their number is 34,000. Now they are well off. Elementary education is compulsory and many of them being well educated and literate have made their position respectable. Many of them are in education banking and immigration departments but none of them have risen in judicial department or medical line and legal business because in these department they cannot be taken up unless they

graduate themselves in the Universities of Holland. Some Indians are big landowners, rice mill proprietors, shopkeepers, retail sellers and milk-sellers.

latter waxes eloquence on the bright side. The truth lies somewhere between the two.



The Thatched Boarding House for the Girls

Land being fertile rice, cocoa, coffee, are produced in abundance. There are lots of milch cows yielding from 20 to 40 pounds of milk per day, all sorts of fruits like mango, guava, pine-apples, oranges, pears, watermelon, cucumber are met with in plenty during the whole year. Climate is sober and healthy. An expert doctor of this country told me that the birth rate of Indians here is higher than that of any other race while mortality is less than other races. I saw the metropolitan hospital very clean and neat. The doctors here are abler than the doctors in Demerara.

There are two East Indian societies here (1) *Bharat Ude Sabha*, the object of this society being to elevate the condition of Indians socially, politically and economically. (2) *Aryasamaj* whose object is to uplift Indians religiously and educationally.

Hindustani is taught in every elementary school along with Dutch language, while English, French and German are taught in every high school. Hence Indians here know Hindustani better than in British Guiana and Trinidad and so they have preserved Indian customs and manners better than those in British Guiana.

The magistrate and courts do not follow laws strictly, and the barristers in place of arguing case on law points only appeal for mercy and lenience. The accused when convicted is given two weeks opportunity to make arrangement for his domestic affairs and then go to undergo his sentence. Sometimes the prisoners are given leave to cut their crops and after that come to undergo remaining sentence.

"On the whole the Dutch people are hospitable and have great regard for Indians. The Dutch are strong and healthy, neat and clean in their habits and manners."

It appears that Mr. Andrews and Mehta Jaimini have viewed the situation from different angles of vision for the former gives a gloomy picture of it while the



Mr. Vishnu Deo

Kanya Gurukula in Fiji Islands

The educational work that the *Aryasamaj* has been doing in several of the colonies where Indians have settled deserves every praise and encouragement. And most of this work is being done by local *Aryasamajists* without any financial support from home. They have now started a Kanya Gurukula in Fiji under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Sardar Singh. Some pictures of this new institution, which is being built on a modest scale, are re-

produced here. Cannot our Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Jullundhar send one or two of its graduates to spread education among Indian girls in Fiji? They have received considerable financial help from colonial Indians and it is their duty to do something in this direction.

Election of Indians to the Fiji Legislative Council

Six Indians offered themselves as candidates for three seats that have been allotted on communal basis to our countrymen in Fiji. Their names are Dr. Gopalani, Mr. Parmanand Singh, Mr. J. F. Grant, Mr. Vishnu Deo, Mr. Khalil and Mr. Ram Chandra Maharaj. The result of their elections must have been out by this time but the *Reuter* has not taken care to wire it. Now there are seventy thousand Indians in Fiji Islands and there are a number of people in India who have been watching with considerable interests the trend of events in those distant islands. Indian newspapers too publish articles and notes about Fiji

occasionally. Reuter took care to wire when some years ago a portion of the Governor's house was burnt down by thunderbolt. Evidently that news was considered more important than the election of three Indians to the council in Fiji for the first time.

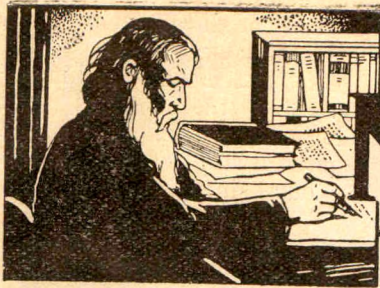
Special Overseas numbers

I have received a number of articles for the special overseas numbers of the *Vishal Bharat*, the *Modern Review* and the *Nesachetan* from our distinguished countrymen abroad such as Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Dr. Tarak Nath Das and others. But as our compatriots in some colonies have not yet been able to send their articles and I do not want to neglect any of these colonies I have decided to postpone the publication of these numbers till January 30.

I hope our compatriots in Trinidad, Mauritius, East Africa and F. M. S. will make haste and send their contributions as early as possible.



Almorah— Woodcut by Ramendranath Chakravarti



NOTES

The Passing of Jatindranath Das

Jatindranath Das breathed his last on the 63rd day of his self-imposed fast. But his strong, loving and heroic spirit lives to-day more than it ever did before. The cry of "Long live Jatindranath" is not, therefore, unreal.

To face death under any circumstances is difficult. But to do so under some sudden excitement or stimulus is comparatively easy. In the excitement of battle, in view of admiring comrades, death loses its terrors. In some other kinds of death, when men are cheered on to dare and die, men forget what they are doing. Generally in war people die in trying to kill others. The desire to kill others, even when born of patriotic motives during wars of independence or wars in defence of one's own country, is not generally free from hatred. And in all these cases, death is inflicted by the hands of others and comes quickly to put an end to one's agonies. But to choose to die voluntarily when one could have easily lived, to await death continually for sixty-three days, to face it in the solitude of a prison cell, to resist all the persuasions of relatives and friends, to die for the love of one's Motherland free from the desire to kill or do the least injury to anybody—requires the strongest possible resolve to adhere to one's principle and the greatest elevation and purity of soul. We are all aware how even a day's fast is apt to impair one's strength of mind. It was no common heroism, therefore, which could look death in the face for sixty-three days without wincing, undergoing all the while

the agonies of abstention from food and the resulting maladies.

Jatindranath Das gave his life for a principle. He wanted just, civilized and humane treatment for political prisoners. Though such treatment would have been considered worth fighting for in any other civilized



Jatindranath Das

country, it might not have been considered worth laying down one's life for in a free and independent country. But in India, to stand up for such treatment of Indian political prisoners was and is to stand up for the honour of one's Motherland. For, in

this subject country, any convicted or under-trial prisoner who bears a European name and wears European clothes, no matter what his character, standing in society, material condition or offence, receives as a matter of right far better treatment as regards food, clothing, accommodation, etc., than any Indian of the highest character, standing, education and wealth charged with or convicted of even a technical offence would *ordinarily and as a matter of right* receive. The veriest scoundrel of a prisoner bearing a European name and wearing European clothes would ordinarily be treated with greater courtesy and deference by the jail underlings, if not also by the higher officers, than a member of the Indian intelligentsia of good character, who might have the misfortune to be clapped in jail even for some technical political offence would generally be treated. The difference thus made in the treatment of prisoners is, therefore, really due to the subject condition of Indians. The fight for the better treatment of Indian political and ordinary prisoners is, therefore, a fight for the honour of India in bondage—it resolves itself into a fight for Indian freedom. So Jatindranath Das has practically, though indirectly, sacrificed himself for the liberation of his country.

He was well-born, he was young, he was intelligent and capable, he was educated. All the possibilities and allurements of a successful, prosperous and happy life lay before him. But he had made his choice early in life. Whatever he had done at some risk and sacrificed and suffered previously was for the freedom of his country. He has now crowned all his previous endeavours by an act of supreme sacrifice unsurpassed in the annals of this or any other country.

One of the fears which keeps a country in subjection is the fear of death. Jatindranath Das conquered the fear of death—he conquered death itself.

Hunger is one of the primal impulses of man. In all ages it has led individuals and masses of men to do many unmoral and immoral deeds. In the past, it led to many wars and predatory migrations on a large scale. Howsoever it may be camouflaged, it is still the cause of most military campaigns and all economic warfare. During famines and in shipwrecks it sometimes causes even cannibalism. To conquer such a primal impulse is no easy task. To Jatindranath Das belongs the glory of such a conquest.

The nation which can produce such young men cannot be without hope.

To do homage to such a hero and martyr on paper is easy. May the millions upon millions of his adoring countrymen, including ourselves, be inspired with even a fraction of his spirit, is our sincere and earnest prayer.

"Suicide" ?

The Times of India writes :

A man who kills himself by deliberately abstaining from food commits suicide, and those who sympathize with his action are applauding self-destruction.

Those who have led forlorn hopes in all ages and climes have done so in full knowledge of the fate awaiting them. Were they suicides ? The martyrs who persisted in their chosen course in spite of all temptations and threats knew that they would be executed. Were they suicides ?

Jatindranath Das was no more a suicide than were all the heroes and martyrs who have hitherto died for a cause.

"Feminine Tricks"

In the course of the debate on the Hunger Strike Bill a European member of the Legislative Assembly contemptuously referred to hunger strikes as "feminine tricks." It was no doubt the height of masculinity on the part of a member of the nation under whose domination the people of India have become unfamiliar with the masculine attribute of possession and use of arms—not of their own choice. It was certainly still more heroic to speak in this way particularly of prisoners who were not in a position to offer active resistance, even if they were unwise enough to think of doing so. It was not reported in the papers that this man had spoken appreciatively of Batukeswar Dutt and Bhagat Singh's offence as "masculine feats."

Evidently he is of those who may be chagrined that Jatindranath Das has inflicted a defeat on the Government and has deprived some Government servants of the pleasure of proving him guilty and inflicting condign punishment on him. The Government would not release him unconditionally. He has proved himself stronger than the

British Empire by releasing himself on his own terms. That was undoubtedly a feminine feat—to baulk British justice of its hopes in this fashion.

The British M. L. A. spoke of *feminine* trickery. That was a libel on womanhood. Trickery has no sex, and there have been women among those who have shown the greatest courage and endurance and capacity for direct action in all ages and countries.

Over-population and Poverty

In his article on the problem of India's poverty in the present issue of this *Review* Dr. Rajani Kanta Das has done well to state that over-population as an explanation of India's poverty is vitiated by over-emphasis. And he has given reasons for his observation. We also have shown in our last issue (page 351) that according to the average density of population of civilized countries in Europe and Asia, India is not over-populated.

The fact is, to talk of over-population being the cause of poverty is to argue in a circle. Leaving aside the other signs and consequences of poverty, let us take poverty to mean "not having enough to eat." Then the argument takes the following form: "The country is over-populated, because its people have not enough to eat; and its people have not enough to eat because it is over-populated."

According to Dr. Das, the international standard is that a person requires two and a half acres for a decent living. Let us apply this standard to some civilized countries. The figures are compiled from the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1928 and are given below in a tabular form.

Country	Acres of Arable land	Population
England & Wales	10,310,000 (in 1926)	39,067,000 (in 1926)
British India*	427,052,555 (in 1924-25)	246,960,200 (in 1921)
France†	56,495,000 (in 1924)	40,743,851 (in 1926)
Japan (mainland)§	40,800,186 (in 1927)	59,736,822 (in 1925)

* The figure given includes net area actually sown, current fallows and culturable waste other than fallow, the net area actually sown being 226,980,248.

† The figures are those for all land described as "arable."

§ "Taxed land, owned by private persons and local corporations," the land under cereals alone being only 14,270,092 acres.

These figures, and the figures in the footnotes show, that the civilized countries named above, and many other civilized countries which could be named, do not possess 2½ acres of arable land per head; that India possesses more such land per head than these countries; and that, therefore, according to the "international standard", India is not more over-populated than many wealthy, civilized countries. The figures of density of population are, for England and Wales 649 per square mile, for Japan 680 per square mile, for India 177 per square mile and for France 191.5 per square mile. All these countries, except India, are wealthy. Yet India's poverty is said to be due to over-population! It is really due to the fact that *all* the natural resources of India are not properly and scientifically utilized *for the native population of India*.

"Drain" of Wealth from India

In his article in our present issue Dr Das does not deny the fact of the drain of wealth from India, nor its impoverishing effect. He contends, however, that foreign exploitation alone is quite inadequate to explain the whole phenomenon of India's poverty. That may be easily admitted.

He adds:—

There is a possibility of over-estimation of the drain, especially in view of the fact that it is partly compensated by foreign investment and loan. In the second place, it must be remembered that although the British have destroyed several indigenous industries, they have also built up a few new ones. In the face of foreign competition some of the indigenous industries would have died their natural death. Moreover, the growth of modern industries in India is mostly the result of British enterprise. In the third place, even if the 60 crores of rupees could be retained in the country, the per capita annual income would not have increased by more than two rupees, a sum which is quite insufficient to help in solving the problem of either absolute or relative poverty.

These observations require some comment.

Just as there is possibility of overestimation of the drain, so there is also a possibility of its under-estimation. Hence, these probabilities may be set aside. The alleged compensation by foreign investment and loan has to be considered. All the advantages, if any, and disadvantages, if any, of such investment and loan cannot be even referred to in a brief note. We shall only place some facts before the public, admitting of course that capital owned at present by

foreigners has been invested in and lent to India.

Origin of Foreign Capital invested in India

On March 31, 1927 India's total public debt stood at 975.54 crores, the lenders of the greater portion of this huge sum probably being foreigners. Other large sums have been invested in India by foreign merchants and industrialists. The origin of all or most of this foreign capital has to be borne in mind.

In Major Wingate's *A Few Words on our Financial Relations with India*, published originally in 1859 by William Blackwood and Sons in Edinburgh and London, and republished by Major B. D. Basu in 1926, it is stated :—

The funded debt of the Government of India, borrowed in India, is estimated at nearly sixty millions sterling, of which three-fifths, or thirty-six millions, is the property of our own countrymen. The whole, or mostly the whole, of these thirty-six millions, consists of investments by Europeans in India out of money made in that country, and constitute, therefore, a clear addition to British property, gained through our connection with India; as does also the property of our fellow-countrymen invested in India, in banks, houses, factories, and various other ways; ..."

It is stated in Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* that, in the course of his examination before the British Parliamentary Committee on March 30, 1832, Mr. David Hill was asked, "377. Where does the capital employed by the indigo planters come from?" and he replied: "It is accumulated in India exclusively." Besides Mr. Hill other witnesses also stated that little or no capital had been or would be sent out from England to India. Thus Mr. W. B. Bayley stated before the same Committee on the 16th April, 1832, in answer to question No. 919:

"My opinion that no capital will be brought from England into India arises from little or none having been brought hitherto, even at periods when interest has been at a much higher rate than it now is."

Then he was asked :—

"920. Do you think more capital would not go to India, if the restriction on Europeans resorting to India was altogether taken away?"

He replied :—

"I do not think that capital would be sent from England, but I think that capital which would be otherwise remitted to England would probably remain in India."

On March 22, 1832 Captain Macan was asked :—

"1435. Would Europeans be likely to invest their capital in works of that sort?"

He answered :

"I think there is much error upon the subject of European capital in India."

He was again asked :

"Under the existing law that restricts intercourse with India, is it probable in your opinion that any companies would be found to undertake such works?"

He replied :

"I think Europeans who have acquired capital in India might undertake such public works, with proper encouragement; but I scarcely can anticipate so much enterprise and risk as to take capital from England to invest in such speculations; in truth, capital is, I believe, never taken from England to India; it is made there and remitted home."

It is clear then from all this evidence and from Major Wingate's statement that up to the year 1859 at any rate the rule was for Britishers not to bring capital from Britain to India but to make money here and either to invest it here or remit it to Britain. A Parliamentary Committee of enquiry may be of some use to ascertain whether the state of things is entirely or partly different now.

The Effect of Foreign Investments and Loans

It has now to be considered whether foreign investments and loans in India partly compensate the drain of wealth from the country. We are not in a position to give a very definite reply. We would only place some considerations before our readers.

From the fact that the British capital invested in India or lent to India consists, in great part at least, of money acquired in India, it must have been already clear to our readers, that such capital acquired in India is used again to exploit India, thus leading to further drain. That railway labour and factory and plantation labour receive some wages on a low scale is admitted; but that the greater part of the wealth produced by the investment and loan of foreign capital in India goes to enrich foreigners and their countries cannot be denied.

Regarding the necessity and the advantages to the people of India, of the investment of British capital in India, Mr. Rickards rightly said in his evidence before the House of Commons's Committee on East India Affairs in 1830 that

"India requires capital to bring forth her resources; but the fittest capital for this purpose

would be one of native growth and such a capital would be created if our institutions did not obstruct it."

The principal reasons for the Indian opposition to the investment and borrowing of foreign capital were stated in July last at a public meeting in Bombay by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta under the presidency of Sir Lallubhai Samaldas. Mr. Mehta observed :

Between two independent countries, a foreign loan was like any other commercial transaction in which both parties stood to gain. But if the borrower happened to be a weak subject nation and the lender a strong governing nation, then the dangers of a foreign loan were infinite.

He supported his observations by citing the examples of China, Egypt and the Sudan. From the examples of these countries he concluded that as soon as the bondholders entered in at the door, the freedom of those countries flew away. As for India he said :

From the days of the East India Company the same history has been repeated in this country. It was the infinite economic resources of the country that the British wanted to use to their own advantage and that was why they were unwilling to make India a free nation. In 1921, when the 7 per cent. sterling loan was raised in England by the Secretary of State the people of India raised a hue and cry. Then followed the conversion loan, to be repaid with either 6 per cent. interest or £200 at the time of conversion for every £100 subscribed. In spite of strong protests, the loan was floated and subscribed, the effects of which would be seen at the time of conversion. Fresh loans were now being contemplated and unless they were resisted with all the force at India's command, India would have to remain a perpetual slave of the British nation. India owed to the foreigner Rs. 470 crores and it was this debt together with such private capital that were sunk by the British commercial classes in this country, that was responsible for India's bondage to-day, and it would continue to be the cause of her bondage until such time as India was able to build up a strength greater than the strength of the nation which was dominating her.

Sir Lallubhai supported Mr. Mehta by stating facts within his own personal knowledge, and observed :

The political domination and the economic domination of a country went hand in hand and unless India was economically free she could not dream of being politically free. If India were to remain permanently under the domination of British capitalists as a price for the development of her industries, it were better that she did not develop her industries at all. "Let us first of all nationalize our industries," concluded Sir Lallubhai, "and let us earn more and spend less. Then and then only we can be economically free. And with the dawn of the economic freedom, political freedom was bound to follow."

Ruin of Old and Birth of New Industries

It is true, as Dr. Das states, that the British have built up in India a few new industries and that the growth of modern industries here is mostly the result of British enterprise. Stimulated by their examples, Indians also have to some extent entered the field of industries. Factory labour receives some wages. All this can be laid to the credit of British capital and enterprise in India. But most of the big industrial concerns are in foreign hands ; most of their profits go to foreigners ; most of the valuable expert knowledge and experience are of use only to foreigners, not to Indians ; and to the extent that the field of industrial enterprise is occupied by foreigners, Indians are directly and indirectly excluded therefrom. Valuable information on all these and many other points is contained in the published and, particularly, in the *confidential* evidence given before the Industrial Commission.

Hence, the building up of new industries in India by the British people cannot be considered to have undone the harm done by the destruction of indigenous industries.

Ruin of Indian Industries, Natural or Artificial

The statement that "in the face of foreign competition some of the indigenous industries would have died their natural death" requires some consideration. As a scientific investigator, Dr. Das is careful to speak of "some" of these industries, not of all. So his statement may be strictly accurate. Moreover, we are not much concerned with what would or might have been. What in our opinion has to be added is that if India's political condition had been normal instead of being abnormal, the place of the dead or decaying indigenous industries might have been taken by other *indigenous* industries. For example, the industrial revolution in England led to the disappearance of some of its indigenous cottage industries. But the industries which grew up in their place were British industries, not any foreign industries. In Japan also, industrial destruction and construction are going on. But the new industries being born are Japanese. Such generally is the course taken by the death and growth of industries in all free countries. If India had been free, or if in her dependent con-

dition her affairs had been managed solely or mainly to promote her interests, the ruin of some Indian industries might have been followed by the rise of other Indian industries. Politics and economics are interrelated, India being a dependent country, some of her industries were destroyed in order that British industries might thrive. These Indian industries did not die a natural death. Take the case of India's greatest and oldest manufacturing industry, *viz.*, the hand-loom industry. It did not die a natural death. It is not in fact dead yet, in spite of the powerful competition of power-looms working in England, America Japan and India. The decline of our hand-loom industry was brought about, not by honest competition, but by abuse of political power. In support of our statement we will quote three British writers. Lecky writes in his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* :—

At the end of the seventeenth century great quantities of cheap and graceful Indian calicoes, muslins, and chintzes were imported into England, and they found such favour that the woollen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed. Acts of Parliament were accordingly passed in 1700 and 1721, absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England, either in dress or in furniture, and the use of any printed or dyed goods of which cotton formed any part. (Vol. vii, pp. 255-256).

In England, it was "penal for any woman to wear a dress made of Indian calico. In 1766 a lady was fined £ 200 at the Guild Hall, because it was proved that her handkerchief was of French cambric." (Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vii, p. 320.)

Horace Hayman Wilson wrote :—

It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India, up to this period [1813], could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacturer. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated : would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her ; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty ; and

the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.—*The History of British India*, vol i, p. 385.

Major J. B. Keith wrote in the *Pioneer* for September, 1891 :

Every one knows how jealously trade secrets are guarded.....Yet under the force of compulsion the Indian workman had to divulge the manner of his bleaching and other trade secrets to Manchester. A costly work [*Specimens of Indian Textiles*] was prepared by the India House Department to enable Manchester to take 20 millions a year from the poor of India : copies were gratuitously presented to Chambers of Commerce, and the Indian ryot had to pay for them. This may be political economy, but it is marvellously like something else.

It may be similarly shown that the iron, sugar and some other indigenous industries of India did not suffer a purely natural decline. A government conducted in national interests would and could have enabled them to tide over the trying transition period and enter the age of rejuvenescence.

Whether the "Drain" Affects India

It has been said that, even if the 60 crores of rupees annually taken away to Britain could be retained in the country, the per capita annual Indian income would not have increased by more than two rupees, a sum which is quite insufficient to help in solving the problem of poverty. That is simple arithmetic, no doubt. Similarly it is simple arithmetic that the number of inches of rain falling in a country would not help boatmen, ship captains, irrigators, bathers, owners of water-mills, hydro-electricians, pisciculturists, if the total quantity of water thus falling on the ground were kept evenly distributed all over the surface of the soil. It is only because rain water accumulates in pools, ponds, tanks and lakes, and flows down to river beds to swell their volumes of water, that it is of use to man. Similarly, if wealth is taken away to a foreign kingdom it is not equally distributed among the people there, but remains mostly in the hands of a small number of well-to-do men who use it to increase the wealth of their country by various kinds of investment. It is thus that the "Indian treasure" helped to bring about the "Industrial Revolution" in Britain in the eighteenth century.

If the 60 crores of India's wealth yearly

drained away to Great Britain and Ireland had been equally distributed among their inhabitants, that would have increased their annual income per head by only Rs. 12. That would not certainly make those countries the rich lands that they have become by utilizing the money taken from India.

If the 60 crores had remained in India, a great part of it would have remained in the public treasury and other large sums in the hands of Indian capitalists. The money in the public treasury could have been spent, for example, in giving general, vocational and technological education to the people. We shall give an estimate. The cost of elementary education in India per pupil per annum is roughly rupees ten. Taking 15 per cent. of the population to be of school-going age, there are in British India 37 million possible school children of both sexes. The cost of universal free compulsory education for them would be 37 crores. The portion of 60 crores estimated to remain in the public treasury if there were no drain, added to the present expenditure on primary education, would thus have quite sufficed to make the whole population literate long ago. The writer has himself stated that 25 per cent of the inefficiency of our workers is due to their ignorance. If they had received some education they would have been able to produce 25 per cent more wealth than they do. The stopping of the drain would have diminished our poverty in this way, to a far greater extent than Rs. 2 per head per annum.

We have said that, if there were no drain, large sums would have remained in the hands of some Indians. They could have utilized it to develop the commerce and industries of the country and thus removed its poverty to a great extent.

Racial Discrimination in Legislation

Wherever and whenever peoples of European stock have thought it necessary and practicable in self-interest or in order to maintain their prestige or in order to enjoy immunity from just punishment to legislate or stand up for racial discrimination in their favour, there has been such discrimination. The capitulations in Turkey which existed till the other day, extra-territoriality in China and some other countries, the anti-Asiatic and anti-Indian immigration laws in British colonies and the U. S. A., and discriminatory laws regarding

the trial of Europeans in British and Indian India are examples of such racial bias. In Great Britain laws were enacted in previous centuries against foreign shipping and Indian textiles.

It is, therefore, natural for all peoples who have been thus discriminated against to find matter for laughter in the circular letter recently issued by the Secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon to members of the British parliament and many public bodies in Britain, drawing their attention to the fearful probability of such discriminatory legislation against the impeccable Europeans by Indian legislators, if political reforms were granted to India. The Associated Chambers of India and Ceylon have found a staunch supporter in the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. It supports the demand of the former that the next instalment of Indian constitutional reforms should contain a clause that the Indian Government must not undertake any legislation involving racial discrimination! How saintly, how sportsmanlike these Europeans are! In their opinion, it is not two but only one who can and must play at a game.

In the Indian army, in all the non-military services, in Indian jails—everywhere there is racial discrimination under British rule.

"A Feminist Plot"

A fresh illustration of the Europeans' sincere dislike of racial discrimination is to be found in an article with the above heading in *The Indian News* of London. It is stated there:—

Persistent efforts are being made in influential circles to plant on India a new and feminine version of British Imperialism in the shape of a Women's Imperial Service, or something akin to it, with the ostensible purpose of serving and helping India on the path of social progress. We know of more than one move in this direction. The patronage of high-placed women like Lady Irwin is being solicited. We also understand that the Simon Commission will be approached (or has been) on this matter. The scheme might, if it encounters political opposition from India, take the form of one or several organisations, technically of a voluntary and benevolent nature. The support of Lady Irwin and other persons of rank and influence, would in effect make it a quasi-official organisation, manned by British women officials to whose large salaries the Indian taxpayer would ultimately be called upon to contribute in the shape of Government grants, and the Indian peasant made to pay through what is apparently

the patriotic and self-sacrificing munificence of his landlord, who is desperately anxious to figure in the next Honours List.

The fact of Governmental participation or support being publicly denied will not deceive anyone. In India the wives of Government officials are strictly prohibited from taking part in political activity, or what savours of such. Indian women who are married to Government officials are thus penalized. It is more important that wives of Viceroy and Governors, and other high-placed officials should entirely dissociate themselves from movements, the inspiration for which comes from sources that do not command confidence in India.

The very small number of sincere well-wishers of India among British men and women should understand that there are really independent and capable Indian women through whom alone and through really independent Indian men working with them can good be done to India.

Inspectress of Schools for Bengal

In most girls' schools in Bengal the medium of teaching is Bengali. Indian women graduates are, therefore, the most competent to inspect such schools. As these ladies know English also, some possessing British qualifications, and have proved by actual work that they can teach in and inspect women's colleges, too, some of them should be appointed to the post of inspectress of schools. Yet an attempt is being made to get a British woman for the post. How unnatural and absurd! But this, of course, is not racial discrimination!

Incidentally, it may be stated that it is the height of injustice to women to pay them lower salaries than those received by male officers for doing the same kind, quality and quantity of work.

"British" Professors for Presidency College

Another example of the Britishers' abhorrence of racial discrimination is to be found in the following extracts from *The Mussalman* ;—

As advertisements in the local newspapers indicate, two Professors of English will be appointed to the Presidency College on salaries of 800 a month, *plus* overseas allowance and house allowance. Similarly, a Professor of Physiology will be appointed on a pay of Rs. 1,000 to 1,200 a month *plus* the same allowances, the total coming up to nearly Rs. 1,700 a month. The terms of the advertisements leave no doubt that the appointments will go to Britishers, if the very fact of

such advertisements being published is not conclusive proof of such a policy. There is, of course, no bar to Indians applying for such appointments, but the emphatic demand for British—as opposed to Indian or Continental European or American—qualifications tells its own tale. And, outside the Presidency College, the services of an Inspectress of Schools (with British qualifications and experience) are being likewise sought on an initial salary of Rs. 400 to 700 *plus* overseas allowance and conveyance allowance.

Why are the English professorships limited to men with British qualifications? Are not American Universities capable of teaching English as well as Oxford or Cambridge, not to speak of Leeds and Manchester and the other favourite recruiting grounds of the Indian Educational Service? And in regard to the Chair of Physiology, is it not a widely known fact that Science teaching in France and Germany is far more thorough and scientific than in England? Is it not also beyond dispute that American laboratories offer the greatest facilities for advanced work in Science subjects?

May we lastly inquire what is the total amount of 'original work' that British members of the Indian Educational Service have to their credit, while serving in India? Are the examination results, which are the only tangible test left, if 'original work' is ruled out, better when a department is controlled by an I. E. S. officer or when it is in the charge of an officer in the P. E. S. or of one promoted from the P. E. S. to the I. E. S.?

Discrimination of the Right Kind in Turkey

Turkey, being free and independent and strong, is in a position to stand no nonsense, even if uttered by canting European and American lips. Therefore, writes *The Literary Digest* :

"No foreigners need apply" is apparently the slogan of the Turkish Government, which is said to be restricting professional and commercial opportunities for foreigners living in Turkey more and more. A new bill is ready for discussion, we are told, and under it a whole list of professions and trades in which many foreigners are at present employed will be cut away from them. Those who are now practising such professions and trades, it seems, will have to give up and get out within six months of the publication of the law. Some of the occupations forbidden to foreigners, we learn from the Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, are medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and midwifery, and we are further informed :

"The bill, after vetoing the professions of merchant, navy captain, advocate, and newspaper director, goes on to enumerate some twenty occupations of a minor type, such as those of *conciierge* of a flat, shoeblack, coachman, guide, interpreter, porter, pedler, as well as such skilled occupations as those of chauffeur, stockbroker, and organizer of exhibitions. Behind some of these apparently unnecessary vetoes there is no doubt that the main influence is suspicion of the foreigner. A *conciierge* of a flat, for example, can easily become an instrument for protecting secret meetings of plotters.

Guides and interpreters have for so long been accustomed to show off Constantinople from the Greek Byzantine angle, with all sorts of derogatory remarks about the Turks, that it is very natural that the Turks should now wish to tell tourists their side of the story of their country.

This Constantinople correspondent continues :—

“The other occupations which are enumerated by the bill have apparently been selected because, the number of foreigners already engaged in them is considered to be excessive and to be thrusting Turks out of a legitimate livelihood. This applies to the occupation of chauffeur, which in Constantinople, for example, is largely manned by Russian refugees though Turks are particularly good chauffeurs. The idea of the bill is that not only this kind of skilled trade but all small trades in which the honest poor earn a living should be kept in Turkish hands. It is a nationalist logic, and it has a great deal to be said for it.”

The Literary Digest adds :—

In addition to the purging process the new law is to carry out, it is further related, Turkish government inspectors are going round all the foreign organizations and commercial houses to see whether the permitted quota of foreigners is being strictly kept, and especially whether the Turkish employees are being paid on a less generous scale or are being given only menial employment. This Constantinople correspondent continues :

“The plums are not allowed only to go into foreign mouths now, and whenever the Turks in any foreign institution complain that they are not being treated as well as the former foreign staff, the government inspectors come down heavily and set the inequalities right. One of the main complaints is that the Turkish employees are kept out of the posts of specialists, to which they often consider themselves adapted.”

Mr. Patel and Lord Irwin

The Legislative Assembly incident between the President of the Assembly and the Governor-General of India, now closed, had in reality two issues, a minor and a major one. It was the minor issue that attracted most attention and over which the minds of people were most exercised. The major one was never stressed and was not before the public at all, and would have been entirely overlooked but for Mr. Patel's statement before the Legislative Assembly. When the Public Safety Bill was ruled out of order by the President of the Assembly and the Ordinance embodying the provisions of the Bill was promulgated, it was generally believed that the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel had addressed a letter to the Viceroy which would soon be made public. It was naturally believed that the letter referred to the Bill

and the Ordinance. This inference was erroneous. The power of the President to rule out a Bill introduced by the Government may be questioned, but the right of the Governor-General to issue an Ordinance is unquestionable. The question of expediency or policy is a different matter. Ever since the present houses of legislature came into existence it has been perfectly evident that the Government has not the slightest intention of being guided by the legislative bodies or compromising with them. The bureaucracy does not change its ways any more than the leopard changes its spots. It is unimaginable that the Government as at present constituted will ever surrender any of its powers to the representatives of the people, unless constrained to do so by an Act of Parliament. The extraordinary powers of the head of the Government, such as the certification of expenditure not sanctioned by the legislature, the issuing of Ordinances having the full force of law, have been unhesitatingly and repeatedly exercised. The subsequent amendment in the Indian Legislative Rules, by which the President has been deprived of the power of preventing or delaying the discussion of any Bill after its introduction, does not affect the President of the Legislative Assembly, because he must accept the procedure laid down by law for his guidance. This amendment cannot have a retrospective effect and the Home Member has expressly disavowed any intention of reintroducing the Public Safety Bill at present. Consequently, the question of an affront to the President or his resignation does not at all arise.

THE MAJOR ISSUE

The major issue arose out of the speech delivered by the Governor-General on the last day of the last session of the Indian Legislative Assembly. That speech the President interpreted as nothing short of a censure passed upon his ruling upon the Public Safety Bill, and others shared his opinion. This speech evoked a letter of very strong protest from the President of the Legislative Assembly to the Governor-General. If he were to acquiesce in the course adopted by Lord Irwin, observed Mr. Patel, it might establish a precedent. In the most emphatic and dignified language Mr. Patel pointed out that his position was absolutely unassailable in the House.

"I am the sole and final authority on all questions relating to an order arising in the House, and if my conduct is to be impugned it can only be impugned by a direct appeal to the House upon a notice of motion properly given when a straight issue would be laid before the House and an amendment be moved which shall test the judgment of the House. In no other manner, and by no other authority, could the ruling of the Chair be subjected to any criticism or censure within the Assembly Chamber of which I am President."

There is no implication in this outspoken statement. The speech of Lord Irwin was made in the Assembly Chamber, and according to the President's understanding it conveyed a censure of a ruling given by the President. The Governor-General was plainly told that he had exceeded his authority in making such criticism. Never was a direct personal communication to a Viceroy of India addressed in more courageous and uncompromising terms. It must be acknowledged that Lord Irwin perceived his error and made a handsome *amende*. He concurred with the President in the view that the latter was the sole and final authority in the House on all questions relating to order that may arise. It had been no part of His Excellency's intention, and he would consider it improper, to criticize the President's ruling or to censure him, and he regretted the interpretation put upon his words. While his disclaimer must be unhesitatingly and fully accepted it must be pointed out that language even indirectly or remotely capable of such an interpretation should scrupulously be avoided in the Assembly Chamber. However, the incident being happily closed, it may be well left where it is.

It would not occur to any one that anything funny can be discovered in such an incident, but the remarks of an Anglo-Indian paper on this subject will be found amusing. The *Times of India* of Bombay has got a baby which has been christened the *Evening News of India*. It is an *enfant terrible* with the intelligence of a baby. Mr. Patel is its standing *bete noire* and it complacently observes that President Patel has submitted and decided to stay, and it very condescendingly abstains from rubbing in the submissive President's original mistake in disallowing the Public Safety Bill. To what has he submitted? To the new rule precluding any President from ruling out any Bill once introduced (not blocking Government business, as the *Evening News* naively puts it)? There can be no submission when a power ceases to

exist. The new rule does not supersede the President's ruling about the Public Safety Bill. Sir James Crerar, the Leader of the House, has expressly declared that the ruling is still operative. Wherein else has President Patel submitted? In his correspondence with the Viceroy of India? But the mendacity of such a newspaper need not be pursued further.

N. G.

Immediate Consequences of the martyrdom of Jatindranath Das

Some of the immediate effects of the martyrdom of Jatindranath Das may be briefly summarized without any comments, for the bare facts are sufficiently eloquent:—

(1) The *Milap*, a vernacular newspaper of Lahore, says the Borstal jail in which Jatindranath died will become a place of pilgrimage in future.

(2) The *Hindu Herald*, Lahore, says Jatindranath Das has been released unconditionally and has entered a place where no bail is demanded.

(3) Dr. Alam and Dr. Gopi Chand, two members of the Punjab Legislative Council, have resigned their seats.

(4) Dr. Alam, a very prominent Muslim, who put his shoulder to the bier of Jatindranath, says:—"I kissed my shoulder on which was placed Jatin's bier, imagining it was rendered holy."

(5) In the procession through the streets of Lahore the bier was carried by volunteers and leading men, and men and women showered flowers and petals upon it.

(6) Kiranchandra Das, Jatindra's brother, was carried shoulder-high and fanned along the route.

(7) The people of Lahore offered to defray all expenses for the transportation of the body to Calcutta.

(8) Every important railway station was besieged *en route* and floral tributes were offered everywhere.

(9) The cry that was heard oftenest was "Long live Revolution!"

(10) The scene at Howrah where a lakh and a half of people gathered to receive the mortal remains of the martyr was absolutely without precedent.

(11) Prior to the arrival of the train at Howrah a public meeting had been held in Calcutta under the presidency of Professor Nripendranath Banerjee, who is himself being

tried on more than one charge of sedition, and who was Jatindranath's teacher. At this meeting an order signed by the Commissioner of Police was handed to the President prohibiting the holding of all public meetings. The President observed that the meeting was perfectly orderly and the order was null and void, and calmly proceeded with the meeting.

(12) The funeral procession, in point of numbers, rivalled, if not exceeded, the historical funeral of C. R. Das.

(13) The presence of a large number of women in the procession was a notable feature.

(14) The police neither interfered with nor attempted to control the procession.

(15) Another monster meeting, with overflow meetings, was held in Calcutta. The Mayor presided.

(16) The declaration of civil disobedience at an early date is being discussed.

(17) At Meerut the accused persons compelled the Magistrate to adjourn the trial by withdrawing their legal representatives.

(18) The Hunger Strike Bill in the Legislative Assembly was postponed under cover of the weighty arguments of the opposition but really under pressure of the intense feeling created by Jatindranath's martyrdom.

(19) All Indian business spontaneously came to a standstill.

(20) All classes and communities, Hindus, Mahamedans and others, united solidly to honour the departed. Presiding at a crowded meeting in Bombay Mr. Mahomed Ali said:—"I want you to realize the tremendous determination of a man who refuses to be rescued from his march towards slow death."

(21) In Bombay many people were wantonly assaulted by the police without any provocation while returning from a monster meeting on Chowpatty sands.

(22) In Poona feeling was so intense that a disturbance was narrowly averted.

(23) Intelligence has been pouring in from every part of India to show that the martyrdom of Jatindranath has produced an indelible impression upon the hearts of the people.

(24) All offices of the Calcutta Corporation and all schools controlled by it were closed as a mark of respect to the memory of Jatindranath Das.

(25) The Bombay Corporation, which is composed largely of capitalists and wealthy

landlord adjourned, the motion being carried *nem. con.* and all members of the Corporation standing. N. G.

Jatindranath Das

No man can do more than this, that he lay down his life for love of his country. By this act of supreme self-surrender Jatindranath Das ranks now and for all time among the martyred immortals, with the opalescent halo of sainthood round his memory. This is no time to make any reflection against even the bureaucracy, or the refusal of the authorities to set Jatindranath at liberty and let him die outside the precincts of the jail. The system that has made this supreme sacrifice possible may be left out of consideration for the moment. The one single fact that towers high above everything else is the unparalleled heroism of the young man whose liberated spirit stands face to face with his maker. The one other similar instance on record is that of MacSweeney. He was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and he abstained from food until death set him at liberty. Jatindranath did not wait till the end of the trial, and even in the eyes of the law under which he was being tried he is innocent, for the law presumes every man to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. This resolute, iron-willed young man had no personal grievance. He had suffered for his country before. There was no stigma on his character. It is only a man of the highest character and the strongest will that can do what he has done. It was not a case of sudden suicide but a stern determination to wait for death and welcome it when it came. If we say nothing to the bureaucracy now we also brush aside the whining sanctimoniousness that calls the law in this country irreproachable. MacSweeney died in Ireland, Jatindranath Das has died in India; no prisoner or convict starves himself to death in England. Did MacSweeney die in vain? Look at the Free Republic of Ireland for a reply. Has Jatindranath died in vain? Look at India convulsed from end to end for a reply. The Indian Legislative Assembly passed a motion of adjournment of the House as a censure on the Government. There was no opposition from the Government though the Government party and the non-official European members voted against the motion and some of them made unwise speeches.

The Meerut trial was forced to be adjourned, the accused withdrawing their legal representatives for the day. Indian places of business were closed throughout the country. At Lahore the body of the young martyr was carried in procession, the police being conspicuous by their absence.

It is not a mere accidental happening. An unknown Bengali youth starves himself to death in a Punjab prison and the whole country rises as one man to honour his memory. It is not a day of national mourning, but of national awakening. By his death Jatindranath Das has stirred the heart of India to its profoundest depth. By his death he has nerved the hearts and hands of his countrymen to fresh endeavour and unabated striving. His martyrdom is the sounding of the tocsin of duty for every son and daughter of India who loves the Motherland. The blood of the martyr is the seed of the church in which the nation will adore the Mother of us all. Today we stand with bowed heads in the presence of the spirit of Jatindranath Das. To him belongs the homage of the nation and the reverence of us all.

N. G.

The Hunger Strike Bill

The debate on what is known as the Hunger Strike Bill, arising out of the Lahore Conspiracy case, came to an abrupt and dramatic termination by the member in charge agreeing to the motion for the circulation of the Bill. Sir James Crerar, Home Member, suddenly developed an unaccountable respect and admiration for the opponents of the Bill. Thus the lacuna discovered by him and the Law Member will continue to gape and yawn indefinitely. Sir Denys Bray's hall of justice with its fluted pillars of Ordinances and Regulations will remain an uncompleted edifice. The Home Member did not bow to the inevitable with a very good grace, for he did not leave the field without flinging a Parthian shot and reminding the House that the Government would not permit the indefinite protraction of the course of justice and would use their emergency powers if necessary. When have the Government consulted the House of legislature when exercising these powers? Are not these powers by their very nature intended to override the legislature?

It was the Law Member of the Government of India who cut the sorriest figure in the

course of the debate and was roundly charged with ignorance of the law. For a considerable time now the Law Member has been invariably an Indian, and we cannot but feel humiliated that he should be a party to the framing of Ordinances and other so-called emergency measures which supersede the ordinary law and which are utterly unknown in any other part of the Empire.

N. G.

Religious Fairs and Railways

Part of next January and February, corresponding to the month of Magh, will witness the great Kumbh fair at Allahabad. The Kumbh mela at Prayag is a sight which has no parallel in India. It is anticipated that from 30 to 40 lakhs of people will be present at the fair on the great day of bathing at the Sangam, or the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. It takes a little time to realize what this staggering figure means. Double the combined population of the cities of Calcutta and Bombay and that will represent the number of pilgrims, that will crowd the sands of the shores of the Ganges, for the banks of the Jumna have no accommodation for pilgrims. This number will be reached on two or three days only during the month, but throughout the month the number of pilgrims will be sufficiently large to tax all the resources of the Magh Mela Committee. However small the requirements of the pilgrims there are no markets or supplies in Allahabad to meet them. The fair must have its own organization and this is the care of the Committee. Allahabad is a small place and it is wisely placed out of bounds for pilgrims. Those from the south or east are detrained at Naini. Others have to get out at Phaphamow and Daraganj, while the rush from the Punjab is taken beyond Allahabad to the Mela station. If these forty lakhs of pilgrims were to march through Allahabad the city would be swamped, let alone the fear of the outbreak of an epidemic.

How will this mighty host of pilgrims intent upon reaching the mingling of the waters of two of the holiest rivers in India, converge upon the wide shores of the shrunken Ganges from every point of the compass? What means of transportation will be used to carry this huge multitude of humanity? Every known method of locomotion, except aeroplanes, will be used to carry

the pilgrims to their destination. Thousands will walk many miles down to the riverside carrying nothing but the pilgrim's staff, a blanket and a *lota*. Ekkas, buses, boats, motor cars will be used in large numbers, but it will fall on the various railway systems to deal with the bulk of the traffic. It cannot be asserted for a moment that all the railways in India put together have a sufficient number of carriages to carry the immense number of pilgrims with any degree of comfort. In fact, the entire rolling-stock is utterly inadequate for this purpose. Even in ordinary times when there is no rush of passengers third class railway carriages are invariably overcrowded. Some years ago wagons, cattle, horse and open trucks were crammed with pilgrims. To say that they were packed like sardines would be an unfair comparison for the sardines are dead before they are packed while the railways in this country pack living human beings like dead fish. A more cruel or callous arrangement cannot be conceived.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

I am not relying on report and hearsay for my statement. When a big religious mela was being held at Prayag I travelled third class for over a hundred miles in a pilgrim train to verify the facts for my satisfaction. There was no question of overcrowding; every compartment was filled to suffocation and yet more pilgrims were being shoved in at every station. Amidst all their sufferings these ignorant village people were so considerate that they would not permit me to be hustled and kept clear a few inches of spare room. More than once I pointed out that I was not entitled to any special treatment but they would not crowd in upon me and listened with rapt attention to the stories I told them from sacred Aryan mythology. If it had been summer instead of winter hundreds of people would have died of sunstroke and heat apoplexy. The marvellous faith of these people filled me with wonder beyond words while it deeply humbled me. To every remark about their discomfort and hardship there was only one reply—'What does it matter if we die, if we can but arrive at the Sangam while the breath is in our body?' Except for the pilgrims and the *pandas* who were driving them like dumb cattle the railway station-platforms were mostly deserted. There were no railway officials, railway police, inspectors

or ticket collectors. Once only I found a guard to whom I gave a large piece of my mind. He shrugged his shoulders and opened his arms in a gesture of helpless impotence. 'What can we do?' he said in despair, 'These people cannot be kept back. If the gates are shut they crawl through somehow. There are 2,000 men waiting at the next station, and every other station is besieged by clamorous crowds. We are powerless.' Here a *panda*, who was strutting about as if he owned the whole show, beckoned to the guard from the corner of his eye and I never saw him again. Is it difficult to account for a temporary disappearance of all authority and discipline?

THE RAILWAY BOARD

The Railway Board has been constituted as a centralized authority to supervise the working of all railways in India. The Board is composed of a number of officers on bloated salaries, who are supposed to prevent and punish all abuses on railways. Have these officers ever made any inquiry as to how pilgrims are carried to large religious fairs? All railways, whether owned by the State or Joint Stock Companies, are public carriers and subject to the law relating to such carriers. In case of accidents they have to pay compensation for neglect. If a hackney carriage or taxi carries more than the authorized number of passengers, a policeman promptly notes the number and the driver is fined. The journeys in these conveyances are a matter of a few miles whereas railway trains run day and night and convey passengers hundreds of miles. Every railway carriage shows in distinct figures the number of passengers it is authorized to carry, and every time the number exceeds the scheduled number the railway is liable to a heavy fine. No prosecution is ever instituted because no one cares; the third class passengers come mostly from the voiceless millions, other passengers are passing travellers who would think it quixotic to leave their own work and appear before a Magistrate somewhere else. But this gross scandal, cruelty and profiteering can be remedied with a little effort. The attention of the Railway Board may be drawn to the matter at once and reports called for from agents travelling incognito. Best of all, questions should be set down in the Legislative Assembly and the U. P. Legislative Council well ahead

of the Kumbh mela. When a railway company having rolling-stock to convey 5,000 passengers only in a week sells 50,000 tickets in the same period it stands self-confessed of guilt. The offence is criminal as well as immoral. No railway has any right to sell tickets in excess of the number for which it can provide accommodation under the authorised regulations. Every elected member of the legislature owes this plain duty to his helpless and cruelly ill-used countrymen, and it cannot be overlooked any longer.

N. G.

Egypt Old and New

Lord Lloyd met his Waterloo in Egypt. As a political and diplomatic official he has been cast on the scrap heap, for no Ministry will have any use for him. His Lordship has accordingly wended his way to the City to find out if he can make up in business what he has lost in politics. Those who had followed his career as Governor of Bombay *knew* that he would go far if his Imperialism were uncurbed, but he would not advance a step if brought into conflict with the reaction against Imperialism. In Egypt he looked upon himself as a worthy successor of the late Lord Cromer. Like Lord Lloyd Lord Cromer also went to Egypt from India. As Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer was Finance Minister of India when Lord Ripon was the Viceroy of India. The British connection with Egypt comes under three heads in three stages: the Occupation, the Protectorate and the High Commissionership. The old Egypt we have in view is the Egypt of Arabi Pasha and not the ancient Egypt of the Pharaohs. The new Egypt is the Egypt of Zaghlul Pasha. If Lord Lloyd had his own way he would have followed the traditions of Lord Cromer, forgetting that Egypt has outgrown that state of tutelage. During the regime of Lord Cromer there was a scuffle in the Egyptian village of Denshawai where some British officers had gone out shooting tame pigeons. Some of the villagers, including a woman, were wounded by pellets and the officers were hustled about. In the subsequent trial a number of villagers were heavily punished and some were hanged. Lord Cromer defended the proceedings as 'just and necessary' and further certified that the Englishman in charge of the

proceedings was 'a singularly humane man'. The late Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt espoused the cause of the Egyptians, wrote innumerable articles and had questions put in Parliament. In brief, he made himself generally disagreeable to Lord Cromer. The details, with the usual official whitewash and blackwash, will be found in Parliamentary Papers, Nos. 3 and 4, Egypt, 1906. The whole affair has been reviewed by Mr. Bernard Shaw and the Shavian comment is characteristically caustic:—"The official walrus pledges himself in every case for the kindness of the official carpenter." When the history of modern Egypt is written by an Egyptian neither Lord Cromer nor Lord Lloyd will appear as a heroic figure.

N. G.

The Plight of the Punjab and Sind

From time immemorial it has been recognized that the greatest danger to human habitation and human life is from floods. Every other peril spends itself after a certain course; a fire burns out when there is nothing more to consume within reach; an epidemic subsides when it has run its course. Not so with a flood for a rush of waters sweeps everything in its path and the heavens and the earth may pour water till everything is drowned or washed away. The greatest disaster mentioned in the old Testament is the deluge from which Noah alone escaped because he had found grace in the sight of God, who directed him to build the Ark and so escape the raging waters. The earth and men living upon it had become corrupt and all were doomed to perish. God said to Noah, "And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and everything that is in the earth shall die." The ancient Indian mythological tradition is the same. It is stated in the *Mahabharata* and elsewhere that Manu—note the similarity of the names Noah and Manu—escaped the floods in which all men perished in a boat which was pulled across the waters by a large fish. The saying is, "After us the deluge, that is to say, if we live safe through our own lives later generations may be drowned by floods, for aught we care." The world as known to the ancients was much smaller than it is now and when one part of any country was flooded the people therein thought the whole

world was overwhelmed. That is what happened in the time of Manu and Noah.

Within recent times floods have devastated large tracts of land in many parts of the world. Confining our remarks to India scarcely a year passes that some part of the country is not flooded. Parts of Bihar were chronic sufferers from the overflow of the Ganges and other rivers. Terrible ravages have been made in the Madras Presidency; parts of Bombay have repeatedly suffered from rain and flood; Baroda city in the Bombay Presidency and Lucknow in the United Provinces have had narrow escapes from flood. In September, 1900, Calcutta, the largest city in India, barely escaped a watery grave. For more than a week the rain fell in torrents; if an unusually high river-tide had coincided with the flood of rain nothing could have saved the city. The streets were running rivers through which the water rushed like a mill-race. Horses and every description of cattle were drowned in the streets. Fish were flooded out of the large artificial lakes and were found swimming in the court-yards of houses. The maidan looked like an inland sea. The floods of Assam are scarcely yet dry and the resultant suffering has not yet been completely relieved. But every previous disaster has been thrown into the shade by the fearful plight of the Punjab and Sind, though there is reason for thankfulness that the very gravest apprehensions have been averted. Normally, the Punjab is not subject to large floods. Including the Indus there are six important rivers, but they rarely overflow their banks, and large tracts of land were lying uncultivated until the great canalization schemes were carried out, bringing both prosperity and malaria to the Province. The annual rainfall is scanty and does not exceed 30 inches. The winter rains, which help the wheat crop, are more needed than the monsoon rains. This year it has been entirely different. The Shyok dam, blocking up a river in the high Himalayas by a rampart of solid ice, has been threatening west Punjab like the sword of Damocles. It has burst this year being a rush of water down the Indus. There has been incessant rain from the end of July and all the five other rivers are in flood. Part of west Punjab has suffered heavily; villages have been swept away and there has been loss of life; cattle have perished in large numbers. It was Sind,

however, where the menace of disaster was the greatest. Sind has been called Little Egypt because the conditions of the two countries are almost identical: both are practically rainless; Egypt depends upon the overflow of the Nile for its agriculture; similarly, Sind is dependent upon the Indus. Canals have been made in recent times and the Sukkur Barrage is expected to water and fructify large slices of territory. The danger that was threatening the Punjab became far more terrible in Sind. All the six Punjab rivers come down to Sind in a single wide, raging torrent. While that grave danger was impending, Sind was flooded by such rain as the Province never knew before. All low-lying areas were inundated, the canals were swollen and overflowing. Next, cholera broke out in epidemic form in several parts of the Province, and huge swarms of locusts swooped down upon the Province to devour the crops. It seemed as if Sind was doomed and nothing could save it. The oncoming flood filled the population with consternation. The tension of anxiety was at the breaking point; officials and people passed sleepless nights; work was carried on day and night to raise and strengthen the protective earthen barriers. Praise is due to the officials for their untiring vigilance and for doing everything in their power to check the mad rush of waters. People were warned in time and removed out of the danger zone. The loss of human life, on account of the precautions taken, has not been great, but many villages, particularly in Lower Sind, have been washed away, and the loss to property is immense. It is too early yet to form an accurate estimate of the damage, but the distress of the stranded and homeless people may be easily imagined. The Governor of Bombay has opened a Relief Fund to which contributions are readily coming in. Grave as has been the disaster there is still cause for thankfulness for matters might have been much worse.

N. G.

The Blood Baptism in Palestine

At this distance it is difficult to appreciate accurately the immediate causes that have precipitated the holocaust in Jerusalem, Hebron and other places in Palestine. There are always two parties to a quarrel and the accounts of the two must conflict. The Arab-

version must be entirely different from the Jewish. The inquiry may or may not elicit the whole truth. The question that concerns the world at large is how do the British and the French happen to find themselves in Palestine, and why are the British in particular being blamed by both the Jews and the Arabs? This frightful bloodshed is in reality one of the direct legacies of the world war. If there had been no war this butchery in Palestine would have never happened, for it formed part of the Turkish Empire and had no problems of its own. The war saw Turkey on the wrong side, though it was Hobson's choice. Turkey lost Palestine and at the end of the war came the mandate for a Franco-British overlordship. This mandate is a new euphemism for interference where it is not wanted. A very laudable plan was outlined for re peopling Jerusalem and the surrounding country by Jews. The Jews have long been a scattered community, scattered since they jeered at him who suffered on the cross. But Palestine is where it was and has other inhabitants. If there is to be a colony of Jews land should have been acquired for them and friction with the Arabs should have been carefully avoided all along. Instead, there can be no question that Zionism became aggressive and under cover of the British mandate asserted itself in a provoking fashion. Lord Balfour went personally to Palestine and his scheme was worked into the mandate. The mandate holders remained in blissful ignorance of the fury that was brewing. It is now proclaimed that the offenders and the assassins will be severely punished while the Jews and the Arabs are equally emphatic that neither of them started the orgy of blood. Punishment is easy but it will not put out the fire that will smoulder. To be wise after the event is not wisdom; it is merely experience and often sad experience. The Jews and the Arabs are descended from a common stock, and both belong to the same Semitic race; so do the Hindus and Mussalmans in India, and we know to our cost that no enemies are so bitter as those that have a common ancestry but belong to different religions. To the British there is no fetish higher than prestige and will that shadowy idol be exalted by the happenings in Palestine? The future of Britain does not hold fresh mandates of occupation but edicts of evacuation, but who can bring home to British statesmen the lesson of Ireland and Egypt? N. G.

Turkish Nationalism and Arab Civilization

In our notes for September under the above head we said that Turkish nationalism has, to a great extent, rebelled against the dominance of Arabian influence in religion, &c. Here are two extracts which will help us to understand the extent of that revolt:

"The Turks reject orthodox Islam on the basis that it is Arab, and not Turk; medieval, and not modern, nomadic, and not civilized. They say that they cannot be shackled by the ties of an Arab bedouin system in their efforts to rise up to the rank of the civilized nations. They want to be westernized completely, so that they will no longer have the Arabic language, Arabic alphabet, Arabic customs, Arabic religion, Arabic mentality. That is the attitude of the present Turkish leaders to Islam, and this is really unique in the whole history of Islam."—*Moslem Mentality*, by L. Levanian, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1929, page 76.

"The disintegration of the Turkish people in the past has been due chiefly to three causes, the first of which is religious. A cloak cut and modelled for Arabia has been forcibly put round over necks, and has kept us tied to our bedsteads, preventing the free development of our normal and national abilities. God says in the Koran, 'Verily we have sent down the Koran in the Arabic language, so that you may understand it.' From these words it is evident that the Koran has been addressed to the Arabs, and the Turks can have no share in it. In the early ages of superstition it was only natural that each people should have a God of their own creation, and in that case it was to be expected that the revengeful Arab should have a revengeful and mighty Allah. The Arabs have ruined us (the Turks) by forcing upon us an Allah of their own creation. This Allah does not lack some good and noble qualities but He has attributes that have paralyzed our national and normal growth. Our minds have remained puzzled in the midst of contradictions. The Persian disintegration is also due to the same thing."—*The Iftihad*, a Turkish magazine, edited by Dr. Abdullah Djevdet Bey, August, 1924.

An Unhired American's Honest Opinion of India

The Rev. Dr. John Howland Lathrop was one of the American delegates to the Brahmo Samaj Centenary celebrations in India. After returning from his tour in this country he has been telling his countrymen what he thinks of India and Indians. The following has appeared in *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of New York:

India is ready to take control of the reins of its government as a dominion state of the British commonwealth. That is the opinion of the Rev. Dr. John Howland Lathrop, pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Saviour, who returned last week from a tour of India.

"India, I believe, is ready for dominion status with Canada and Australia," Dr. Lathrop stated. "There is a sufficient body of educated and able Indians to carry on the affairs of the state intelligently. As for the others, I believe that the practice of democracy is the best training for democracy."

POLITICAL UNREST GROWS

From the opinion he gathered from the natives Dr. Lathrop said that the restlessness, discontent and desire for self-Government at the present time foreshadow greater upheavals than the wish for dominion status, if that form of government is not granted them soon.

The reasons given by the British Government for not giving self-government to India include the outstanding reason that there exists great antagonism between the Hindus and Mohammedans. The recent riots in Bombay were cited.

Dr. Lathrop was in Bombay during the riots. He "learned that the trouble was due to factory strikes."

Factories had imported Mohammedans from outlying provinces and placed them in the shops to act as policemen over the workers, Dr. Lathrop found.

"There seems to be a general suspicion among some of the Hindus that the British Government does not discourage the antagonism between the Mohammedans and Hindus," he said.

LOYAL BUT DISCONTENTED

A distinguished Hindu told him: "We are loyal but discontented." *That was the most conservative observation made by the natives,* Dr. Lathrop stated.

Before the World War India was subservient and loyal to all the wishes of the British, Dr. Lathrop explained. During the war they went in large numbers under the British flag, and as a reward for their great patriotism there was a general belief that India would gain self-government.

The Indian National Congress had set the end of this year as the time for obtaining dominion status. But Dr. Lathrop declared, it is hardly likely that it will be granted in so short a time.

"The problem is made complicated by race, religion, language, British states and native states with their native rulers," Dr. Lathrop observed.

"Great Britain has an economic need of India and desires to retain it."

That last observation is the most significant.

About the financial aspect of British rule,

The Indians, Dr. Lathrop stated, were heavily taxed for the upkeep of the Government and armed forces. Little of the money is spent in India, he learned. Tariffs in that country are such that Indian production is discouraged.

"The entire country is in a state of poverty," he added. "Diseases ravage the natives, hygienic conditions are unbearable to a Westerner, agricultural activities are primitive and educational facilities are poor."

"It was evident to me that the system of education that the English have established is like the

system we have in the Philippines—the sort that trains for clerkships. Agricultural and technical training, on a wide scale, is what the people really need," he observed.

Some of the Indians like Lady Bose, wife of Sir J. C. Bose, have established schools and are educating girls.

Linguistic, Racial and Religious Conditions in Canada

Much is made of the difficulty of India becoming self-governing because of the existence here of men of various races, religions, linguistic groups, etc. But somewhat similar conditions prevail in many self-governing countries. Take the case of Canada. Mr. Thomas Johnston, M. P., a British labourite of some standing, who visited Canada as a member of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation, wrote thus of that country in the *London Times* :—

Canada is not a country but a continent, a continent as varied in climate and as vast in extent as Europe.

....On the plains of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta one may make a three days' journey through golden wheat waving in the sun, and then plunge suddenly into the Rockies with their heads and shoulders buried in the eternal snow. There are the settled Maritime provinces and French Quebec, and half-settled eager Ontario, and the bustling flow outward in the prairie lands of men talking all and more than all, the tongues of Babel. How difficult to form any impression of Canada as a whole that is not belied or controverted in some one or more of her provinces. There is an impression one receives east and west, and it stands clear: it is one of the persistence of racial stocks and characteristics.

Other items of information which can be gathered from this contribution of Mr. Johnston are, that out of the three millions of the French Canadian population 870,000 are unable to speak English; that in Nova Scotia out of a total population of 260,000 more than 50,000 speak only in Gaelic; and that in the prairie provinces large numbers of immigrants from southern Europe "are forming racial colonies covering wide areas wherein their old home customs, their standards of living and speech are carefully preserved."

It may be added here from other sources of information that according to recent statistics Canada has 178 languages, 53 nationalities, and 79 religious faiths. Such are the figures for a country which has a population of only 8,788,483 as against India's 318,942,480!

Indian Patriot's Duty**"PURCHASE KHADI"**

"Every rupee you spend in purchasing Khadi is automatically distributed among your poor countrymen thus :

	Rs.	as.	ps
Cotton grower	0	3	9
Ginner	0	0	6
Carder	0	1	9
Spinner	0	3	9
Weaver	0	4	9
Washerman	0	0	6
Hawker	0	1	0
	1	0	0

Not a pie out of the rupee leaves the country.

So whenever you buy cloth, you must ask yourself :

Shall I help the poverty-stricken men and women of my own Motherland who half starve in their village homes owing to chronic unemployment,

or

Shall I satisfy my personal taste and fancy, and by buying foreign cloth divert the morsel of food from the mouths of my fellow-countrymen to those of less needy citizens of foreign countries ?"

The above has been issued by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee, Bombay.

Allegation of Wife-snatching and Murder Against a Ruling Prince

We have received a printed copy of what purports to be a representation to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The petitioner says that she is the wife of the former superintendent of police of the State in charge of its C. I. D. He is now in jail. She says her husband asked her to make the representation on his behalf duly signed by her, as he said he could not do so himself on account of the restrictions put on him in jail by the state authorities. The story briefly is this :

The prince in question got the young wife of a relative of his carried off from her husband immediately after the husband had brought her from her father's house to his, and busied himself in devising means of making her his wife. Persuasion, bribing, threats, coercion failed to make the husband divorce his wife. So the prince got the man murdered and made the girl his principal

wife, which position the woman still occupies. The revolting details are all to be found in the representation.

We heard this story of wife-snatching and murder more than a year ago from a gentleman of very high character. The printed paper referred to above and received by us on the 15th August last, confirm it.

Has His Excellency the Viceroy received any such petition ? If so, what has he done or will do with it ? If he has not received it, he can easily get a copy from the press which printed it.

Withdrawal of Murder Charge in Sindh

The Tribune writes with reference to the death of Jatindranath Das in prison :—

No other incident in our recent history so stirred the heart of the country with the exception of the death of Mr. C. R. Das in and of Lala Lajpat Rai in our own province three days it has been the talk of the whole country.

Newspapers have contained little else but the news of how the report has been received, the reception given to the dead body of the deceased patriot all along the route from Lahore to Howrah, the processions and memorial meetings held in his honour in every principal city in India, the closing of shops and offices, the adjournment motion in the Assembly, the adjournment of the Calcutta Corporation, the tributes of admiration paid to the departed hero by public men, and other visible marks of respect to his memory.

After giving this "side of the picture" our Lahore contemporary says :—

Now look at the other side. The Government, so far from being moved by all this great and spontaneous demonstration in honour of one whom it had, in its wisdom, refused to release unconditionally only a week before his death, is going on merrily with its campaign of repression. Even during the last few days there has been the wholesale arrests of public workers in connection with a political conference as well as a round of house searches at Lahore, mostly of the usual sort, yielding nothing in the shape of incriminating materials.

There is nothing unusual in this campaign of repression—not even in the two outrageous sentences of seven years transportation on Mr. Mota Singh for making two "seditious" speeches. It may be necessary for the longevity of the Labour Ministry to show that under it some British administrators of justice can give a point or two to the Tory Government in the game of repression. What we are here concerned with are the reasons for withdrawal or non-withdrawal of charges. Jatindranath Das could have been released unconditionally before his death by the

Government withdrawing the case against him. This was not done.

Now look at another picture. A rich man of the name of Mr. Wahid Bakhsh Bhutto, M.L.A., of Sindh was accused of abducting and subsequently murdering a woman named Khanzadi. At first the Bombay Government showed great zeal in prosecuting the accused. He was committed to the sessions by the trying magistrate. Then all of a sudden, that Government withdrew the case against this M. L. A. But it has found a Tartar in the Sessions Judge. He has refused to permit this withdrawal. So the case is to go on.

The question is, why was one provincial government so considerate to a hale and hearty and well-fed M.L.A. who had been committed to the sessions after evidence had been gone into, and why was another provincial government not considerate in the case of a man on the point of death against whom there had not yet been tendered an iota of evidence, and whom his countrymen regard as not only innocent but incapable of doing what he had been accused of by some wretch of a spy or an informer?

Dominion Status "Impracticable"

The other day the friend of Chowringhee printed a copyright cable with a big-letter heading indicating that Dominion Status for India was "impracticable."

London, Sept. 14.

The *Sunday Times* declares that the report of the Simon Commission, which will be unanimous, will indicate that full Dominion status is impracticable for India.

Subsequently Lord Burnham has "described the *Sunday Times*' forecast of the Simon Commission's report as unauthorized and inaccurate and added that the draft of the report had not even been considered." Read between the lines, this means that the draft is ready, that its *authorized* publication is yet to come and that the *unauthorized* forecast is based on truth, though not entirely correct.

The London paper's forecast may or may not be wholly correct. But there is no question that innumerable Britishers do not want India to have Dominion status at any time. Independence, of course, is in their opinion utterly impossible.

King and Premier Think It Practicable

But Dominion status was definitely predicted by Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald. Speaking at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference on July 9, 1928, he said :—

I hope that within the period of a few months, rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the Commonwealth.

It may be contended that he was not then Prime Minister, but only a private person. But we have not quoted the above sentence to pin him down to a promise—we know the value of the promises of British politicians. What is contended is that so far as the practicability or impracticability of any political plan is concerned Mr. MacDonald the private citizen is as good a judge as Mr. MacDonald the Premier.

But there is a definite promise of Dominion status made by His Majesty King George V himself. In the revised Instrument of Instructions to H. E. the Governor-General of India issued under the Royal Sign Manual and given to H. E. the Governor-General at Buckingham Palace on the 15th of March, 1921, occurs the following sentence :—

(8) For, above all things, it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realization of Responsible Government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions.

British citizens, politicians and servants of the Crown may find it "impracticable" to fulfil this royal promise, for Queen Victoria's Proclamation has been treated by them as a scrap of paper. But whatever happens, it stands on record that in 1921 Dominion status for India was considered practicable by His Majesty and his ministers in the not distant future. If it be impracticable now, India must have made progress backwards during eight more years of enlightened British rule.

There is a last refuge for Anglo-Indian and British die-hards. They may raise a question relating to the meaning of the word "Dominion" spelt with a capital "D." It is not necessary to consult big lexicons for its meaning. In the *Oxford Pocket Dictionary* Dominions are "official titles of self-governing colonies." According to *Chambers's*

Encyclopaedia, Dominion is "a term for the self-governing British colonies." It also says in the article "Colony" by Prof. A. Berriedale Keith: "The process of emancipation is most complete in the case of the self-governing Dominions, so styled since the Colonial Conference of 1907, ... British India, together with the Indian or native states is destined to hold the position of a Dominion and is an independent member of the League of Nations."

The Indian National Congress and the League Against Imperialism

It is stated in the *Congress Bulletin* for September :

The second World Congress of the League against Imperialism held at Frankfurt in Germany had representatives from 193 organisations in about fifty countries. Our delegate Syt. Shiva Prasad Gupta took a prominent part in the proceedings.

We do not know the exact relation between the Indian National Congress and the World Congress against Imperialism. Till at least December 31 next India in the opinion of the Indian National Congress is, and will remain a part of the British Empire. Even after that date our Congress has agreed that India should remain within the British Empire, if given the status of a Dominion. How can our Congress then logically be affiliated to or send delegates to a League organized to destroy all empires? Individually, of course, it is open to any one of us to be members of that League. But our Congress, it seems to us, cannot logically send delegates to it till the 31st December of this year in any case.

Moreover, in our struggle for freedom it would be expedient for us and we may have to seek the help of the public opinion of even imperialist countries. When we are free, we may consider the rightness and expediency of declaring ourselves against imperialism as a nation. Personally, we are of course, against imperialism.

Plague Not Disappearing from India

India possesses in modern times the inglorious distinction of being the only country under civilized rule which has been suffering from plague for more than thirty years. Its first appearance in the last century gave rise to great panic. Familiarity has not since bred contempt for it, but it has bred

indifference and fatalism. For, though it does not show any signs of disappearance, not much notice of it is taken of its recrudescence. All-India figures for attacks and deaths during some recent weeks available up-to-date are given below :

Week ending	Attacks.	Deaths.
August 3	859	536
August 10	1070	599
August 17	1033	487
August 24	1209	644

Attacks and deaths during the corresponding week last year, i. e., the 25th August 1928, were 769 and 328 respectively. So the virulence of the disease has increased this year. It is worst in the Bombay Presidency. *The Indian Daily Mail* observes :—

One of the most disturbing features of public health in this Presidency is the recurrence of epidemics of plague, which in some places has come to assume an almost chronic character. In certain districts, plague is a seasonal disease with a persistent regularity of incidence which gives room for grave concern. The epidemic which has been raging in the Southern Registration Division for some time past is now reported to be assuming alarming proportions and a state of panic prevails in the affected areas. Since its introduction into this presidency about 30 years ago the disease has persisted, though its intensity has varied from year to year and from place to place. The Public Health authorities of the Presidency have not been sparing in their efforts to stamp out the disease, but the actual results of these efforts have much to be desired. In any case, it is time to consider if it would not be advisable to undertake a systematic anti-plague campaign on an extensive scale.

Though it would not be correct to say that the Public Health authorities of the Bombay Presidency can do nothing to stamp out plague, they cannot be expected to go to the root of the matter. The fact must be faced that plague is above all a poverty disease. It is also due in part to ignorance and insanitation, which in their turn have their origin in great part in poverty. But instead of giving any lay view of its causes, let us quote an acknowledged authority. Dr. W. J. Simpson, sometime Health Officer of Calcutta, says in *A Treatise on Plague* in the paragraph headed "Conclusion" :—

All that is definitely known is that pandemics and epidemics are generally associated with unusual seasons which bring distress and misery, with war and famine and their attendant ills, with political, social or economic conditions which are the reverse of prosperous, and which produce general depression in the community, and also with a laxity or absence of sanitary administration which prevents or hinders prompt dealing with the earlier cases.—*A Treatise on Plague*, Cambridge, page 142.

Though Dr. Simpson does not call a spade a spade, he has nevertheless well weighed his words. His diagnosis is, therefore, all the more valuable, and every word of his deserves serious consideration.

Bengal Government on Its Continuous Poverty

The Government of Bengal's report on the working of the reformed constitution in the province from 1921 to 1927, which was submitted to the Simon Commission, has now been published as a Government paper. It says in effect that financial stringency due to the Meston settlement was the main cause of the failure of the reforms in Bengal, though other causes also have been mentioned, perhaps to obscure the real difficulty in Bengal. But let us attend to the statement of the main cause.

It has been shown that the financial settlement was alone sufficient to make the successful working of the reformed constitution extremely difficult. Bengal found itself in a condition of continuous poverty, which prevented an expansion of expenditure on beneficial measures, which might have made a complete change in the attitude of the electorate, the Press and the legislature toward the reformed government. Not only were the Ministers unable to develop a policy of social amelioration, but it was even found necessary to increase taxation and curtail expenditure severely to maintain solvency and carry on the bare essentials of the administration. In these circumstances it would not be reasonable to base arguments on the facts that no progress has been made in education, that local self-governing institutions have hardly advanced, and that no advantage has been taken of increased opportunities of service. The Ministers themselves and their supporters who laboured strenuously to keep the constitution going as a working concern might well ask what real opportunities they have had. In the circumstances, therefore, the Government of Bengal must give first place in its proposals to a complete revision of the financial settlement. Unless this be conceded, the successful working of the new constitution will be impossible, however good it may be in other ways.

Governor after Governor has referred to the poverty of the Bengal Government. They and all their executive councillors and ministers have all been aware that great financial injustice has all along been done to Bengal, resulting in its backwardness. Yet they have all loved their own salaries and their positions so much more than justice to the province and its welfare that not one of them has resigned his office by way of protest. These persons were and are all paid to do good to Bengal. If that could not and cannot be done, there was no sense in saying that it

could not be done while still receiving the salaries and holding the offices for doing so.

Patiala

Like Gandhiji, we too, in our humble measure, love the Indian States and believe that they can be turned into "Ram-rajyas." No one would be happier and prouder than ourselves, if they became ideal states; for that would not only make their people happy and enlightened, but would prove the capacity of our own kith and kin to govern well. It grieves us sorely, therefore, and makes us ashamed when any Indian State is ill spoken of. It is with feelings of pain that we have read the following in the *Servant of India*:—

We have been waiting for months to see what action either H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala or H. E. the Viceroy takes on a petition signed by ten prominent subjects of Patiala State making allegations of a most staggering character against the present Maharaja. The petition has been published in responsible newspapers and circulated broadcast by no less reputable an organisation than the Indian States Peoples' Conference, with which are associated such honoured names as Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. If it were not for the fact that the petition has received such influential backing, it would be treated as utterly incredible, so astounding are the charges made. Even now we frankly confess we find it difficult, if not impossible, to believe that even an appreciable fraction of them could have any relation to facts. But the indictment is so circumstantial and withal so heavy that it is impossible to ignore it. But both the Viceroy and the Maharaja seem to be ignoring it. We have not yet heard of the Maharaja proceeding against the petitioners in his Courts or urging the Viceroy to set the Princes' Protection Act in motion against the publishers of the petition. On the contrary, the latter are inciting the Viceroy to take drastic action against themselves (if on inquiry they are found guilty of libelling an innocent Prince). Is the Viceroy going to sit quiet under such provocation?

Our Poona contemporary adds :

While thoughts like these were running in our mind, the news comes that the *Akahi* has published in its issue of the 7th inst, the facsimile of a letter from the Political Agent of the Phulkian States purporting 'to inform Sardar Amar Singh once again that if he is not prepared to accept Rs. 20,000 and to withdraw all claims over his wife no further action will be taken on any petitions that he may in future submit on the subject'. It is perhaps possible that the letter is capable of a construction which reflects no discredit on the Political Agent. Is so, the Government of India will, we trust, promptly publish facts to convince the public that the Political Agent's letter was quite innocuous. For it does bear an extremely ugly look. Or perhaps the letter is a fabrication. In that case this fact must be made widely known. The petition by ten

citizens of Patiala to which we referred in the first paragraph recites numerous cases of alleged abduction and forcible restraint of women followed by an offer of bribes to their husbands or fathers with a view to buying off claims for their persons. The letter now published bears too close a resemblance to the cases mentioned therein for the public to desist from drawing the inference, unless facts negating such an inference are published, that it relates to a similar unsavoury affair. This letter now assigns to the Government of India quite a new role. It is not for them now to call upon the Maharaja of Patiala to clear his character by prosecuting those who have published grave charges against him; it is for them rather to clear the character of their own officers. We have no intention to write more at this stage. We would only warn the Government of India that the British Indian public will not allow the matter to rest here. Silence on the part of Government in the presence of such damaging statements made in broad daylight would be interpreted by the public at large as complicity in the vagaries and crimes attributed to the Maharaja. It is in the interest of the Maharaja himself and the Government of India that a searching inquiry should be instituted into this matter.

We concur.

Finances of Indore State

It appears from the administration report of the Indore State that its total revenue for the year 1927-28 amounted to Rs. 1,31,28,189. The total expenditure was Rs. 1,18,19,967, leaving a surplus of Rs. 13,08,220. The major items of expenditure were: Public Works, Rs. 23 lakhs; Palace, Rs. 12 lakhs; land revenue and land records, Rs. 10 lakhs; Army, Rs. 14 lakhs; Education, nearly 8 lakhs; police and fire brigade, Rs. 6 lakhs; household and *karkhanas*, Rs. 6 lakhs; General Administration, nearly 6 lakhs; and law and justice, nearly Rs. 4 lakhs, all in round numbers.

It is good that military expenditure does not swallow up as large a portion of this state's revenue as the "Army in India" swallows up that of the total revenue of British India. But Indore ought to spend much more than 8 lakhs for the education of its people. It is encouraging to find that during the year under report there was appreciable expansion in education, which is many-sided in this State and is provided for pupils and students of both sexes.

Greater India Society's Work in Bombay Presidency

It appears from Bombay papers that the Greater India Society's work has been cor-

dially appreciated in the Bombay Presidency. Prof. Kalidas Nag, its honorary secretary, was invited by the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona to deliver a course of lectures there. Brief reports of these lectures appeared in the Bombay papers. According to the report published in the *Indian Daily Mail*, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, presided over the meeting at which the first lecture was delivered. He highly appreciated it. The second lecture was delivered under the presidency of Principal H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College, "who congratulated Dr. Nag on the achievements of the Greater India Society, which he joined as a member, offering his wholehearted support." The third lecture was attended by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, the Chief of Aundh, the Chief of Ichalkaranji, the Minister of Agriculture, Sir M. Chowbal, and many distinguished officials and celebrities of Bombay. According to the *Indian Daily Mail* report,

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, who followed with keen interest the lecture of Dr. Nag, remarked at the end: "You will wish me to express thanks on behalf of all of us to Dr. Kalidas Nag of the University of Calcutta for his excellent and learned discourse, which made me regret that I was not able to be present at his two previous lectures delivered on the first two days of this celebration." His Excellency was pleased to enquire about the activities of the Greater India Society and was presented with a complete set of its publications by Dr. Nag, the Honorary Secretary.

Dr. Zimmermann and other learned scholars of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society who attended the lecture congratulated Dr. Nag, and the Chief Saheb of Aundh warmly invited him to his estate. Mr. Lory, the Director of Public Instruction, gave a tea-party at his residence to bid farewell to Mr. Nag, who left Poona for Bombay on the 8th September to deliver his course of lectures at the University of Bombay.

Several professors and students of the local colleges met Dr. Nag to know about the research programme of the Greater India Society, and many of them enlisted themselves as members.

The lectures were illustrated with lantern slides. Those at the Bombay University were delivered at the special invitation of its Syndicate. The *Indian Daily Mail's* leader on the 13th September was on "Greater India." It begins thus:—

The series of lectures which Dr. Kalidas Nag is delivering at the Bombay University, have opened the eyes of many in Bombay to the spacious character of Indian history. The lectures are brilliantly illustrated with magic lantern views of the artistic and historical monuments in the ancient Indian Colonies in Eastern Asia.

The *Mail* proceeds to observe in the course of the same article:—

The "Greater India" on which Dr. Kalidas Nag is lecturing comprises ancient Indian colonies which carried Indian culture, art and religion with them. Dr. Nag emphasizes the fact that Indian Colonization did not mean domination or exploitation of the native inhabitants. On the contrary, it was in and through the native populations that Indian culture and art found expression in these colonies. Indian colonies were thus a source of moral and spiritual as well as material enrichment to the communities amidst which they were settled.

The following concluding observations of Bombay's premier Indian daily ought to provoke thought and stimulate research along the lines suggested therein:—

It would be interesting to know when and why the spirit of expansion which led Indians to travel to distant countries in the East and the West, and found colonies, gave place to the narrow spirit of isolation which has dominated the people for at least a thousand years. It is evident that Indian expansion was not prompted by motives of economic betterment. It was not the working classes who founded these far-off settlements of which Dr. Nag speaks, but men of culture and scholarship, leaders in the world of art and religion. The impulse which led them forth was that of missionaries and pioneers. Dr. Nag will perhaps tell us why this spirit ceased to inspire Indian intellectuals and when. It may be that some new power intervened and destroyed the lines of communication between the mother-country and the colonies; or it may be that the mother-country itself was involved in the throes of an internal convulsion which left her without any surplus energy to feed her colonies in the Far East. The question is one of entrancing interest to the student of India's culture and civilization. Referring to the influx of Indians into Burma soon after the conquest of that country, the late Sir William Hunter described it as the resumption of the eastward march of Indians which had been interrupted for a thousand years. The establishment of the Society known as "Greater India" with the special object of promoting studies such as those of Dr. Nag, is a sign of the revival of interest in the history of Indian expansion. Indians are no longer proud of their isolation from the rest of the world.

Writing on the same topic of "Greater India," *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay observes:

Dr. Nag's lectures, especially towards the end, when the public came to know of them, were followed with breathless interest by crowded audiences of intelligent and educated men and women. They were illustrated by striking magic lantern pictures which brought Dr. Nag's descriptions vividly home to his hearers. The lectures dealt with ancient Hindu colonization in Indo-China, and the Islands of the Indian archipelago right up to Java. Dr. Nag has visited many of these places and studied the monuments on the spot, and he speaks, therefore, of them with an enthusiasm which is infectious. Many of his

audience learnt for the first time that Indian history does not begin and end with India. India's relations with Persia, Greece and Rome have been fairly well-known. Less known are the more recent discoveries of her influence in Asia Minor and Central Asia. Even less known are her profoundly fruitful contacts with Eastern Asia which Bengali scholars like Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Dr. Kalidas Nag have done much to elucidate. The Poet, Tagore, has been a great inspiring force in this fascinating field of study. The "Greater India" Society, of which Dr. Tagore is the President, has been founded to make a systematic study of ancient Indian cultural expansion. Dr. Nag's addresses have done much to arouse interest in the subject in Bombay, which we trust, will soon find expression in efforts by our young graduates to map out a place for themselves in this wide and fascinating field of research.

"Open Military Schools to All Indian Boys"

On the 17th September last, in the Legislative Assembly,

Mr. Jayakar moved for throwing open all military schools to all Indian boys irrespective of caste, creed and family connections, but subject to passing the prescribed examination. He pressed the claim of the middle classes for military training which was the purport of the resolution. There was abundant material which needed harnessing for the defence of the country. The experiments hitherto made encouraged the increase of facilities for military training. Even the Sandhurst Committee, whose recommendations the speaker regretted had got no response from the Government, wished this to be done. The more friendly Assembly in 1921 and 1923 had passed resolutions on similar lines. Another resolution in 1925 asked for effect being given to the Sandhurst Committee Report. But all fell on deaf ears. The prohibitive nature of the cost of the existing military education was a serious hindrance. The country's defence needed an early start for imparting military education. Concluding, Mr. Jayakar hoped that the modest resolution would be accepted as he had avoided controversial matters in the hope of carrying the Government with him, if possible, on military matters, which, however, he considered doubtful.

NEED OF MODEL MILITARY SCHOOL.

Dr. Moonje urged that in case the Government felt difficulty in throwing open the military schools at Jhelum and Jullundhur to the public the Government of India should establish a model military school at a suitable place for the use of Indian boys between 12 and 18, irrespective of caste, creed or previous family connections with the army. He wanted the Government to take a broader view and start a school which would serve as a model to the provincial Governments to follow.

Captain Hira Singh opposed the resolution because the Jhelum and Jullundhur schools were started for only the sons of Indian officers who served in the army and if others were brought in and trained there the discipline would be undermined.

How does Captain Hira Singh propose

to prove that Indian boys and young men who are not sons of Indian officers are less amenable to real discipline than the latter? A mere assertion will not do. On the question of the basis of selection for admission to the proposed Indian Sandhurst, the Skeen Committee wrote that—

"The preference for soldiers' sons as a class which is a feature of the present system of selection, should in future become the exception rather than the rule", and that "suitable boys from the professional and other classes should have the same chances as any others".

CASTE SYSTEM IN ARMY

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra criticized the Government for maintaining a caste system in the army, namely, martial and non-martial, and pleaded for its abolition so as to democratize the army for national self-defence.

Col. Porter (Madras) did not see how two schools could be made to work, but he endorsed the plea for the starting of similar schools so that boys could be trained for cadet corps which could be attached to a territorial battalion in the province. Such schools, when established, should have capable athletic instructors so that physical training and games might be enforced.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

Mr. Tottenham (Army Secretary), in his maiden speech, explained the Government's attitude. He pointed out that the Jhelum and Jullundhur schools were built as a war memorial out of funds collected from Rajas and Maharajas in memory of those who had died in the war. The education imparted was such that it was hoped that in course of time the boys would be selected for the Viceroy's commissions and admission to Sandhurst. But as the schools were a war memorial and were meant only for the sons of those Indian officers who served during the War he hoped the House would respect the object for which the funds were collected. At the same time the Government hoped that if and when funds permitted they would start schools like these in the other parts of the country and the Government hoped to open a school for Mahrattas in Bombay.

But why should not there be schools for Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Andhra-Desa, etc.?

Continuing Mr. Tottenham said :

Eventually it was the Government's intention to have 1,000 boys under such training. But the Government could not afford to spend out of the army budget for the education of boys for whom they could not promise to find jobs in the army. The general system of education required to be so changed as to impart the necessary atmosphere for the training of boys in the military line. Dr. Moonje wanted a model school, but that model was already there in Dehra Dun College which was open to all irrespective of caste or family connection with the Army. There must be a genuine desire on the part of the people to raise a generation fit to defend themselves. Let Dr. Moonje and others continue their efforts and the Government on its part would contribute its

share by providing military instructors. Reformation took time, but the seed had been sown and must bear fruit. He appealed to Mr. Jayakar to withdraw the resolution.

Mr. Jayakar—Why should I, in face of mere pious hopes?

INDIA NEEDS SOLDIERS WITH A SENSE OF PATRIOTISM

Pandit Malaviya said India needs soldiers with a developed sense of patriotism. He, therefore, objected to class distinction in training for the army.

Mr. Jayakar, in a forceful reply, wondered how the war memorial character of the two schools could be destroyed if the schools were thrown open to boys other than those who were sons of Indian officers who served in the war. Was there anything in the constitution of the schools which prevented the inclusion of other boys? All that the Government had promised was to supply instructors to schools and to start schools eventually and if and when funds permitted. The Army Secretary had added insult to injury by observing that there was not enough military spirit and had merely showered blessings on Dr. Moonje to continue to sow the seed.

Concluding, Mr. Jayakar said : The Government have by their policy of refusing military careers to ambitious young men converted all such into revolutionaries and political murderers.

The resolution was passed without a division.

The Indian intelligentsia have not paid sufficient attention to the military problem. During the early period of the East India Company's rule, soldiers were recruited from Bengal, Andhra-Desa, Bihar, etc., also. Gradually the recruiting areas have been chosen farther and farther away from regions where education has made the people self-conscious. So, at present, the army is recruited from the most illiterate classes of Indians and non-Indians. All autocratic governments, particularly those which are not national, depend for their power on the army in the last resort. Hence, India is under a twofold subjection : first, to the British people ; secondly, to the mostly illiterate so-called martial races. Both these kinds of domination must be ended.

The question has also an economic aspect. Those who have been wrongly classed as non-martial peoples out-number the martial classes, and pay most of the taxes. It is a grave injustice to the former to deprive them of the economic advantages of the Army services.

Throwing Temples Open to All Hindus

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj has addressed a powerful appeal to the trustees of Hindu temples to throw them open to all Hindu castes, including the classes unrighteously

and wickedly considered "untouchable". He has earned the right to issue such an appeal by his own practical adherence to the doctrine which he urges others to follow. He has thrown his own family shrine open to all castes of Hindus and has specially built a temple and thrown it open to all Hindus. He has been rightly appointed secretary to the Anti-untouchability Committee of the Indian National Congress. He expresses the opinion that

When an evil within the fold of a community, apart from its inherent injustice, becomes a nuisance to its neighbours and a reproach to the entire nation, it is only appropriate that the premier national institution, such as the Congress, should interest itself in it and help the community concerned to achieve its speedy elimination.

Untouchability among the Hindus is no ordinary evil. That a community known throughout the world's history for its religious toleration and its most catholic culture should have established and maintained for centuries, and should still countenance in the name of religion, a social code which brands for life human beings as unworthy of ordinary intercourse and capable of polluting others by mere touch or sight, is a tragedy and a riddle that baffles every right-minded Indian to-day.

Turning to the spirit of the Hindu shastras, he observes :—

You have only to visualize the spirit of the Hindu Scriptures and the whole of its culture through centuries to perceive that such treatment of those lower in the social scale, and who are in fact termed the "Younger brothers" by the Dharmashastras, is most reprehensible. It must be unnecessary for me to tax you with a host of Sanskrit texts in support of my contention. Suffice it to say that it is now a matter beyond dispute that the system of untouchability, whatever may be its origin or former justification, is now only a social usage fossilized and hardened into rank inhumanity that is usurping the place of intelligent religious conviction and conduct.

He refers next to tradition.

If we turn to tradition, we find even less justification of anything like untouchability. The Hindu tradition founded on Vedic and Scriptural lore and nurtured by the most dynamic teachings of Kabir, Gauranga, Jnaneshvar, Eknath, Tukaram, Narsimha Mehta and a whole galaxy of Dravidian saints, not only broke the barriers in social intercourse between man and man but emphatically repudiated and positively set their face against any such cruel distinctions.

He is thus justified in observing :—

It is an irony of fate that such glorious inheritance, notwithstanding, we should have come to treat to-day many of our own kith and kin as Pariahs worthy of treatment which we may not mete out even to dogs or to domestic animals. Our real toilers of the land and producers of national wealth, and those who help to keep us clean and healthy and fit for life's vocations—to these our benefactors, meek and lowly "little

brothers" we deny social and civic rights—protection, knowledge, intercourse—everything that makes life worth living! No wonder if under the inexorable law of Karma we are in turn ourselves treated the world over as Pariahs and untouchables.

Seth Jammalal has not failed to note that the evil consequences of this sin do not terminate here.

The manifest injustice underlying such treatment and the humiliation it involves for the victim expose him to unrighteous influences outside and makes of him a disintegrating factor. This not only does enormous harm to the community itself but it corrodes the social foundations of the entire nation. You have no doubt read how movements and counter-movements are launched and conducted with these unfortunate "young brothers" of the Hindus as pawns and targets, and how it has sown in recent years seeds of unending bitterness and discord among our prominent communities: how some of the most responsible and respected leaders of the communities have suggested and discussed elaborate schemes of converting these untouchables to other faiths for non-religious and sometimes even unworthy considerations.

The "untouchables" themselves are slowly beginning to feel their plight and demand better treatment as a matter of birthright. You even find them sometimes overshooting the mark. Certain untouchables of a locality in Berar issued sometime ago what was described as a general ultimatum to the local Hindu community that unless the class Hindus accorded them equal treatment in the shape of free access to schools, water-wells and temples, they would discard Hindu religion and embrace another faith in a body. A few individuals did indeed carry out the threat before the Hindus relented and more than met their demands. Such excesses should be viewed as indications of their attempt at self-assertion so natural to a sudden self-consciousness and need not exasperate us.

The Seth concludes his appeal, which we have slightly abridged, as follows :—

All this must be painful and humiliating to you as it should be to every good Hindu. The remedy however lies in our own hands. We must admit these "little brothers" of ours in the social fold without reservation. The barest justice requires us to let them draw from the village well drinking water, to let their children have the same benefit of learning the three "R"s at the village school as our own, and to fling open for them the temples of God that are open to the rest of the Hindus. We have got to take these unfortunate brethren of ours to our bosom and befriend them in all humility as a matter of penance for all our sins of omission and commission.

It is the *Mandir* which has been to the Hindu throughout centuries the repository of all his religious and social idealism. It is blasphemy for him to look upon or think of any living being as inferior or unworthy of Narayan's grace. It is one of the proudest legacies left to us by our great saints—most of whom by the bye came from lower classes not excluding untouchables—that we shall consider no human being as inferior to us.

It would therefore be a tardy performance of duty for you to throw open the temples under your charge to the so-called 'untouchables.'

In Bengal the *Mandir* at Kapilmuni has already been thrown open to all castes, as the result of *Satyagraha*. A similar *Satyagraha* has been started at Munshiganj to secure access to a *Mandir* there for Hindus of all castes.

Bombay Committee for Fostering Ideals of the Greater India Society

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm created by the lectures delivered at Bombay by the Secretary, Greater India Society, records the *Indian Daily Mail*, Father Heras and others interested in Indian historical research have formed a strong provisional committee to foster the ideals of the Greater India Society. After the last lecture, Fr. Heras, thanking the lecturer "for the series of his very interesting lectures," said that

he had come to Bombay to communicate the enthusiasm of the Greater India Society of Calcutta to the people of Bombay. How successful he has been the increasing audience he has had every day demonstrates. Yet this enthusiasm is to materialize in practical resolutions.

First of all, the history of India outside India should be introduced in the B.A. Honours course at our University. Fr. Heras said that he had proposed the introduction of this subject in the Honours Course to the University four years ago, but during these four years nothing has been done. It is to be expected that our reformed University will do something in this line.

Secondly, a tour of all Indian Universities should be organized to visit the places of the ancient Indian colonies, Java, Camboje, Siam, Annam, Bali, etc. Thus both professors and students will study the ancient monuments *in situ*.

Moreover, it is necessary to foster Indian historical research in our universities, if we do not want to see our University teaching of history converted into the teaching of a secondary school. Under the name of history are naturally included all the manifestations of Indian culture in India and outside India. In this field of historical research we generally meet with three difficulties, which are all financial. Financial difficulties for the acquisition of materials of research: books, documents, photographs of manuscripts, copies of manuscripts, etc. Secondly, financial difficulty on the part of the student himself, who is to be helped by scholarships; and, finally, financial difficulty for the publication of the results of research.

In conclusion Father Heras announced with great pleasure that "a provisional committee of representative people had been

formed in order to solve all these problems." "Thus," he said, "we shall help the noble ideals of the Greater India Society, whose message has been brought to us by its honorary secretary."

Note-forgeries and High Rates of Interest

It is stated in the Report of the Controller of the Currency for the year 1928-29 that in all about 75 per cent of the forged notes appeared in the Rangoon Circle, and that a gang was arrested in Rangoon in August 1928 in connection with some forgeries. Similar seizing of forged notes and forgers with their implements took place early last month in Rangoon. In Burma it is quite usual for men of business to have to pay interest at the rate of 24 or 36 per cent and even higher rates. Are the prevalence of note-forgeries and the high rates of interest inter-related? In any case, Burma ought to have facilities for obtaining loans at lower rates of interest.

Gold Standard Reserve

According to statement XVI given in the Report of the Controller of the Currency for the year 1928-29, India's Gold Standard Reserve, the whole of which is kept in England, stood at £40,000,000 on the 31st March 1929. In other words, some sixty crores of Indian money are kept in England for promoting British trade and industry.

India's Debt

The interest-bearing obligations of the Government of India, outstanding on the 31st March, 1929, were in India 604.11 crores of rupees and in England 352.54 million pounds sterling (equivalent at 1s. 6d. to the rupee to 470.05 crores of rupees), total 1,074.16 crores of rupees. These 470.05 crores do not represent the whole of India's public debt to foreigners. A considerable portion of the 604.11 crores of obligations in India represents loans advanced by foreigners residing in India.

India's public debt has been steadily increasing from year to year. From the year 1923 to the year 1929, on the 31st March, these interest-bearing obligations stood

thus :— 1923, Rs. 881.74 crores ; 1924, Rs. 919.00 crores ; 1925, Rs. 970.02 crores ; 1926, Rs. 996.36 crores ; 1927, Rs. 1,006.19 crores ; 1928, Rs. 1,026.37 crores ; and 1929, Rs. 1,074.16 crores.

Work Done (?) by M. L. C.'s in Madras

"M. D." writes in *Young India* from Tamilnad :

And that brings me to the woeful state of things prevailing in many parts of the presidency. The elections to the local bodies and the Municipal Councils had been, we were told, all prolific sources of corruption, and there was not a speech where the Sardar [Vallabhbhai Patel] had not to advert to the circumstance. Added to this was the general indifference of the so-called representatives to the welfare of their constituencies. They had no time left for these local problems, before the more urgent ones of party and communal warfare. The cup of the Sardar's indignation was full as he went through parts of the Tiruchengodu taluka surrounding the Gandhi Ashram, Pudupalayam. Thousands of men, women and children are suffering from scarcity of water and there is a general famine in those parts. There is no fodder for cattle, and trees are being denuded of their leaves and branches to feed the poor skeletons. Hundreds invade Sjt. Rajagopalachari's Ashram at Pudupalayam for cheap grain, and the 'touchables' are angry that the relief should be reserved for the 'untouchables.' 'Gandhi wells' were dug in the area by the Gandhi Seva Sangh, but all of them are dry. The Chief Minister of Madras hails from this very taluka. But neither the M. L. C.'s nor the Chief Minister seem to have done any thing to relieve the misery of the distressed.

M. L. C.'s in other provinces should ask themselves whether they are more dutiful to their constituencies than these Madras Presidency "representatives" of the people.

"Some Telling Figures"

The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee has collected the following facts and figures :

	Rs.
Foreign yarn and cloth imported	66 crores
Total cloth consumed per head	13 yards
Village population	29 crores
Persons dependent on agriculture	23 crores
Persons employed for part of the year	11 crores
Agricultural indebtedness of India	700 crores
Average daily income per head	1 anna 7 p.
Average daily income from spinning	1 anna
Total employees in mills, factories, workshops and industries	15 lakhs
Capital invested in textile mills	51 crores
Persons employed in textile mills	3½ lakhs
Capital invested in Khadi by A.I.S.A.	121 lakh
Persons employed by A.I.S.A.	1 lakh

Cost per head of giving employment through mills	Rs. 1,328
Cost per head of giving employment through hand-spinning	21
Proportion of wages for labour to cost of mill cloth	25 p.c.
Proportion of wages for labour to cost of Khadi	73 p.c.

Commenting on these figures Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in his paper :—

I am almost sure that the import figures given by the calculator in the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee's office are considerably below the total. I know that that office always errs on the right side. Let us therefore take the 66 crores as the correct figure. It means a tax we are paying per head of over Rs. 2 per year, and it is a tax which we pay for our idleness. If the 66 crores of rupees could be kept in the country and circulated among the 11 crores who are unemployed for four months, they will then have Rs. 6 added to their incomes for part employment during the year, a by no means insignificant addition. The service rendered by indigenous mills compared to that rendered by Khadi appears too insignificant to be of any account. They can never cope with the problem of the terrible unemployment of millions of men and women, and even the few labourers for whom they can find employment get only 25 per cent. of the cost of textile manufacture whereas the labourers for Khadi get 73 per cent. for work done in their own cottages and without the demoralising atmosphere that surrounds factory labour.

Rabindranath Tagore on Bill Against Child Marriage

"I strongly support Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda's Marriage Bill," said the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in an interview granted to an Associated Press representative at the Poet's Calcutta residence.

Dr. Tagore thought that the minimum age for the marriage of girls should be 16, while that of boys should be 22. As regards the agitation going on in the country, that the reforms should not be brought into force through the legislatures but by forming strong public opinion in its favour the Poet said that it would take an indefinite period of time to form such public opinion and it would probably not be formed in his life-time. The only means to remedy the evil lay in the legislatures, particularly in view of the lethargic tendency of the people in social matters.

Golmuri Tinplate Workers' Strike

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Congress secretary has prepared an elaborate note on the Golmuri Tinplate Workers' Strike after obtaining the views of the employers by correspondence with them. After reading

this note Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—

I must not go into the merits of the strike. From the correspondence and the note I see that there are vital differences of opinion even on facts between the employers and those who represent the strikers. One thing however stands out prominently that this is a strike on the part of workers in a concern which is heavily protected at national expense. The Congress members supported the protective tariff in the full belief that the industry was a national industry, that the workers were well-treated and that the industry deserved support on merits. The Congress therefore is bound to interest itself in the doings of a concern of this description. The main demands are :

1. That there should be an impartial committee of enquiry into all the grievances ;

2. That there should be no victimization ;

3. That the case pending in the courts against strikers for picketing etc. be withdrawn.

Hitherto the employers appear to have ridden the high horse. They are represented by the powerful Burmah Oil Co. and Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Co. They can afford to lose money to any extent. The correspondence before me shows that they are unwilling to go to arbitration, and they are relying upon the force which money and prestige can give them. The public need not worry over the intricacies of the case which is becoming complicated by the intervention of the Pathans and many other things that have happened in the course of this unusual strike. The employers seek to hide themselves behind the plea that the strike was premature. Surely at best it is but a technical defence. Public opinion therefore should concentrate upon the reasonable demands that the men have made. They do not say that their case should be accepted by the public as such, but they ask for the public opinion in favour of the appointment of an impartial committee of enquiry into their grievances with the usual conditions as to restoration of the pre-strike position. On this there can be no two opinions. The strongest combination of employers must accept the principle of arbitration if capital and labour are ever to live in peace.

The fund started by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress leaders of the relief for the strikers should be well supported.

Publishing "Confidential" Documents

The Searchlight of Patna published some 'confidential' documents. Thereupon the Bihar Government ordered that Government documents and advertisements should no longer be given to it. Owing to this punitive step a resolution practically censuring that Government has been passed in the provincial council. In the course of the debate Mr. Whitty tried to justify the action of his Government, saying : "I see no reason why a journalist should be allowed a lower standard of conduct than other people." Nor do

we. But is the work of obtaining secret information really done by governments in a more honourable manner than by journalists ? No reputable journal ever offers any reward or bribe to any minor or high official for obtaining official documents marked "confidential." It is the experience of many responsible editors that such officials sometimes give such documents to the Press with the sincere object of promoting public good or merely to defeat the ridiculous purpose of some stupid official to keep secret what every one has a right to know. The conduct of journalists becomes dishonourable if they obtain "confidential" documents by holding out inducements of gain to the government servants through whose hands such things pass. But even in such cases the conduct of such journalists would not be more reprehensible than the conduct of governments in employing spies and informers, in making arrangements for opening, reading and taking copies, if necessary, of private letters of a perfectly harmless and honourable character without the knowledge of their writers and addressees, and in withholding from addressees quite innocuous letters and telegrams, and not even returning to the senders thereof the postage and telegraph fees.

Governments can say that they keep some documents secret in the public interest. Journalists can reply that they try to publish the same to promote public welfare and to expose the vagaries of bureaucrats and cure them of their love of irresponsible power. Governments can say that they employ spies and get hold of the contents of private letters for the security of the State. Editors can reply that they publish secret documents to prevent the accumulation of arbitrary acts and measures and of unredressed wrongs leading to revolutions and overthrow of the State. Governments ought to keep their secrets in safe custody ; it is their look-out. If they fail, it is no use fretting and fuming. They should remember that they can at least try to punish those who make their secrets public, whereas the people who are spied upon or whose letters are opened, read, copied, etc., on the sly, have no remedy.

Regarding the withholding of government documents and advertisements from "offending" journals, it should be remembered that these are published at the expenditure of public money. This money does not belong to the men who are called the Government for the time being. Therefore, such documents and

advertisements should be given to such papers as can bring them before the largest number of the people for whom they are intended, not to papers enjoying the favour of the bureaucracy.

Mr. Whitty's offer to withdraw the Government orders against the *Searchlight* if its editor would explain how he procured the documents, is scandalous. No editor worth his salt can be guilty of such breach of confidence. Many have preferred imprisonment to giving up the names of their informants, correspondents, etc. Mr. Whitty, while speaking of a "lower standard of conduct," assumed that the document was obtained by bribery. Does his offer of a bribe indicate a higher standard of conduct?

High officers of Government in India seem to forget that in free and independent Western countries the leaking out of even important state secrets is an almost everyday occurrence, and that in India even Governors and Commanders have contributed, for money, articles to Anglo-Indian papers "intelligently anticipating" public measures. It is only the poor devils of Indian clerks whom they think of punishing.

The Census Bill

The next census of British India will be taken in 1931. A Bill has been introduced in the Legislative Assembly to provide for certain matters in connection with it. Two sections of this Bill run as follows.

Every census-officer may ask all such questions of all persons within the limits of the local area for which he is appointed as, by instructions issued in this behalf by the Local Government and published in the official Gazette, he may be directed to ask.

Every person of whom any question is asked under the last foregoing section shall be legally bound to answer such question to the best of his knowledge or belief:

Provided that no person shall be bound to state the name of any female member of his household and no woman shall be bound to state the name of her husband or deceased husband or of any other person whose name she is forbidden by custom to mention.

The proviso is good so far as it goes. But as regards the religion a man or a woman professes, sometimes people, particularly Hindus, are harassed with questions relating to the details of their faith, customs, ceremonials, etc., which should not be put. If

anybody says he is a Hindu or a Musalman or a Christian or a Sikh, etc., he should be put down as such without being cross-examined as to the reasons why he says what he is. There has been a steadily growing tendency to under-estimate the number of Hindus, by calling many Hindus animists, and by other means. Such attempts should cease.

The Indian Social Reformer writes:—

The Census in almost every other country except India does not concern itself with the religious beliefs of the population. No question is permitted to be included as to a person's religious belief in the Census schedule. It is high time that this wholesome practice was introduced in this country. The next Census is due to be taken in 1931, and the preparations for it will have to begin soon. We suggest to Government that they should make the Census of 1931 absolutely undenominational and that questions relating to caste and creed should be omitted in the schedule. If any community wants to collect statistics relating specially to itself, it should organise its own special census as is done in other lands. Such omission will not in the least detract from the demographic value of the Census. It will rather increase it, as the communal differentiation certainly tends to cloud the purely demographic issues by extraneous considerations.

The League of Nations and India

The speech in the League Assembly of Sir Mahomed Habibullah, leader of the Government of India's delegation to it this year, shows, what was well-known, that, so long as India is not self-ruling, an Indian leader of the delegation, would be only a nominal advantage, or rather one ought to say that it would be a disadvantage in that the world might be led to believe that India was speaking through him, whereas he was really the mouthpiece of the British bureaucracy in India. Reuter's summary calls his speech "a striking plea for a greater consideration of India's needs." "Striking" it is indeed for its mendicant courtier-like tone. Indians not being self-ruling cannot enforce their demands. But if they spoke, they would not ask for consideration of their needs, but would demand their money's worth.

Sir Mahomed said, "there was a feeling in India and other Eastern countries that the West claimed most of the League's attention." It is not something so vague and indefinite as a "feeling." It is a hard fact, plain to all who know anything about the League,

"Sir Mahomed Habibullah paid a tribute

to his predecessors of the British race who had served India with a single-minded and unswerving loyalty at the League meetings." Substitute "the British Government of India" for "India," and the sentence would be quite correct. But as it stands, it is more flattery than fact.

"He emphasised that India was an ardent and firm supporter of the League and was determined to contribute its full quota of energy and effort towards the League's ideals." Nothing of the kind. But if he would agree to the substitution suggested above, he would be accurate.

As for his dictum on disarmament, India can neither arm nor disarm herself. Britain professes to do that for, but does it really for her own self. The Afghan menace referred to by him is for the present non-existent. Britain's army in India is maintained principally for imperial purposes.

Sir Mahomed gave utterance to a pure myth when he said that "the interchange of health officers and the visit of the Malaria Commission had won more adherents to the League in India than a multitude of lectures and pamphlets." They have done nothing of the kind. Will the speaker name a single health officer who is an Indian who has been given the opportunity to visit foreign countries under the auspices of the League? As for the Malaria Commission, does not Sir Mahomed know that its visit to India is not for doing good to India, but for gaining information so that that information may be used for the good of some malaria-stricken countries of Southern Europe?

We are extremely thankful for Sir Mahomed's "suggestion" that there should be "stronger Indian representation on the League's administration." That shows that he *can* know a fact when he sees it, though he may be too discreet to say what he knows.

Reuter concludes by telling the Indian public that "the Assembly paid close attention to Sir Mahomed's speech, which was well received, and his promise of India's co-operation was loudly cheered." Soft sawder cannot but be well received, "India's co-operation" must not be called a misnomer, though every schoolboy knows that it is not for India either to co-operate or to non-co-operate with the League. The British Government in India will make India co-operate so long as it rules the roast here. The "promise of

India's co-operation" was naturally enough loudly cheered. For, that promise was not based on a similar promise on the part of the League to co-operate with India. India co-operates with the League by giving it money, for which the League has not got to make any return. Is not that a very convenient and pleasant arrangement—of course to the League?

Europeans and Africans in Kenya

As an example of European *non-discrimination* take the following statement of Dr. Norman Leys in the *Nation* :—

There are 1,400 Europeans in occupation of land in Kenya, and they have 8,000 square miles between them. But there are thousands of Africans with no land at all and hundreds of thousands whose land is of no economic value, since most of the money spent on roads and railways is spent in the European areas. To no single one of these land hungry natives has the Government granted a single acre.

The British Colonial Office has hitherto been responsible for the governance of Kenya, with the above result;—because, though that office may have reigned, the white settlers in Kenya have in reality ruled. If the reins practically pass entirely to their hands, the lot of the Africans will be that of miserably paid and sometimes unpaid wage-serfs.

Removal of Sex Disqualification

Madras is to be congratulated on the removal of sex disqualification in two bills amending the District Municipalities and Local Boards Acts, 1920.

"A Bloody Foretaste"

In the course of a speech delivered at Vancouver by Mr. Winston Churchill, the British conservative politician, he is reported to have said:

The outbreak in Palestine was a "bloody foretaste" of what would happen in Egypt and India, if Britain's protecting and guiding hand were withdrawn. He believed the Palestinian Arabs had taken Baron Lloyd's dismissal and the Labour Government's proposal to remove the British garrison at Cairo and Alexandria as weakness.

Mr. Churchill has repeated the same opinion more recently in the *Sunday Times*

of London. We are not concerned in this note with the causes of the Palestinian outbreak. What has to be pointed out is that the outbreak has taken place in the Holy Land, not *after* Britain's protecting and guiding hand had been withdrawn from there, but while Britain is still in complete mastery over that country. His remark would have been logical if what has happened had happened before Palestine had become a British mandate or after it had ceased to be one.

Death of Hunger-striker After Five Months

Rangoon, September 20—Phongyi Wizaya, who was undergoing imprisonment on a charge of sedition, died last night at the Rangoon Jail Hospital. Wizaya was released from Jail on 28th February, after serving 21 months' rigorous imprisonment under section 124 A. But he was re-arrested on 4th April under the same section for delivering a seditious speech and admitted in the Central Jail as undertrial prisoner on the 6th April. But from 9th April he started hunger strike, firstly demanding special diet and latterly that all Phongyis in prison whatever their offence be allowed to wear yellow robes on certain festival days and fast twice a month. The Government being unable to accede to either request Wizaya continued hunger striking. His trial was conducted by the Magistrate, who committed him to the Sessions, and by the Sessions Judge he was sentenced to 6 years' transportation, which was subsequently reduced to three years. Both took place while he was inside the Central Jail, being confined to bed. In the Burma Council on 8th August, the Home Member replying to a question said that his hunger strike had already lasted for four months and everything possible was being done to save his life. Recently Wizaya was transferred to the Jail hospital, where it is reported he was allowed to wear yellow robes and was taking milk, but expired last night. The body was removed from Jail and preparations are being made for the funeral. A large number of people are coming to see his remains.—A. P. I.

To try a man when he was not able to attend the court on account of physical incapacity and to sentence him after such trial, was illegal. It was highly inconsiderate and inhuman not to grant the simple requests of this heroic monk. How many more victims does red-tapism require? All honour to the Bhikshu Vijaya विजय for his adherence to the death to what he believed to be the dictates of his religion and for standing up for the fight of technical political offenders to special treatment.

Industrial Dictatorship in Soviet Russia

The Soviet Government have, it is said, decided to invest a director in each factory with full power and responsibility. His orders are to be absolutely binding on the workers. They are not to be allowed henceforth to interfere in the management. Evidently in Russian factories things had reached the extreme limit of indiscipline to make such dictatorship necessary.

How the League Treats India

India is the second most populous state which is a member of the League of Nations, China being the first. She is one of the half a dozen members who make the largest pecuniary contributions to the League. But she has not yet got even a non-permanent seat on the League Council. Recently Poland has been re-elected a non-permanent member of the League Council, and Yugo-Slavia and Peru have been elected non-permanent members to replace the outgoing States of Rumania and Chile.

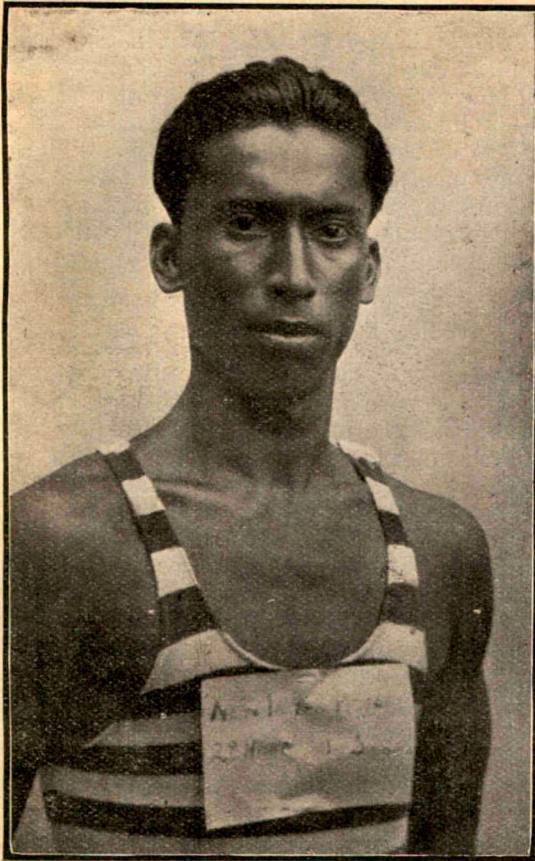
Two judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, *viz.*, M. Weiss and Lord Finlay having died, the Assembly of the League has recently elected Sir Cecil Hurst and M. Fromageot (France) as judges in their place.

The statesmanship and the judicial capacity and integrity of distinguished Indians will not be recognised by the delegates of free and independent states until India is free like them.

Endurance Record

On the 15th September last, before a huge crowd at Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, Sriji Praphulla Kumar Ghosh accomplished a very fine performance by swimming continuously in the Hedua-dighi tank for exactly twenty-eight hours. Prafulla Kumar, who is a member of the Central Swimming Club, not only holds the Indian record for 110 yards, but has annexed several long distance swimming events in the Ganges. On the recent occasion he entered the water on the morning of the 14th September at 6-30, and finished practically fresh at 10-30 the next morning, his time for the last lap of 160 yards being three minutes.

Praphulla Kumar did 278 laps during his swim. That makes a distance of about



Srijut Prafulla Kumar Ghosh

25 miles 480 yards. He thus beat Mr. Shafi Ahmad's endurance record of 26 hours 40 minutes, accomplished early in September at the Wellesley Square tank, by an hour and 20 minutes.

He is prepared to swim continuously for 50 hours, and challenges any one in India to accomplish the same or a harder feat.

Pan-Europeanism

Until the great world war it was tacitly understood that all white people were on one side and all non-whites on the other. During and after the war that division ceased to hold good. Germany had since then been an outcast, as well as Russia. An attempt is now being made by M. Briand and others to bring about the solidarity of 'whitemanity' as distinguished from the solidarity of humanity.

Reuter's messages, dated Geneva, September 9, state :

M. Briand entertained at a luncheon the representatives of 27 European states. He explained to them his idea of an economic European federation. Exchange of views followed. M. Briand said that he would address a note to each Government fully explaining his scheme.

Dr. Stresemann supported M. Briand's idea of an economic United States of Europe.

There was a dramatic incident at the end of the speech.

M. Briand rose, pushed his way through the crowd of delegates and seized and shook Dr. Stresemann's hand amidst loud applause.

Referring to the scheme of an economic United States of Europe, Mr. Graham emphasised the necessity of mutual frankness and said that a free exchange of products was essential to the success of the scheme.

Mr. Graham, in his speech at the League Assembly, declared that the economic machinery of the League should be used to link up nations economically, thereby bringing its practical message to the world. There was no country in Europe where industry could not further be improved.

So M. Briand has diplomatically and theatrically taken Dr. Stresemann to his diplomatic bosom. When is Russia, the biggest and most populous country of Europe, going to be thought of? But even after that has been done, the United States of America might remain outside this federation of white peoples.

"There was no country in Europe," said Mr. Graham, "where industry could not further be improved." And, of course, outside Europe, industry has been improved to the farthest limit in all Asiatic and African countries!

The European peoples have found out that the last great world war of the bloody variety was a losing concern to all except Britain. So France is taking the lead in preparing for a European economic war against peoples of non-European stock.

Litigation in India

In the year 1926-27, the latest for which figures are available, the Judicial Stamp Revenue for the whole of British India amounted to Rs. 8,35,54,014. In five years this revenue has gone up by more than a crore of rupees, having been Rs. 7,02,78,377 in 1921-22. This large sum of more than eight crores gives an idea of the enormous volume of litigation going on in the country which it was one of the objects of the Non-

co-operation movement to check, if not to destroy.

Excise Revenue

In 1926-27 the total excise revenue of British India was Rs. 19,82,68,363. It must be much larger now. In 1921-22 it was Rs. 17,18,61,914. Taking the excise revenue of the provinces separately in 1926-27, we find that Madras, the most orthodox province, was the most addicted to drink and drugs, with a revenue of Rs. 5,10,52,696. Bombay occupies the second place, with Rs. 4,09,39,335. It really leads, as its population is less than half of Madras. Bengal, the most populous province, stands third, with Rs. 2,25,17,133. As the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is almost equal in population to Bengal, its excise revenue of Rs. 1,30,99,703 shows that it is a comparatively sober province. But Bihar and Orissa with a much smaller population must be condemned for its high revenue of Rs. 1,97,34,562. So must C. P. and Berar with a revenue of Rs. 1,35,45,189 and Burma with Rs. 1,33,12,634. As the population of the Punjab is less than half of that of Bengal and U. P. separately, its excise revenue of Rs. 1,24,31,313 is not creditable.

The figures for Bombay, Bihar and Orissa, and C. P. and Berar would appear to show that the existence of mines and factories have something to do with high excise revenues. The degradation of the morals of the people is one of the evils of industrialism which has to be fought strenuously.

Legislative Assembly Passes Marriage Bill

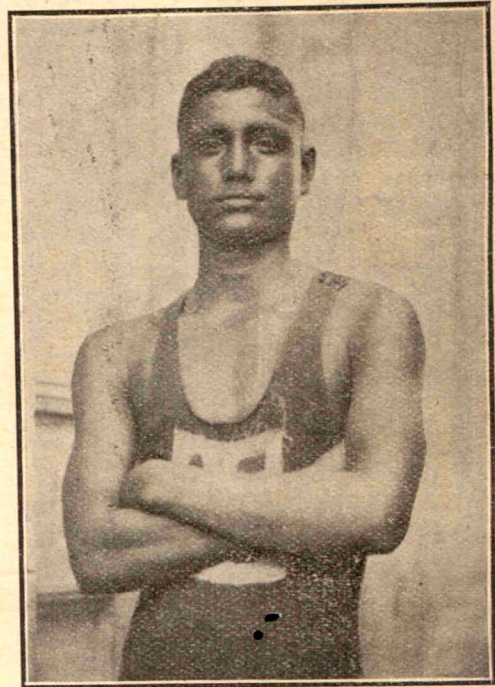
The Legislative Assembly has passed Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda's Bill to prevent child marriage by an overwhelming majority, 67 voting for and 14 against it. As the Government has supported it, it may be expected that the Council of State also will pass the Bill, and the Governor-General will give his assent to it.

There will then be some time gained for the education of girls. Advocates and promoters of the education of girls and women should avail themselves of this opportunity to provide adequate facilities for their physical, moral and intellectual training.

We do not call in question the honesty of purpose and sincerity of conviction of the opponents of the Bill. But all the same, the attitude of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Dr. B. S. Munje, Mr. N. C. Kelkar and leaders of similar standing cannot but be deplored.

A Swimming Champion

It is a pleasure to record that Mr. Nalin C. Mallik has won the all-India 30 miles swimming championship by swimming

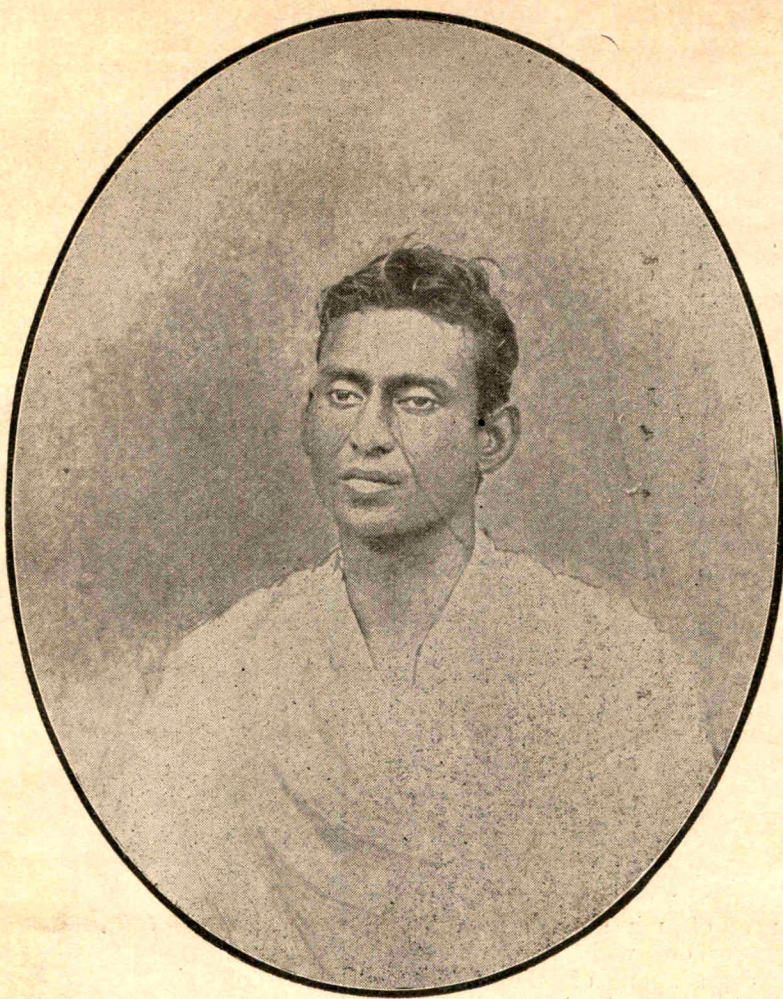


Mr. N. C. Mallik

from the Hughli Jubilee Bridge to Kumartuli Ghat, Calcutta, in the record time of four hours and two minutes.

Satindranath Sen

Srijut Satindranath Sen carried on peaceful *satyagraha* for months at Patuakhali to assert and establish the religious right of taking out processions with music along public thoroughfares, resulting in the imprisonment of himself and many others. The rest of the story of his heroic struggle is told in



Srijut Satindranath Sen

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's statement printed below in part:—

Outside Barisal, our countrymen do not probably know exactly why Sj. Satindra Nath Sen and some of his co-workers are on hunger-strike. The grievances against which they have been fighting may be briefly summed up as follows:—

(1) Revival of proceedings under Section 110 Criminal Procedure Code against Sj. Sen and his comrades, which had been dropped in July, 1928, when the Patuakhali dispute was settled.

(2) Institution of 2 assault cases, one against Sj. Sen and his comrades and the other against some of them.

In July, 1928, in order to end the Patuakhali Satyagraha movement, a compromise was arrived at between all the parties concerned at the instance of the District Magistrate of Barisal. As a part of this compromise all the cases against the Satyagrahis, including proceedings under Sec. 110 Cr. P. C. were withdrawn.

About the middle of March, 1929, Sj. Satindra

Nath Sen and some of his colleagues were suddenly arrested under Sec. 110 Cr. P. C. It soon transpired that the evidence to be tendered in this case referred almost wholly to the period prior to settlement of the Patuakhali dispute. Sj. Sen and his comrades naturally felt indignant over the revival of these proceedings which constituted a gross breach of faith on the part of the Government.

PRISONERS ASSAULTED BY POLICE

The assault cases arose out of altercation between the police and Jail authorities on the one side and the prisoners on the other regarding conveyance arrangements for the latter and particularly for those amongst them who were sick. The prisoners insisted that either adequate conveyance arrangements should be made for them or they should not be taken to court at all. The prisoners allege that though adequate conveyance arrangements were not made for them, they were forced to go to court under unsatisfactory conditions and even the sick were not exempted. On their refusing to do so they were assaulted. These assault cases

are believed to have been started for the purpose of penalising S. Sen and his comrades on the event of the failure of the proceedings under Section 110 Cr. P. C.

But S. Sen did not act hastily though he felt indignant at the attitude of the Government. He waited till the end of May to see if redress through judicial methods would be forthcoming or if his friends outside would be able to bring about his release. When no result was achieved he fell back on himself and resorted to hunger-strike.

He has been admitted to bail and his case transferred to Calcutta. But he is determined not to break his fast unless he is unconditionally released. He should be so released, as there has been a distinct breach of faith with him on the part of the Barisal executive authorities. Various movements have been set on foot to obtain his release.

Malaria in Bengal and Self-help

The problems affecting the well-being of the Bengali are many and complicated in nature. Those which are economic are specially difficult of mastery. Malaria is perhaps the most vital of all these, as affecting the whole race, and as such there can be no doubt about the necessity for overcoming this evil. It is equally certain that we cannot count upon outside help in this matter. It is a



Spraying a Tank with Kerosene

very depressing state of affairs, no doubt, but fortunately there are some energetic and public-spirited citizens in Bengal who have *Nil desperandum* as their motto in this work, and have formed anti-malarial and anti-kala-azar societies.

The work of the Birnagar Palli Mandali is specially worthy of mention in this respect.

In the Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, Feb. 28, 1929, we find Mr Durno, the Magistrate of Nadia, saying :

"A visit to Birnagar is a cure for depression". He adds, every municipality that despairs should



Spraying from a Boat

send its Commissioners to Birnagar to see what can be done ; it is an object lesson.

In the Annual Report of the Ross Institute, London, there is the following paragraph regarding the malaria expedition (1928-29) by Sir Malcolm Watson and Major Lockwood Stevens :

BIRNAGAR

The town of Birnagar is an example of what malaria has done in Bengal. The population has been reduced in a few years from about 80,000 to 2,300 by malaria. Here anti-malaria and public health measures are being done by an independent organization called the Birnagar Palli Mandali. This organization is fortunate in having as members eminent Indian gentlemen and Babu Krishnasekhar Bose as Honorary Secretary. The organization here is outstanding both from a practical and scientific standpoint. The records and observations are very complete, perhaps unique in the history of India. They are being sent to the Malaria Department here for special investigation.

With regard to the work that is being done we have the opinion of Dr. C. A. Bentley, the Director of Public Health Bengal.

The system of records of sickness, anopheles breeding, catches of adult anopheles, quinine distribution, and anti-larvae operations is beyond

all praise. It is the outcome of much care and study on the part of Dr. Bose and other officers of the Palli Mandali and is probably unique in India. As a result the work accomplished, quite apart from its value as a public health measure, is of immense interest as a scientific study of the factors responsible for malaria and the means adopted for the reduction of infection.

We hope municipalities all over Bengal will follow the example of Birnagar.

Durga Puja Holidays

On account of the Durga Puja holidays *The Modern Review* office will remain closed from the 6th to the 20th October, 1929, and will re-open on the 21st October. Letters, packets, etc., received during the holidays, will be dealt with afterwards.

Our New Address

From the 18th October the address of our Office and Press will be 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Our contributors, subscribers, advertisers and exchanges are requested to kindly take note of this change of address.



Bringing Jatindranath Das's remains to Calcutta
The Procession on the Howrah Bridge

ERRATA

- P. 376 Col. 2 l. 23 for could nothing read could do nothing.
P. 376 Col. 2 l. 26 for improved read improvised



THE HAWK
After an Old Persian Painting

PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA



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WHOLE NO.
275

Sonnets from the Bengali

Translated from the unpublished Bengali Sonnets of Mrs. Kamini Ray

By MRS. JESSIE DUNCAN WESTBROOK

1

Afar I dwelt, and you, to bring me near,
Dared even death. What was the wizardry
That made you see a goddess' aureole here
About the brow of a woman such as I ?
And all unasked you lavished at my feet
The treasure that was yours. High on the height
I lived, my heart like ice.—To the valley sweet
You brought me down, and chill and hard
and white

I am no more. Your love has thawed my soul,
Melting it drop by drop. O love, slake
Your thirst, with this my cup be satisfied.
O, quell my fears till I no more apart
Shall shrink in this strange world. O, let
me hide

Within the sanctuary of thy heart.
But if the spell dissolve and your love fly,
What resting-place in all the world have I ?

2

When from afar your love you offered me,
A thousand times I said—I cannot trust
Love's constancy—no lasting bliss can be
The lot of hapless creatures made of dust.
You pleaded for my love, day after day.
Coldly I bade you go.—Who can declare
How things may hap ? Even mountains melt
away
Fretted by dew-drops' drip and rain-drops' wear.

My knowledge and experience were as naught
Before your earnest resolutions' might.
Early I rose one morn, my spirit fraught
With pain by the unhappy dreams of night ;
I oped my door, you waited silently ;
I said—Ah, have you come again for me ?

3

You said—Yes, I have come again for you.
The more repelled, the closer am I drawn.
Hope, like the daily dark-dispelling dawn,
After each disappointment wakes anew.
Look round and see what light, what sound,
the play
Of the waves of life,—how beautiful it seems.
Who would remain stricken by sorrowful

dreams
With wilful eyes close shut when all is day ?
Come, let us walk together in this light,
Our perfect life's fulfilment to attain.
The world is wide, the streams of joy and

pain,
The song of love and labour's groaning might
Flow side by side. Treading the path of love,
Each stronger by the other's strength shall
prove.

4

Both day and night I walk in dreams, I said,
A twilight world, nor dark nor bright, is mine.
With longings undefined my heart is fed,
Dimly a hundred hopes within it shine,

As gleam the small stars in the evening sky,
 Seeking an everlasting refuge there.
 O wise one, judge if close our pathways lie
 Or far divergent to the horizon fare.
 Such love you ask for—is it mine to give
 Your thirst to quench, your fever to allay ?
 Could we pursue together while we live,
 Doubting and fearing not, the self-same way ?
 And if your heart's desire be thus fulfilled,
 Would no new longings rise again unstilled ?

5

You said—Trust in my love, it never tires,
 Again and again I come and plead,
 Your love the only goal of my desires.
 Rejected, still I urge my bitter need.
 Even though, as yet, your heart be dark
 and chill,
 It will, by mine, to golden flames be lit,
 And this fair earth become more lovely still
 With music and with love enchanting it.
 Know you what love is ?—Like a forest fire
 At first in some dry branch afar it burns,
 Then all-consuming, bright and fierce and dire,
 All that was green as well as dry it turns ;
 To leaping fire that naught can quench or tame ;
 So this my love would set your heart aflame.

6

Let this your love lovely and fruitful be,
 Again I spoke, and if to you befall
 Much joy in giving up yourself to me,
 And if what little I can give at all
 Is worthy your acceptance. If no wrong
 I do in giving and you are content,
 I throw away the years I harboured long
 And find my home, after banishment,
 In your great heart. O, make it greater still
 To take me with my merits and my faults,
 And victory be yours. Burdened with ill
 And heavy load of pain, a woman halts
 Weary through life ; but heaviest she bears
 The burden of herself. O, lift this load
 And help me. Walk before me through life's
 cares,
 And in its tangles, lead me on the road.
 Touch my tear-blinded eyes and give them
 sight
 As passes on from torch to torch a light.

7

Disturb me not, dear, with questions again,
 Let all thoughts of things past and future cease,
 Let memory close her books, of joy and pain ;
 Safe in the haven of your arms is peace,

There let me sleep. Is this a dream ? Who knows ?
 Yet will I cherish it and clasp it close.
 Like tethered boats upon a sea of dreams
 Let us float calmly onward, side by side,
 Infinite life our goal. Above us gleams
 A great new firmament, and, as we glide,
 New stars rise smiling o'er us tenderly,
 Behind, the past sinks in the endless sea.

8

What have we given and what have we
 received,
 What have we saved to carry on our way ?—
 Why do such thoughts rise up incessantly ?
 What need to know how much can be believed,
 How much is fantasy ? The whole of life
 Is not all waking, nor is all a dream.
 What matters if it be ? Here now we seem
 Two living souls lifted above the strife
 Of mortal things, blest in each other's love ;
 Sorrow is gone, and fear, and vain regret.
 We are not destined here to toil and sweat
 For wages, as the laden slaves who move
 Under the rich man's yoke. Life's festival
 By the creator's hand for us is spread,
 We are the honoured guests on *amrit* fed.
 The proffered cup we take and drink it all,
 Proclaiming to the world that man may be
 True *amrit*-drinker, Lord of Destiny.

9

Hand still clasps hand, but soon unheeding
 drops,
 The *Malati* garlands lose their fragrant air,
 The song I sang sudden unfinished stops.
 Look in mine eyes, the clouds are gathering
 there,
 My heart feels it will break. Is this the end
 Of all my dreams, or but an evil one
 That yet may pass ? Does burning summer send
 Its heat already ? Is my spring-time done ?
 What place is this, what time, and who are we
 Who sit by side ? By what strange ways
 Have we been faring ? Did fatality
 Lead you astray ? Where searches now your
 gaze ?
 Whence came this inauspicious wind to blow
 Into our eyes dust-storms of doubt and care ?
 Tied hand to hand how far have we to go ?
 Dull days and nights how many must we bear ?

10

Alone, my dark self-questionings never cease.
 Is this love's way—to swell and overflow

And then to move indifferent and slow ?
 Is it impossible that love and peace
 And joy in work together ever dwell ?
 Has love not strength enough to seize and
 slay

The small besieging troubles of each day
 And keep the soul of man serene and well
 Through heat and cold and weariness and
 care ?

Has man not love enough that can allay
 The fever of the heart and drive away
 The fears that haunt the darkness of despair ?
 Then is this dreary world the fates ordain
 No souls in perfect union can abide ;
 Longing, they dwell apart or side by side,
 They live enduring separation's pain.

11

But let us still go on, hand holding hand,
 The same path let us tread, bear the same pain ;
 If nothing else, let pity be the band
 That holds us each to each. If no more plain
 We see the path, if mists around, above,
 In this dark night of doubt obscure our way,
 Let us two frightened hearts, clasped as in love
 Fight with our fears. Let him be who he may
 That shares with us a long and difficult road.
 He seems our own kin and strange no more.
 How sweet, when wandering far from our abode,
 Our native speech, heard on a foreign shore !
 Let love go and let joy forsake our lives,
 Let hope be shattered and in fragments hurled,
 But memory knows no death, it still survives,
 Let us not drift afar in this cold world.

Origin of the Imperial Guptas

By K. P. JAYASWAL

UP to this time we did not know the origin of the Imperial Guptas. It was supposed that they arose in Magadha. Their dynastic inscriptions mention Chandragupta (the first) as *Maharajadhiraja*, and his father Ghatotkacha and grandfather Gupta as *Maharaja*. It was inferred therefrom that Chandragupta was the first to assume kingship. The dynasty named itself after Gupta, the grandfather of Chandragupta. Their caste or family is not named in the inscriptions. The coins of Chandragupta are struck in the joint names of that king and the Lichchhavis. The Lichchhavis ruled opposite Pataliputra in the district of Muzafferpur. They are called Vratyas or unbrahmanical Kshatriyas ; they had a republican form of government ; they had their own shrines, their non-Vedic worship, their own religious leaders ; they patronized Jainism, and Buddhism ; the Mahavira was born amongst them. Mant conde mns them as degenerates. Chandragupta's son Samundragupta who acquired the imperial position for himself and his family by establishing an all-India empire proudly describes himself as the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) of the Lichchhavis.

Except this Lichchhavi-connection we knew nothing else about the pre-imperial history of the Guptas. New light now comes from literature.

Through this Journal I have already brought to public notice the service which has been done and is being done by Mr. M. Ramkrishna Kavi, M.A. (at present at 366, Mint Street, Madras) to the cause of Sanskrit literature. He has published on the Dasahara this year an ancient drama in Sanskrit in five acts (pp. 1-50), the *Kaumudimahotsava*, in his Dakshinabharati series (no. 4). The manuscript on palm-leaves was discovered in British Malabar by Mr. Rama Kavi and his friends who undertook a journey for searching manuscripts a few years back. Several gems found during this journey have been already published by Mr. Kavi. The *Kaumudimahotsava* is not the least important. It will occupy, if not higher at least the same position on the Gupta history as the *Malavikagnimitra* does on the Sunga history.

Mr. Kavi, the editor of the drama, in his *Introduction* (p. iii) says, "Though we can emphatically say that the work is not a

fanciful conception of a Malayali yet we cannot but feel our inability to point at the particular time and place of the hero." The identification which I propose, I trust, will solve that difficulty.

The author's name is lost in the manuscript, but the case-ending still preserved, shows, as Mr. Kavi points out, that the writer was a lady whose name ended in *ka*. She may have been *Vijjika*, well-known in Kavya anthologies. Mr. Kavi got a trace of *ji* in the manuscript before *ka*. The drama was composed and staged just after King *Kalyanavarman's* coronation (p. 1) *mahabhisheka* (V. 16, p. 41), for *Adhirajya*, (p. 35) at Pataliputra तदानीं तत्रभवतः पाटलिपुत्राधिपतेः सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः प्रतिनवराज्यलाभः).

The *Kaumudimahotsava* festival was being celebrated on the occasion of the marriage of the new King at the Suganga Palace, when the woman dramatist presented her piece, taking for her subject-matter the past history of the king himself (तदस्यैव राज्ञः समतीतं चरितमधिकृत्य... कया निवृद्धं नाट्यम्, p. 1).

Her style is simple, reminding us of Bhasa and Kalidasa. She refers to Dattaka, the author, to the stories of Avimaraka, and Udayana and Saunaka. There are passages which indicate that the author of the *Mudra-Rakshasa* had this drama before him which indeed he tried to supersede.

Kalyanavarman was the son of Sundara-Varman who had been king of Magadha with its capital at Pataliputra (p. 30. Act IV). Sundara-Varman had adopted as his son one Chanda-sena (*putrikritas Chandasena-hatakah*, p. 30). This Chandasena was a *Karaskara* (कारस्करः स खलु सम्प्रति पार्थिवेषु, p. 30). The Karaskaras were considered a low people, and a Brahmin had to perform a ceremony for purification after returning from them. This rule is cited by Baudhayana in his *Dharma-Sutra* (I.1). There is a great hit at the caste of Chanda-sena in the drama in verse 6 of Act IV, and one character exclaims 'royal majesty and this caste!' when 'Karaskara' is mentioned. Chanda-sena who although assumed the name of the Magadha family (apparently on account of his adoption by Sundaravarman) contracted relationship with the enemies of the Magadha family, the Lichchhavis—the mlechchhas, and gaining an opportunity laid siege to Pataliputra (ततः मगधकुलं व्यपदिशन्नपि

मगधकुलवैरिभिर्मलच्छैर्लिच्छविभिः सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा लब्ध्वावसरः कुसुमपुरमुपसृजवान्). In the battle, King Sundaravarman, out of regard for the adoption, did not strike down Chanda-sena who fully deserved death, but only threw him down amidst the Lichchhavis (संप्रवृत्ते संग्रामे वधपात्रम्येनं पुत्रीकृतत्वादपहस्तयित्वा लिच्छविकुलमन्तः क्षपितवान् देवः). Sundaravarman, king of Magadha (मागधः), however, died of old age on the very battle-field. Chanda-sena became king. Infant Kalyanavarman whose mother became a Sati or otherwise killed herself (p. 31) was taken by faithful servants beyond the Magadha kingdom to Pampapuri (pp. 31,3) where he had to grow up and wait for a number of years. The former Prime Minister of Magadha, Mantragupta and the Commander-in-Chief, Kunjaraka, waited for an opportunity. Chanda-sena went out on an expedition to quell a revolt of his governors on the frontiers. Kalyanavarman was called to Pataliputra through an urgent messenger. The Paura-Janapada, assembled by Mantragupta at Pataliputra supported the return of Kalyanavarman (p. 29). In Act V it is said that after Kalyanavarman's coronation Chanda-sena was killed (*nihatah*) and his royal family (चाण्डसेनराजकुलम्) was uprooted and that Kalyanavarman started an orthodox reign (प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथं).

We do not know whether Chanda-sena was killed on the frontiers or in some engagement with the forces under Kunjaraka. The former seems to have been the case.

It seems to me that *Chanda-sena* is the original name of *Chandragupta*. *Chanda* may result even by a mistaken orthography in place of *Chandra*. The *Sambandha* (relationship by marriage, not 'conspiracy' as supposed by Mr. Kavi) with the Lichchhavis, in spite of Chanda's connection (by adoption) with the Magadha family fixes the identity. It was through the Lichchhavi connection, as the historians have so long held that the Guptas (Chandragupta and after him Samudragupta) got themselves established. The temporary dispossession by the Varman family was evidently put an end to by Samudragupta who defeated the *Kota* ruling family at Pushpapura.

The Guptas were Karaskaras. There was a competition for orthodoxy. The Varmans looked down upon the Lichchhavis and Karaskaras and claimed to re-establish the *Varna-asrama* path. The Guptas showed themselves to be still more orthodox. They

carefully omit their Karaskara origin in their records.

We may note that the ruling king of the Surasenas at Mathura was Kirtishena, a Yadava. He was a friend of Sundaravarman (p. 40) and gave his daughter Kirtrimati in marriage to Kalyanavarman, at the suggestion

of the Prime Minister Mantragupta of Magadha. Probably Nagasena who was defeated at the battle of Pushpapura by Samudragupta was a son of Kirtishena.

The value of the *Kaumudimahotsava* is very great as the book records contemporary history.

A Page From Early Mysore History

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E.

1

THE first Muslim penetration into the table-land now known as the kingdom of Mysore has been described by me on the basis of contemporary Persian sources in the July number of this Review. In response to the invitation which I added to the end of my paper on the subject, Mr. N. Subba Rao, M. A., Research scholar, Maharaja's College, Mysore, has sent me the version of these events available in Kanarese sources and asked me to estimate their relative truthfulness. My own view is that there is no real conflict between the two versions, Mysorean and Bijapuri,—that each is correct but incomplete and requires the other to complement it and supply a full narrative of events. The real facts were,—(1) there were several battles and skirmishes between the Bijapuri invaders and Kanti Rai of Srirangapatan, with varying fortunes, fitfully extending over several years; (2) ultimately the Bijapuris retired on the payment of a money *peshkash* (which it would be more correct to translate as *indemnity* than as *tribute*), (3) the Bijapuri Government soon realized that it had swallowed more of the Karnatak country than it could digest with its available man-power, and therefore it wisely contented itself with annexing the northern and eastern parts of the vast modern kingdom of Mysore, left Kanti Rai undisturbed in the southern part (i. e., the Srirangapatan province), and pushed on eastwards into the exceedingly rich and weak Madras plains (to which the recent Bijapuri annexations in northern and eastern Mysore afforded a safe and continuous line of

communication), (4) there was a fringe area of debatable land between the possessions of Kanti Rai and Adil Shah (e. g., the Jagdev country or the northern part of the Salem district), and Kanti Rai took advantage of the decline of the royal power at Bijapur from 1650 onwards to make conquests here and to repudiate his promises of money payment to Adil Shah. These two Powers (as well as Qutb Shah) were competitors for snatching up the fragments of the Vijaynagar empire.

2

With these preliminary observations, I give the different versions below.

THE SIEGE OF SRIRANGAPATAN, 1639

Bijapuri version,—“Randaula Khan (who had lately been given the title of Rustam-i-zaman), left Shahji Bhonsle in charge of the recently conquered fort of Bangalbre and “marched from that place in order to punish the Rajah of Srirangapatan, who was inordinately proud (or refractory). . . . When he arrived near the fort of Srirangapatan, his troops began to fight and encircled the fort. After fighting and exertion on both sides had been protracted for nearly a month, the Rajah sent his envoy to Rustam Khan, saying ‘Please leave the fort of Srirangapatan to me, as you have done to other (Rajahs) cherished on the salt of the August State [=Bijapuri Government], and lay before the throne the five lakhs of *hain* in cash and presents of various kinds which I am offering.’ Rustam-i-zaman, at this submission of the Rajah, reassured him with promises of Adil Shah’s favour, and seeing that the rainy season

was near he left Qazi Sa'id there with Kenge Nayak to take delivery of the indemnity agreed upon and himself returned to Court... The Qazi, on getting the money promised by the Rajah of Srirangapatan, started for the Adil-shahi capital. Kenge Nayak rebelled." [*Muhammadnamah*, pp. 170-171.]

Kanarese version.—"Randaula Khan's forces besieged Srirangapatan; were repulsed with heavy slaughter; the siege lasted for three days only; on the fourth day the Khan entered into a truce with Kanthi Rava Narasa Raja Wadeyar, making a partition of territories in the Karnatak between the Bijapur and Mysore kings. The Mysore king did not submit to the Khan nor pay tribute either." [Mr. Subba Rao's MS. note.]

3

CAMPAIGNS OF 1640 AND 1646

Bijapuri version.—In 1640, the Adil-shahi troops gained Chik-Nayakan-halli, Belur, Tumkur, Ballapur, and Kunigal.

Kanarese version.—While the Muslims took these places in Central Karnatak, they were repulsed by the Mysore army under Nanja-rajayya (the Commander-in-Chief of Kanthirava) from the following places which they had occupied, *viz.*, Ramgiri-durg, Huli-yuri-durg, Turuvekere, (all three in the Tumkur district) and Bagur (in the Hasan district)... In 1646, Mustafa Khan was repulsed by Nanja-rajayya in an action at Turuvekere. [Mr. Subba Rao's MS. note.]

I see nothing impossible in the Kanarese account. [J. S.]

4

CAMPAIGNS ABOUT 1650

Bijapuri account.—While the prime minister Khan-i-Khanan Muzaffar-ud-din Khan Muhammad was laying siege to Penukonda, Siddi Raihan's sons in Sera rebelled against Adil Shah and won over to their side the Rajahs of the neighbourhood. "The Rajah of Mysore, who was the master of four lakhs of infantry and forty thousand good elephants, came out of his territory at the instigation of Raihan's sons and wrested all (*jumla*) the forts in the Jagdev country which Mustafa Khan had conquered with so much effort; thus a complete change [of owners] took place in Karnatak and Malnad..."

But Khan Muhammad pressed on the siege of Penukonda and finally took it. Then he visited Bijapur, as he was homesick. [*Muhammadnamah*, pp. 422-443.]

Thereafter the sons of Siddi Raihan made their submission and Khan Muhammad marched into the Jagdev country to chastise the Rajah of Mysore... After severe fighting he recovered the fort of Krishnagiri (which the Mysore Rajah had strongly garrisoned and armed)... Then he captured four forts in the territory of the Rajah of Mysore.

In the meantime, Sri Ranga Rayal had bought the aid of Mir Jumla and risen against Adil Shah in Vellore. Therefore, by order of his master, Khan Muhammad abandoned the forts recently conquered by him in Mysore and marched towards Vellore. "He had gone only two or three stages, when he received news that the Mysore Rajah had sent Des-raj [Persian text spells the name as *Das-raj*], his *Peshwa* as Commander-in-Chief, with a numberless force to the frontier of fort Kaveripatan." So, Khan Muhammad detached Siddi Masaud with an army against him. Battle near Kaveripatan, Desraj beheaded. [*Muhammadnamah*, pp. 446-457.]

Khan Muhammad captured Vellore and demanded tribute from the Rajah of Madura, who then begged the Khan to expel the invading Mysore troops from his dominions. The Khan marched out of Vellore... pillaged and burnt Mysore territory down "to a heap of ashes"... Balaji Haibat Rao, who had left Adil-shahi service for that of Mysore, was now sent by Kanti Rai against Khan Muhammad. The Khan despatched Siddi Masaud with his vanguard to meet this army. In the battle that followed Balaji was beheaded and his army routed.

At this the Rajah of Mysore in mortal terror sent his envoy to the victorious Khan Muhammad, with an offer of submission, asking pardon for his offences and praying for safety. He promised to pay "treasure beyond calculation" as an offering to Adil Shah and regularly deliver tribute (*baj-wa-kharaj*) every year. By order of Adil Shah, Khan Muhammad left the Mysore Rajah's devastated kingdom to him... The *peshkash* was realized by Khan Muhammad. [*Muhammadnamah*, pp. 461-467. Here the MS. ends, and we have no information about the succeeding period.]

Kanarese version.—"There is absolutely no evidence, on the Mysore side, to support this statement. On the other hand, ... Kanthirava

about 1650 sustained a temporary defeat, due probably to the inexperience of the Commander-in-Chief who had succeeded Nanja-rajayya, and entered into some truce or agreement with Bijāpur, which he never

seems to have abided by,—for during the next two years he recuperated his position against the Muhammadans ... by conquest." [Mr. Subba Rao's MS. note. This is not a contradiction of the Persian account.—J.S.]

Some Impressions of The League Assembly

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

The Tenth Session

THE Tenth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations commenced here on Monday the 2nd September under the chairmanship of His Excellency Mohammed Ali Khan Feroughi of Persia. One of the striking features of the Assembly is the importance given to delegations from lesser Nations by the members representing the "Powers". They are allowed to play an important part in everything connected with the League Assembly, as it were to compensate them for the treatment they receive at the hands of the great Powers in real politics. However that might reflect the mentality of the Powers, it gives a chance to the smaller nations* to show to the world that, although their equipment of Aeroplanes and battleships may fall short, they do not lack in statesmanship or political acumen. It gives a shock to the world to come face to face with the truth, after being fed on propaganda literature, news items and cinema films for decades. Every South American is not after all a funnily battered and trousered cow puncher nor every Chinese or Asiatic a polygamist practising black magic and hypnotism on unsuspecting and innocent Anglo-American virgins. For this year's permanent president is from Latin America (Salvador) and among the delegations from Asia are wonderfully alert and efficient diplomats who, with their wives and families, are damaging the reputation of Anglo-American fiction-mongers beyond all possibility of repair. "Surely that man cannot be a real Persian" they are all saying, "he looks too much and behaves absolutely like a *habitué* of *Quai*

d'Orsay." "And he is too sensible and logical to be a Chinese. Look at the way he is telling off the English expert and exposing his sophistry!" The world is getting its wisdom from Geneva and whatever the League's merits may be as an instrument of international politics, it is doing great good to all maligned nations as an exhibition of national *fortes* and *foibles*. Great powers are shown off here and weaklings are discovered to be thinking, feeling and willing collaborators to that great game of world peace of which Geneva is the playground and in which many join wholeheartedly and some to gain time until they could with profit bare their fangs again.

The management of the League Assembly is rather slipshod, may be due to the fact that the great statesmen who come here to discuss world peace and universal progress can devote only their spare hours to its work. Nobody knows when Stresemann,* MacDonald or Briand may rush into the Assembly hall and deliver a long speech, for no programme ever seems to be adhered to nor can anything be known generally about what is going to happen in the course of the next few hours with a fair margin of time. Like the British Empire they "muddle through" and sincerely so. One has to go to the Assembly hall in speculation and not even the minor officials there know anything about the most immediate future. The hall is small and has an infinite number of points where the wooden floor creaks and the swing back chairs whine, so that it is with only the greatest difficulty that one can transcend one's environment and concentrate on the

* India is not a "smaller" nation and is, therefore, given no chance!

* Since dead

French and English translations of the English and French perorations. Nevertheless some of the speeches are very fine indeed in the original; MacDonald's and Briand's to cite only two.

I tried to get a seat in the press gallery but the Frenchman in charge of the tickets suspected that I might have come all the way from India to sneak my way into the press gallery with the help of a forged visiting card and requested me to produce a recommendation from the Government of India or at least, procure a certificate from the (British) Indian Delegation. I apologized to him for having thought the League organization could be common enough to admit people without finger-prints, passports and certificates of special tribunals and worked my way round to the public galleries to which my wife and I got tickets from some friends.

I should not have referred to this affair of the press ticket if I did not believe that it will serve to guide fellow journalists who might come to Geneva hereafter armed only with visiting cards, as I did. Many people here, even diplomats and statesmen, fail to understand the anomalous position of India in the League. Our special delegation and place in the Assembly mislead many to think that India has a sort of Independence after all. Some men greatly admired the leader of the Indian delegation,—for didn't he represent a nation of 320 million members! Others expect to see Mahatma Gandhi here one of these days—heading the Indian delegation! I should, as a matter of fact, have admired the presence and eloquence of Sir Muhammad Habibullah, the leader of the "Indian" delegation, had I not been over-conscious of his actual standing in so far as the Indian nation was concerned. He spoke very well yesterday (the 7th of September) and many people wondered where he could get such mastery over the English language, which after all was not his own language. We Indians are very good linguists and we can reproduce foreign sounds and rhetoric with great perfection. We, however, lack the ability to rouse in our own hearts (many of us) those foreign sentiments of patriotism and uncompromising self-respect which enabled Western nations to face the ordeal of fire of the great war and which is enabling them to-day to defend their own peacefully against the encroachments of international capitalism. If we Indians

learned less English and more how to stand up for our own as Snowden stood at the Hague, should we be cutting to-day such a comic figure at the League—slaves behaving like freemen on sufferance or, is it under compulsion?

RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SPEECH

The most important speech, and the most appreciated has been that of Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, who, by his eloquence, passion and high sentiments, carried the Assembly off its feet and made everybody feel that perhaps the *Salle de Reformation* of Geneva would witness a yet greater Reformation, by which justice will replace injustice and honesty, diplomacy. He has definitely pledged the British nation to a strict observation of the optional clause under which a nation surrenders itself to International arbitration where formerly it went to War. This means that if ever in future Great Britain finds her own interests clashing with those of any other signatory nation, she will have to abide by the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The *Morning Post* is almost epic in its condemnation of this act of surrender by which Britain loses the sacred right to go to war and, may be even manoeuvred into losing a point to Egypt which will be probably a member of the League of Nations in the immediate future. But the *Morning Post* has no fears of Britain being forced to do the right thing by India. For India, the pole star of slavery, will for ever remain under the political dominance of Great Britain! The League of Nations is only a League of Governments and the Indian Government being merely the turbaned edition of the British Government, there is no fear of the two ever clashing. As to the Indian Nation, which labours, suffers, sweats and dies beyond there, in the hinterland of Apollo Bunder; the League of Nations does not worry about it—it cannot do any such thing under its covenant. Mr. MacDonald however came very near saying something about India, if I am right in my conjecture. He said:

Ancient civilizations, hitherto weak in material powers, were adopting Western ideas and asking to be recognized. By delaying this recognition forces might be accumulated in the political and social life of these civilizations, with the result that the Powers of Europe might find themselves presented, not with requests, but with an ultimatum.

This may mean that Mr. MacDonald thinks it would be wiser for his country to give India her just rights instead of waiting to receive an ultimatum from that ancient country; but it surely conveys to one nothing as to when, in his opinion, Great Britain might expect this ultimatum from India. If he thinks that time has almost come, then we are probably in luck. But if, on the other hand, he believes that time to be yet a hundred years off, then we shall have to wait for a good few years before we can expect any justice from Great Britain. Personally speaking, I have no hopes of India being able to send an ultimatum to Britain this year or in ten years; but I should like Britain to do the just thing, not due to any fear of ultimatums but out of pure love of justice and attachment to truth.

Referring to the conflict in Palestine Mr. MacDonald said:

Those events *had not been due to any racial conflict*, but to an outburst of political crime which must be deplored equally both by Moslems and Jews.

This is a very sensible view to take of all so-called racial or communal conflicts. I only hope the British Prime Minister will take an equally sane view of things when Sir John Simon presents him with a detailed list of the various Hindu Moslem riots that had taken place in India during the years that the "Reforms" had turned religion into something of vital political meaning in India. When the British Prime Minister asserts that the conflict between the Jews and the Arabs is purely political, and not *racial*, he surely means that it is not *religious* for everybody knows that the Arabs are of the same race as the Jews. He is quite right in his view too. Religion (or race for that matter) would be too weak a cause to start a conflict anywhere in 1929. Let us hope that he will realize that the Indian conflicts are also caused, by newly created, British made, political jealousies which must be uprooted once for all if Britain wishes India any good.

A CHINESE HIT

Dr. Chao-chu-Wu, the Chinese delegate (one of the vice-presidents to the League) addressed the Assembly the day following Mr. MacDonald. He appreciated the way in which Mr. MacDonald referred to the necessity for justice and equality in the relations between peoples, whether on the

same continent or in different hemispheres." He drew the attention of the League to Article 19 of the Covenant, which provided for the revision by members of the League of treaties which had become inapplicable and whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. The Chinese statesman pointed out how there are many such iniquitous treaties extant to-day which should be revised at once. He meant no doubt the treaties between his country and the Powers. He also laid great emphasis on the necessity of removing national grievances and redressing all wrongs wherever found on the earth. Unfortunately, the League of Nations believes in the virtue of *status quo* in all respects excepting where it led European nations into war, suffering, misery and monetary loss. The nations yet fail to realize fully how necessary it is to establish truth and justice everywhere in order to have them anywhere. But slowly, this realization is coming and nations are beginning to see that they cannot both have the cake and eat it.

AN EUROPEAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS

One sentiment was harped upon by the delegates of more than one European State. It was the desirability of forming something like a United States of Europe. M. Briand, the French statesman, thought,

Among peoples grouped geographically like the peoples of Europe there should exist a sort of federal bond; such peoples should at all times be able to get into touch, discuss their interests, take joint resolutions, and establish among themselves a bond of solidarity which would enable them, if need be, to meet any grave emergency that may arise. Such was the bond, to the establishment of which he would be glad to devote himself. Obviously an association of that kind would act principally in the economic field, but from the political and social point of view, the federal bond, without affecting the sovereignty of any of the nations which formed part of such an association, might have beneficent effects. He would, in the course of the present session, beg those of his colleagues who represented the European countries to consider this suggestion in an unofficial manner and commend it to their governments for consideration, with the ultimate object of ascertaining later, perhaps at the next Assembly, the practical possibilities which he believed to exist.

This Pan-European mentality is one of the dangers of the League ideal degenerating into something like a defensive (and may be also, offensive) alliance between the nations of Europe. Why M. Briand should see any geographical speciality to exist between Yugoslavia or Poland and France and not between Russia and Poland or

Yugoslavia and Turkey is beyond me to ascertain unless it be pure Pan-European narrowness of mind. I noticed that consciously or sub-consciously practically all European statesmen suffered from this weakness to form a United States of Europe to protect themselves against some "grave emergency." Even MacDonald brightened up when he talked about a European union of friendly States. This brightness disappeared when he began to discuss the discretion of doing timely justice to the exploited Nations of Asia. What is this "grave emergency" they all talk about? Is it a future war between the United States of America and the proposed United States of Europe? May be, for Europe is feeling heavily its debts to America and no one likes to feel indebted without any hopes of ever being able to hit the lender in the face. Some talk about a war between the white and the dark races. But that seems to be a remoter possibility. M. Briand also advocated the formation of a "secular arm" of the League of Nations; an international army to punish

those who did not observe the ideals of the League. This also points to the fact that the Nations are not feeling so deeply the wickedness of war as its indiscretion. This is hardly a frame of mind from which one may expect eternal peace; for who knows when it will suddenly realize the indiscretion of war to be a fading phantom and the reality of its loot far too luscious and tempting? Against all the above stand out in clear contradiction M. Briand's appeal to all mothers to bring up their children in a way as would inculcate in their hearts an abiding hatred of war and a genuine love of peace and international goodwill. "The poisoning of children's minds by sowing in their brains the seeds of war." Those who indulged in this nefarious work were in M. Briand's opinion "wicked criminals." They say at the League, Briand is brilliant but he has a cosmic incoherence which scintillates peace and war, love and hatred, lust and nobility, heaven and hell, all at the same time! New Internationalism is but old Nationalism writ large; but it has strange moods of superior idealism.

The Hindu University Woman's College

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

SETH Mulraj Khatau of Bombay and his two nephews Seths Tricandas and Gordhandas donated Rupees two lakhs and fifty thousand for founding a Woman's College in the Hindu University, Benares. There was some delay in giving effect to their wishes. This delay led to the addition of Rs. 34,000 as interest to this endowment. The terms of the gift were:—

1. Rs. 84,000 were to be spent on building the class-rooms, hostel, etc., and the balance of Rs. two lakhs was to be kept intact as an endowment from the proceeds of which the expenses of the College were to be met.

2. The tuition in the college was to be entirely free and the students were not to be charged any rent for the rooms in the hostel occupied by them.

3. The college was to be run entirely by women, and men were not to have access to it.

The buildings have cost more than a lakh. From the interest of the remainder the expenses of the college and its hostel are met. The income from this source is less than a thousand rupees per mensem. The institution has no other source of income.

Some twenty acres of land within the University area were enclosed to form the compound of the Woman's College. The institution is located within this enclosed space. The building is two-storied. The students' rooms are situated on the ground floor, and classes are held in the upper story. The plinth of the building is sufficiently high. The students' rooms are dry, spacious, well-lighted and well-ventilated.

At present there are forty students in this college. Thirty-eight of them have taken up the Arts course, and two the Science course. Of the latter, one is in the second year class and one in the third. The 38 arts students are distributed thus:—



The Hindu University Woman's College—Staff and Students

First year class	12
Second " "	10
Third " "	5
Fourth " "	4
Fifth " "	4
Sixth " "	1
Law (Previous)	1

The Provinces to which the students belong are shown below :

Bengal	13
U. P. and Bihar	12
Panjab	3
Bombay	6
Madras	2
Assam	2

Seven of the students are married, six are widows, twenty-seven are maidens. All are, of course, above the age of sixteen. Three of the students are mothers. Two of them live in the hostel with their little daughters.

At present only the first and second year Arts classes have been opened in the Woman's College. Higher class students and science students attend the men's classes.

Thus the teaching arrangements are at present largely co-educational.

Within the college compound the students play tennis, badminton and basket ball. Besides this, they can take walks anywhere within the University area, which is two miles long and one mile in width. They may with advantage be taught *lathi* play and jiu-jitsu, some *deshi* women's games may also be introduced from Baroda.

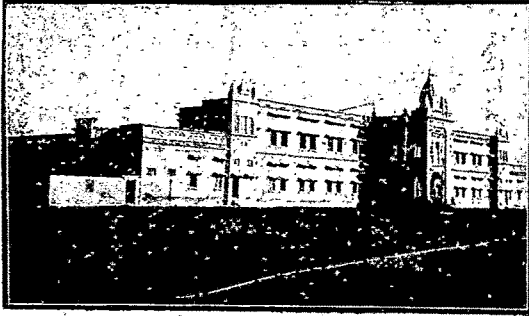
Being at some distance from the city, the place is free from smoke, dust, dirt and squalor. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, intends, when financially practicable, to make arrangements for teaching the students swimming, riding, the use of fire-arms, etc. There is ample room in the campus for all such exercises.

Some special advantages and features of this institution have to be noted.

As the college is situated in open and healthy ground, away from the town, the

students enjoy freedom of movement. This conduces to health of body and mind.

As the students come from various provinces of India, they have every opportunity to get rid of provincial narrownesses and prejudices and cultivate a broad national outlook, without losing what is good in the



The Woman's College Building

culture and traditions of the regions to which they belong.

In this institution there are special facilities for the education of girls and women of middle-class and poor families. It has been already stated that tuition and lodging are here free for all students. They have to spend only about Rs. 18 per mensem for board, light, etc. This amount, too, all students have not got to spend. Mr. Ghansyam Das Birla has instituted a number of scholar-

ships of the value of Rs. 15 a month to perpetuate the memory of his departed wife, Srimati Mahadevi Birla. This year twenty-two students are in receipt of these scholarships.

There is every probability of this college developing in course of time into a big centre of woman's education. At present growth is hampered owing to several causes. On account of financial stringency, it is not practicable to secure the services of an adequate number of women professors. This want can be removed if some munificent donors make adequate endowments or if a sufficient subsidy is received from the State. There is need also of a variety of arrangements for the culture, physical exercise and recreation of the students. The University possesses a library, no doubt. But the Woman's College should have a separate library and reading-room of its own, stocked with books and periodicals. In the absence of pecuniary help from the aforesaid sources, if some cultured lady of independent means, or one who would require only her living expenses, were to offer her self-sacrificing services to the institution, it could make some progress even under its present circumstances.

We have been permitted to see the institution twice and have every confidence in its growing usefulness.



Jatindranath Das

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

A month ago an unknown young man in an obscure station of life, whose only record was imprisonment, with or without trial, and then a hero-martyr whose name is ringing from end to end of the country and is resounding over the wide seas ! That is the life-story of Jatindranath Das, a prisoner undergoing trial in the Lahore conspiracy case and brought up from Calcutta for that purpose. He proved with a splendour of courage and strength of determination that have rarely been equalled that although the limbs may be fettered the spirit is always free and there is no power on earth that can hold it in bondage. What connection he had or could have with the Lahore case will never be known. He belonged to that class of young men who are interned without trial but who refuse to give up the service of the country. We have not the slightest desire to refer to the trial beyond repeating the acute observation made by Mr. Jinnah in the Legislative Assembly that a case in which the prosecution wants to call 600 witnesses must be a bad one. In the Meerut case, we are told, 300 witnesses will be called for the prosecution. These facts have been made public with some pride as if the sheer weight of numbers must carry everything before it. Long ago, Mr. Arthur Travers Crawford, a Commissioner and the *doyen* of the Bombay Civil Service, was brought to trial for corruption. As the trial was proceeding fresh charges were brought against the accused. Mr. Justice Wilson, who presided, warned the prosecution, that is, the Bombay Government, that a multiplicity of charges would not sway the mind of the Commissioners in the slightest degree. The same remark should apply to a legion of witnesses.

After the death from self-starvation of Jatindranath Das the Home Member of the Government of India had a consultation with some leading Indian members of the Assembly and it was agreed that racial distinction in the diet of prisoners should be discontinued. This point requires elucidation. There is scarcely a single distinguished but patriotic

and independent Indian who has not been imprisoned at some time or other. Mr. Gandhi, the late C. R. Das and Lajpat Rai, and Pandit Motilal Nehru, all underwent terms of imprisonment. Lala Lajpat Rai was released only when his life was in grave danger. Are these men looked upon as criminals by the Government ? So far as their countrymen are concerned they do not think that any Englishman in India can be named in the same breath with these great men. In the step taken by the Home Member Anglo-Indian papers discovered profound statesmanship. Indian political prisoners are often men of high character whereas English and Anglo-Indian prisoners in India invariably belong to the criminal class. Still the prison diet of these latter is much superior to that of Indian prisoners who are admittedly not guilty of any moral turpitude. And the removal of this invidiousness is designated statesmanship ! The Government would have given a great deal to prevent the demonstrations that followed Jatin's death. Had he been a convicted prisoner, probably his body would have been burned inside the jail compound as has been done on several occasions. But not only had he freed his spirit but even the wasted body that had held his great soul was free after death since the law or the prison authorities can have no hold on the dead body of a prisoner under trial. Consequently, the national homage to the martyr was unhampered from Lahore to Calcutta while all India was throbbing with pain and glowing with pride.

The martyrdom of this Bengali youth in the Punjab was not a purposeless accident. Those who took him under arrest to Lahore were unconscious instruments in the hands of a high Purpose that shapes the destiny of nations. Not very far from the place where Jatin passed away is the *samadhi* of the boy Hakikat Rai who preferred death to the apostacy of faith. Martyrs in the Punjab were not merely the seed of the church but the founders of the Khalsa power. There have been other martyrs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Jatin's name will be

added to an illuminated scroll of names illustrious and immortal in death. While day after day he drew nearer and nearer to the fulfilment of his mighty will and the Angel of Death hovered over him the whole country watched with bated breath the heroic struggle that was going on behind the walls of the prison, the invincible and relentless determination of the soul to break the bonds of flesh. When the spirit of Jatin passed out into the freedom of eternity the beating of the wings of the dark angel ceased and then came the Angel of Light with his trumpet proclaiming victory and freedom for the emancipated and triumphant soul!

At Lahore the Public Prosecutor and the trying Magistrate paid a tribute to the memory of Jatindranath, but the one message to which the greatest importance must be attached is the one sent by Miss Mary MacSweeney, the sister of Terence MacSweeney, who laid down his life for Ireland in precisely the same manner that Jatin has done for India. That is a message of pride and hope, and should link together the hearts of Ireland and India. Let us set aside all feeling of resentment against the Government. The Government should be left severely alone. Why labour the obvious? Why fritter away our energies in unnecessary and unprofitable denunciation? The hour has struck not for an outburst of bitterness, but for realizing the overwhelming significance of Jatin's sacrifice. His last words were that he was not a Bengali but an Indian. Let us be Indians first and last and let us strive to realize in life what he attained in death. Let us call upon the Lord God of hosts—lest we forget, lest we forget! Let our contrite hearts stand as a sacrifice. Let us pray for a tithe of the strength that drove the free spirit of Jatin out of his imprisoned body. It may be that the anniversary of his martyrdom will be solemnly observed and his countrymen will seek guidance and strength from his spirit. But more must be done. He should be an exemplar and an inspiration not only to his countrymen to-day, old and young, but his memory should be a shining light, a beacon on the hill-tops to lead those that come after us to crown the heights. What his countrymen owe to the memory of Jatindranath Das is that his name and example should never be forgotten. To ensure this there should be an all-India committee with a member from every Province, every vacancy being automatically

filled up by the nomination of another member. Some funds—not much—will have to be raised and donations should be invited. A brief, unvarnished account of the life and death of Jatindranath Das, and the national homage paid to his remains and memory should be written in every language known in India. It will be a small booklet of a few pages with a photograph of the martyr on the paper cover. The price should be a nominal one, say, one anna. The book should be written with care and without passion. There should be no attack on the Government, nothing to justify the forfeiture of the book as an objectionable publication. A bald statement of facts will be quite sufficient. It will be the business of the committee to ensure an annual sale of a hundred thousand copies all over India. The book will pay its way and will help to perpetuate the memory of a young hero who, by his death, has served his country more gloriously than any other man by a lifelong devotion.

THE SPIRIT OF JATINDRANATH DAS

If we were to say that the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, is a believer in spirits perhaps that officer would feel riled, but it is evident that the shade of Jatindranath Das has made him nervous. What else can be the explanation for the police order prohibiting the exhibition of the film depicting the funeral procession of Jatindranath at the All-Bengal Khadi Exhibition at the Shradhanand Park? Is the sanctity of law and order to be violated by presenting such a scene on the screen? We are quite familiar with the maintenance of law and order by the gentle methods pursued by the police. No policeman can suggest for a moment that the exhibition of such a film can lead to disorder of any kind. We should not be surprised if there happen to be higher authority behind the order of the Police Commissioner, or is it a stroke of statesmanship? It is rather curious that the Police Commissioner could not prohibit the procession itself—did he not accompany it for some distance?—but he thinks it dangerous to let people witness a shadow picture of it. The film shows only the Calcutta procession; the procession at Lahore, the crowds at the railway station, the other processions throughout India were not filmed at all. The order of prohibition has nothing to do with

the maintenance of peace, but it has a great deal to do with the maintenance of prestige. Is it really believed for one moment that the memory of Jatindranath will be forgotten because of such an order, or that his spirit

will cease to influence his people? On the contrary, an order of this kind without the slightest justification for it, will be rightly and universally interpreted as a confession of apprehensiveness and not a sign of strength.

• The Arab Revolt and the Massacre of the Jews in Palestine

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

ARABS have the right to be free and independent; but they have no right to trespass upon other people's lives, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Arabs have the right to respect their own religion but they have no right to practise religious fanaticism leading to massacre of other people who differ with them in faith and religious rites. *Thus the massacre of the Jews by the Arabs on the dispute regarding the use of the Wailing Wall is not only deplorable but will be condemned by the civilized world. It is to be hoped that Indian nationalists will not be misguided, on the false hope of so-called Hindu-Moslem unity, to lend their aid to the cause of the religious fanaticism of the Arabs.* The people of India have reasons to show sympathy to all peoples who are struggling for freedom; on this very ground, they should condemn religious fanaticism on the part of any people.

The massacre of the Jews in Palestine by the Arabs has created a singular situation for the British Government—the Mandatory Power—which in pursuance of the Balfour Declaration has agreed to aid the Jewish people to set up their own national home under the protection of the British Government. The Jews from all parts of the world have, through the Zionist movement, contributed funds to promote the schemes of Jewish immigration into the Holy Land. The Jews from Russia, Germany, America, France, Great Britain, Poland, Rumania, and other countries have migrated into Palestine under British protection. Furthermore, Palestine is not a

regular British colony but a mandated territory and Great Britain is responsible to the League of Nations for the welfare of the people, and therefore *massacre of the Jews by the revolting Arabs cannot be regarded as "Britain's private affair."* Already Jews in Great Britain, the United States and other parts of the world are demanding that adequate measures should be taken to protect the Jews and punish the culprits. It has been reported in the London Times that the Indian Moslems have taken the side of the Arab fanatics. It is sure that the threat of Indian Moslems will not intimidate the British authorities from taking severe measures against those Arabs who are responsible for the crime. The number of Jews in the world is not very large; but their economic and political power in international affairs is enormous. The Jews are better organized and more powerful to-day than they were before the World War, because in Russia and some of the Central European States Jews have gained greater power than ever before. However, it must not be forgotten that the Jews of the United States, during the administration of President Taft, used their political power against Czarist Russia to such an extent that the Government of the United States refused to renew the commercial treaty with Russia unless the Czarist Government gave assurance of decent treatment to naturalized American citizens (formerly Russian Jews) visiting Russia.

If the Arab revolt continues Great Britain will be forced to take vigorous

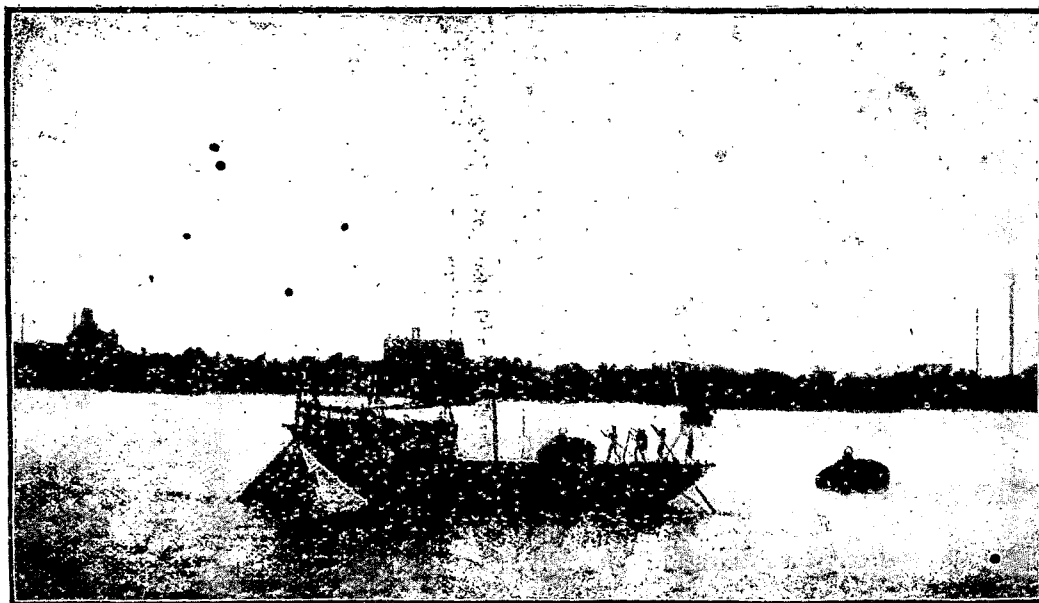
military measures against the Arabs. Already British forces from Egypt have been sent to Palestine to protect the lives and property of the unfortunate people. It is quite reasonable to expect that the British Government may ask the Government of India to send Indian forces to Palestine. It may be that in such an emergency the military authorities will not send Indian Moslems to Arabia to fight the Arabs, but will select the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Rajputs, Marathas, *i.e.*, Hindus, to go to Palestine, to protect the Jews and fight the Arabs.

Of course, every Indian soldier is duty-bound and bound by oath to obey the orders of his superior officers and the wishes of the British Government. However, Indian nationalist leaders and especially those who are genuinely anxious to promote the cause of Hindu-Moslem unity should frankly point out to the British Government that sending any Indian troops (especially Hindu troops) to Arabia will result in fostering serious ill-feeling between the Hindus and the Moslems in India. *Therefore it is very desirable that in a con-*

stitutional manner steps should be taken so that Indian soldiers may not be sent to Palestine.

Indian people should send aid through the authorities in Palestine to aid those who have been wounded—both Moslems and Jews—and the surviving members of the families of those who have been killed. For the sake of humanity and for India's own interests, Indian people should not do anything which may be construed into siding with the Arabs in their massacre of the Jews. Indians have genuine sympathy for Egyptian, and Arab independence; but they have no sympathy for religious fanaticism.

Possibly it will be wise for the All-India National Congress to adopt a resolution condemning the massacre of the Jews. Such a resolution should make it clear that, although the people of India are in sympathy with the efforts of all subject peoples to be free and independent, yet they cannot but condemn indiscriminate massacre of any people.



Scene on the Ganges

A Creative Woman of Germany

Dr. ALICE SALOMON

By AGNES SMEDLEY

IF one goes under an old archway in Barbarossa Strasse in Berlin, one comes upon a very big garden. In the midst of this to the left stands a three-storied, red-brick building with broad, low windows encased in white. There are flowers in all the windows, and curtains of two colours. Above is a roof garden, with flowers and ferns and tables and chairs. This building is beautiful and intimate, as if it had been planned and constructed under a woman's hand as indeed it has been. One enters its broad corridor, and above the staircase reads the painted words: "Happy is she who has found her life's work." The interior is more beautiful and intimate than the exterior; it is done in white, in soft yellows, blues, and greens, with curtains to harmonize.

In one of the rooms a long room with book cases, a table covered with a blue cloth and with coloured matting on the floor, sits the woman under whose eyes the building was planned and constructed. She is Dr. Alice Salomon, Germany's most noted social welfare worker, organizer, and social educator.

She is a slender, lovely figure in her brown gown softened by a light collar, with her graying hair swept back from a fine, high forehead. Her eyes glow like coals, and her face bears a peculiar expression of attentiveness and of inward joy, as if she were in perpetual harmony with life. To judge superficially, one would say her life had been without struggle except that no achievement is ever reached without struggle and least of all hers.

When one dwells upon the life of this woman, as upon the life of so many German women in public life to-day, two or three things strike one: The first is that such women are nearly all over forty years of age and Dr. Salomon herself is much over fifty; another is that their lives and work have been marked by fundamental scientific activity; the other is that they nearly all are from the upper classes and have had

to spend years of their youth in a terrible struggle with society and with their families before they gained the fundamental right of a human being to lead a life in accordance with his peculiar genius or deepest desires.

That they are nearly all over forty is natural for few persons, apart from poets and musicians, produce much before they are forty, and women in particular, have had to spend all too much energy in fighting for the elemental right to live as their natures dictated.

That such women have done fundamental scientific work is also to be expected, for in order to gain the right to study or enter the professions, German women have had to out-German the German men in scientific thoroughness.

That they came from the upper classes, and often from the very wealthy, is of much interest also, for it called for a tremendous personal determination and struggle to overcome the soft and degenerative influences of wealth. The war such women had to wage in their girlhood was most bitter of all within the home, with huge families of grandpapas and grandmamas, uncles and aunts, cousins, and cousins of cousins, taking part and trying to force them within the bonds of what such people considered "respectability". The difficulty was all the greater for the girl, because she was a pioneer, and she had little training or knowledge with which to face an unknown future.

Yet many of them faced it, and one such girl was Alice Salomon. She was of a wealthy Jewish family whose men-folk had been business men for generations, and whose women-folk had been pious housewives. The family had an attitude which indicated that God Himself had made this arrangement and that any deviation from it was sin. Alice, like other girls, was given a certain elementary education for seven years, but at the age of fifteen at the latest she had "finished school", and was expected to begin

the period of waiting for a man. She learned how to manage a house and to cook while the parents looked about for a suitable husband. The virtues such girls were expected to cultivate were meekness, obedience, a belief in their own inferiority, the ability to cook and, if possible, physical beauty. But no individuality, not too much intelligence, no desire to read or study and certainly no strong will.

Alice's sisters, cousins, and aunts did as they were expected to do. But Alice, a girl of fifteen, threw a bomb into the family circle one day by saying she did not wish to get married, she wished to be a teacher, and make her own living! The danger signal was sounded and from the four corners of the city the family assembled—scores of them! There hadn't been such a scandal in their circles since one of the men cousins had said, five years before, that he intended to study science instead of going in for business. He had been looked upon as a kind of a freak, but being a man they could not do much to him. But Alice they dissected until her "immoral" wishes lay exposed. And they decided she should marry, and soon, at that.

It is possible that she would have been forced into a marriage except that her father died suddenly, her mother was so shocked and grieved that she forgot all else and Alice was left to herself for the greater part of the following months. She used the relaxed vigilance to advantage, and each day sneaked out to attend lectures at the Victoria Lyceum for girls, at that time the one lone school for the higher education of girls at the head of which sat the noted feminist and educator, Helena Lange. And Helena was "corrupting the girl youth" of Berlin as Socrates had once "corrupted the youth of Athens", but with better success. Alice rushed home from the lectures at the school looking as innocent as possible, hid her books in one of the unheated rooms of her home, and when she had a spare moment, did her studying there.

I recently asked her why it was that she developed differently than did her sisters and so many other girls about her. She does not know. She remembers only that she loved to study and to teach school comrades. She remembers also that when she was fourteen, she one day walked across her room and saw her own reflection in the mirror on the wall. She halted as if facing

a strange apparition and stood gazing into her own eyes. "Who and what are you?" she asked the reflection. The eyes gazed back questioningly. Then she asked, "What is the life you have come into, what is its purpose?" The eyes continued gazing back questioningly and even in fright. Over forty years have passed since then, but each night Alice Salomon goes to bed with that question in her mind, and each morning she greets the light with it on her lips. She has tried to answer it. For her, she says, "the purpose of life is to wipe out pain and suffering and to leave the world better than I found it."

As she looks back at her girlhood, however, she says: "To this day I wonder how it was that girls of my class and time were not more deeply injured than they were. For the ideas, the education, the future plans for us, were not only superficial, but they were crooked and false."

Her girlhood was indeed one of struggle with her family. But with the years, with her developing intellect and knowledge, and with social interests and ideas, she gained more strength to fight for her right to live her life as her nature dictated. By accident she came into contact with an organization called the "Women's Group for Social Aid", consisting of upper class women who were trying to meet the problems arising from a developing capitalism and its devastating effects upon women and children workers. These women invited Alice to their foundation meeting in the Berlin town-hall, and for the first time she heard herself called "citizen" and was asked to do something independently and for the good of others. The word "citizen" she says, sent a ray of light through her heart and she knew for the first time what it meant to be a free and responsible human being. Intellectually hungry, she responded like a violin to the bow, and from that day onward, she says, her real life began. Up to that time she had merely existed, like a vegetable. Her struggle at home continued, however, but each day she left it to help working women, and each day she returned to face nagging, accusing and jeering sisters, cousins, and aunts, and a mother with eyes red from weeping at the disgrace brought upon her by an unruly daughter. The young girl went through it all—but there are traces of bitterness upon her soul to this day. To look back upon her home is no

joy, for that home was ugly and hateful in its attempts to keep a human soul from growing toward the light.

By the time she was twenty-one she was, however, doing independent work and had begun to make inroads upon her own class. Within the walls of the German Ethical Culture Society, which was a centre for social work, she had organized a little group of girls and women from her own social class. Later, with a few women friends who had fought their way through as had she, she founded the first Working Women's Home and Club in Berlin, and she then began to develop the many-sided social welfare work with which her name is so intimately connected to-day. An older woman who had been the pioneer in social welfare work worked with her and trained her, and when this woman died, all her work fell upon the shoulders of Alice who laboured ceaselessly to meet the responsibilities placed upon her.

Her work brought her into contact with the women's movement, with its struggle for the education of women for the franchise, and for women's emancipation generally. She was but twenty-six when she was appointed a delegate to attend the annual Congress of the German Women's Association and to lay before them a social programme concerning working women and children. Two years later she was a member of the executive of the Association, and shortly afterward was sent as one of the German delegates to the International Congress of Women Suffrage. For many years she was one of the principal officers of the German Women's Association and for many years also the Secretary of the International Association for Women Suffrage, maintaining close connection with English, Irish, and American women in particular.

The work she had organized grew by leaps and bounds—as the evils of capitalism grew. She founded a nurses' organization and began to look upon social work as a woman's profession for which women should be scientifically trained. With this in mind, she made trips to England and other countries to see what was being done for the education of women social workers, and in 1899 returned to Berlin to found the first course of training for this profession. At the same time she published "Women in Social Work", her first book, based upon her studies abroad. She also became a regular contributor to "Die Frau" (The

Woman), the German woman's monthly magazine, her articles being based upon the researches she made in factories. She was one of the first women to bring the conditions of working women before the German Womens' Association and to give the entire German women's movement a strong social colouring.

It was in 1902, after she was thirty years of age, that she entered the Berlin University to study economics. She had had no preparatory training for academic work, and women had but shortly before gained the right to study in the university. Her studies were carried on under the greatest difficulties, for she had to do her social work and make her living at the same time. After a number of years and a struggle with the reactionary university authorities, she was granted a Doctor's degree in economics, her thesis having been "Inequality of Payment for Equal Work of Men and Women." She says, however, that although the University gave her an historical, scientific and theoretical education, yet it convinced her that women who wished to take up social work as a life's profession needed a different kind of training.

Acting upon this conviction she, in 1908, founded the School for Social Work for Women, requiring for entrance the same standards as the University—matriculation from a Gymnasium, (higher school) or its equivalent. The courses offered extended for two years only. The school was supported by private donations and by students' fees. The programme which she, as director and lecturer had worked out later formed the foundation of the curriculum for thirty other schools of social work which now exist in Germany. All of these are now organized into the "Conference of Social Schools for Women," and Dr. Salomon herself is its President. Their work is recognized by the Government, and study in one of them is required by the State for all who become social workers.

Dr. Salomon became intimately associated with many other distinguished German women. Her work as Secretary of the International Association for Women Suffrage, and also as a social welfare worker and educator, carried her to America, England, Canada and other countries, where she made studies of social welfare work and of woman's activities generally. During the late war—which she regarded as a disaster for all that

women had worked for—she threw herself into intense social work in Germany, caring for the crippled, the hungry, the destitute, the homeless. She did her duty as a human being ministering to suffering human beings, she said, but she could never adopt the attitude of an applauding patriot; the war was too much of an international calamity for such chauvinistic light-mindedness.

Wherever there is social need, she is to be found attempting to meet the situation, attempting to abolish the conditions that cause it. Along with these activities she has produced a number of books and tracts of a scientific nature. Her text-book on economics is used in all the schools for social work for women in Germany. She likewise has a text-book on "Welfare Work"; also a book on "Women's Social Education and Social Professional Work": one on "Motherhood Pensions."; one on "The History of Social Work"; and her two latest books are "American Impressions—Culture in the Making," and her "Reminiscences." Her book on America is based upon a trip she made in 1923-'24 to study social welfare work and women's activities there.

Where she has ever found time to do so much work is difficult to understand, for she is the director and one of the lecturers in her school in Berlin, and active in so many other undertakings. As lecturer her work demands constant reading and close touch with social movements and conditions. Yet she seems to manage it, and there is no trace of superficiality in her work. As a teacher she is really marvellous. For, there is no atmosphere of teacher and taught in her classes. Instead, one has the feeling that here are women co-workers preparing for a life's work, equals meeting equals. It is this atmosphere of equality and of mutual work and respect that endears her to the hearts of her students.

As for her school itself: it is supported by fees of the students, by donations, and by grants from the State. The fees amount to about twelve pounds a year and, in cases of poor girls, are not charged at all. The lecturers, with the exception of Dr. Salomon, her assistant, and one or two others, are all men and women employed in various social, State, economic or educational institutions in the city. Their courses are regularly scheduled and extend throughout the semester. As they draw their income from other institutions, their honorarium from the school

is but nominal—perhaps enough to pay their car-fare. Their sense of social responsibility, however, leads them to give their time and knowledge in this manner.

Students entering the school specialize in one of the different branches of social welfare work—infant care, youth welfare, juvenile courts, general family welfare, health, factory work, social hygiene, administration. The training is both theoretical and practical, three full days of each week being given to theoretical work and three to practical, in one of the State or private social welfare institutions. The summer vacation months must also be spent in intensive practical training in a children's health colony, in the Child Welfare Bureau, or in some such place. The entire time of the young women's during the two years' course is under the guidance of the school and they may undertake no other work without its permission. At the end of the course they take a State examination and enter one of the various State institutions of social welfare. After a year and a half of satisfactory practical work they are given their final certificate, receive the official uniform of a social worker, and become a paid official of the nation.

The type of young woman who chooses social work as a life's profession is a peculiar and a fine type. I have known some of them personally and have observed them in the school. They are a very healthy type, both physically and mentally, caring very little for clothing or for material things generally. One might almost say that they are the "mother type" of girl, very quiet, serious, and gentle, as distinguished from the "intellectual type" of girl to be found in the university—a girl who is also very fine, but with the mother instinct not so pronounced. The girls who choose social work as their life's profession know that the salary they will receive will not be much. Often their families oppose their choice because of this and because they think the work is too heavy, too joyless. But the girls nevertheless insist and deliberately enter upon a path which brings them in daily contact with misery and disorder in one of its phases. The desire to protect seems to be the guiding motive, and when this desire is united with sound education, intelligence and training for their work, it produces a very beautiful soul. The earnest and yet joyous faces that stream through the halls of the school for social work are

beautiful in themselves, and one can with a full heart re-echo the words "Happy is she who has found her life's work." Another interesting thing about them is that if they marry later many of them continue their social work in one capacity or another.

Recently Dr. Salomon founded, in connection with this school, an "Academy of Social Work", an advanced, or post-graduate school for social and pedagogic work for women who are already social workers. Women who have passed through the university and have done at least one year of voluntary social work at some place, and who wish to take up social welfare as a profession, may enter this academy. This institution, Dr. Salomon plans to make into a sort of university for training in social work. She believes that there are certain creative fields of scientific social activity for which women are particularly fitted, and she hopes to call out women's creative capacities in this new institution.

One interesting part of the academy is the department devoted to the home. Here mothers and housewives who wish to be scientifically trained in the life profession they have chosen, may study and work. This department deals with child care, sanitation, hygiene, the chemistry and preparation of food, and such subjects. Sociology and economics are also taught in order that women may learn that they are social, and not just individual units of society. The thought guiding this department is that the home must be a small centre of culture where human life is created and cared for scientifically and beautifully, where children are permitted to grow, develop, play and study and give expression to all their faculties, instead of being a place where they are senselessly brought into life and left to grow up under ignorant or thoughtless mothers.

Dr. Salomon guides many social institutions to-day, but the centre of her work and life remains these two institutions. She is a woman of fifty-five, and she is at the height of her intellectual power. She is one of those remarkably creative European women who grow and develop in knowledge and humanity with the years. Women of her class who have led a life of leisure are worn out and old at her age; but she is active, happy, and enthusiastic, and undoubtedly has years ahead of her in which to continue her work. She has one goal in view—"to

free and use the creative capacities of women that they may, because of their peculiar spirit and original ethics, develop to a higher status and way of life and give expression to their original and valuable feminine individuality."

Apart from her work, such personalities as hers are very interesting from the psychological viewpoint. With her deeper intellectual development has gone a deeper development of humanity and love. Instead of giving her life to her own children, she has devoted it to making this world a decent place for all children to live in. She herself says that it has been the motherhood within her that has in this way been socialized, and that has made her an organizer of the highest rank, a teacher, and a social welfare worker.

Of course, many will ask, "Why did she never marry?" This is an intimate and personal matter into which one does not like to pry, but we may take it for granted that it was not for lack of opportunity. For she is a woman who has all the spiritual, intellectual and physical qualities that appeal to intellectual and spiritual men. Of course, there are large numbers of men who want a servant maid, a cook and a sleeping partner for a wife only, but then there are others who wish a wife who is also a full human being, and a free human being at that. In any case, Dr. Salomon did not marry. She told me once that to her marriage meant mutual love and trust, mutual creation and expression, equal freedom and responsibility for both man and woman; and that she could not compromise on this question. Any compromise, she said, would have meant spiritual death to her, and she considered it a thousand times better to live alone than to marry without these demands being fulfilled. It did not mean pessimism or mere resignation on her part to live alone, she says, for her life has been filled with positive, beautiful things that have given it rhythm, colour and joy. Life, as she has lived it has been enough.

When she says these things, in her low, calm voice, one believes her. For her eyes glow and her face always wears an expression of inward joy. Always one wonders what the mystery is that which caused her, to develop into one of Germany's most distinguished personalities, while all about her, other women, of the same training, family conditions, and social situation, sank

into oblivion. Whatever this energy in women's soul may be, this urge that carries her on the tide and makes her a builder of culture and humanity, is sacred.

When it will be possible to free this energy in all women, and give it social direction, only then will we know what woman is and of what she is capable.

Mirza Khusrou Beg

By PROF. MONGHIRMALANI, M.A.

MIRZA Khusrou Beg's career forms an important chapter in the history of Sindh during the Talpur period.

He was by birth a prince of Georgia and was closely connected with the Kajar kings of Persia. His country was rich and beautiful, but the dissensions of its aristocracy made it weak, and encouraged its unscrupulous neighbours to cast their covetous eyes on it. When only seven years old, he fell a prisoner into the hands of a Persian host, which overran his native land. His parents escaped capture and he himself might have joined them, if he had not, out of affection, clung to his elder brother, a lad of nine who was sick and weak and had to be left behind in a garden. The ailing child died soon after and when Khusrou was brought before the Persian Vizier, Haji Ibrahim Khan, he was crying most piteously on account of the death of his brother. The Vizier was kind-hearted, and, on being informed of his noble birth and the cause of his weeping, embraced him and consoled him, taking him under his own protection.

The gentle looks of the boy impressed the Vizier to such an extent, that when the latter reached Teheran, he took Khusrou into his own seraglio and recommended that he should be treated like his own son. The Khatum of the Haji received him with great love and pleasure, and made him pass through the collar of her shirt as a sign of her having adopted him as her own son. A *mulla* was appointed to teach him and he was called Mirza Khusrou Beg after Mirza Mohemod Khan, the real son of the Vizier. He was also introduced to the Shah, who was delighted to see him.

The Shahs of Persia had intimate relations with the Talpur Amirs of Sindh, who were

Shias like them, and exchanged presents with them. Sindh was at this time divided into three kingdoms, Haiderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur, and in the first two states the system of a plurality of rulers prevailed. Mir Karam Ali Khan, one of the rulers of Haiderabad, had no children and he had requested the Haji to send him a boy of decent birth from Persia or Georgia, whom he could adopt as his son. A short time after the Persian occupation of Georgia, Akhund Ismail, a Sindhi nobleman, was sent by the Haiderabad Amirs to Teheran with presents for the Shah. He was also to remind the Haji about Mir Karam Ali Khan's request. One day, while conversing with the Vizier in his house, the Akhund saw the little Mirza and, on hearing who he was, urged that he should be sent to his master. The Vizier was at first strongly opposed to the proposal but ultimately yielded to the earnest entreaties of his guest and consented to part with the boy, if he could obtain the permission of the Emperor and his own harem for doing so. The Shah gladly gave his permission; not so the harem; and when the Mirza was taking leave of the members of the seraglio, the scene was very touching. "Cries were heard outside and the old Vizier himself was shedding hot tears and the state of the young Mirza was not less pitiable." But was not there the consolation that he was going to be the son of a ruler of Sindh?

Khusrou was only nine years old, when he came to Sindh; but "he was so clever and sensible and sharp that people were quite surprised to see him and felt inclined to converse with him." Mir Karam Ali Khan himself was extremely pleased to see him; he embraced him, introduced him into his harem and publicly announced that he had

adopted him as his son. He appointed Akhund Ismail, who was a man of great ability and talents, to teach him Persian and Arabic. He also acknowledged the kindness of the Shah and his minister by sending to the former presents, including elephants, rare in Persia but found in abundance in India, and to the latter a letter of thanks.

Mir Karam Ali Khan was very fond of the Mirza and did his best to please him. In order to provide him with companions of his age and of his country, he sent men to Persia. They returned with little boys, Persians and Grecians, and two from Georgia. Once, the Mirza's foot was injured and it caused him great pain. None of the medicines he tried could help him and the house he lived in was narrow. He wrote in Persian verse a complaint to his master: "Oh thou, before whose equity the justice of other kings is nothing, why should destiny stop my way on every side? Owing to the wound and the treatment of Lala (the physician) I can hardly walk; and on account of the narrowness of the place I can hardly sit for a moment. Your Highness will be pleased to direct a surgeon to give me medicine with great care. Also your Highness will be pleased to order the moon (Allah Dad Khan Chand, one of the chief servants of the amir) to bring masons to build a house, in which I can live comfortably." A clever surgeon was at once ordered to attend the Mirza and he soon got well. He was also given a fine big house to live in.

When Karam Ali Khan became the chief ruler of Haiderabad (1811), the Mirza, who was now about 27 years old, enjoyed great favour at his hands, both as his adopted son and as his chief adviser. He kept the Amir's seal. The old Amirs treated him as their son, the younger as their brother or as their uncle. Dr. James Burnes, in his *Visit to the Court of Sind*, writes: "The first of this class (courtiers, who exert a personal influence from being constantly in private attendance on the Amirs) worthy of notice is Mirza Khusrobeg . . . whom his master, Meer Kuramali Khan, now treats as an adopted child . . . He is a man of quiet, retiring character and is known in Sind as the author of Persian verses, the merit of which he is willing to yield to Meer Kuramali Khan, who has considerable vanity as a poet. I requested His Highness one day to favour me with a couple of his own compositions to engrave on a sword and I observed that he

immediately called Mirza Khusrobeg to him and after some whispering produced the following verse as his own:—

'I am sharper than wisdom from the
mouth of Plato;
I am more blood-splitting than the
eye-brow of a beautiful mistress'."

In 1820, Khusrou took an important part in the conclusion of the treaty of that year with the British. He had had a hand in the negotiations which had led to the treaty of 1809 and was consulted about all the engagements made with the British after the death of his master. In 1823, he went to Bombay as an envoy of the Amirs and also for a change of climate, for he had long been suffering from various ailments. The political business which he had to transact was to secure the assistance of the British in obtaining Rs. 70,000 from the Rajah of Jaisalmer. Some subjects of the Rajah had run away from his country to Haiderabad; the Rajah had demanded their surrender; but the Amirs, who had taken them under their protection, had been unwilling to please him. A war seemed imminent. But the British interfered; the men were not surrendered; but the Amirs had to pay Rs. 70,000 to the Rajah as compensation. After some time these men had returned to their native country and the Amirs had demanded back their money. The Rajah would not pay it. The Amirs had complained to the British and now they sent the Mirza to Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, to plead their cause. A British steamer had been offered to carry the Mirza from Karachi to Bombay, but as in those days travelling by steamboats was considered dangerous, ordinary big boats were got ready. Khusrou started from Haiderabad with thirty attendants, some guard and other subordinates, numbering in all about 100 men. At Nagar Tatta the chief men of the place came out to receive him. He was in a *mahafa* worked with gold and carried like a *doli* by four men. He was lodged in a house, where in old days European merchants used to put up. The voyage from Karachi to Bombay was completed in nine days.

As soon as the Mirza's boat anchored twenty-four guns were fired from the coast. He was received by the Governor, who was accompanied by other officers and about 2,000 troops. He then drove in a four horse carriage,

—the Governor sitting to the left of his guest—to a big house, that had been hired for him on a rent of Rs. 500 a month. The Governor visited him morning and evening and occasionally went out with him for a drive. One evening he was invited to a dance in the Government House and it was after great hesitation that he accepted the invitation. At the appointed hour the Governor came to take him, and when the party, composed of the Mirza, his two companions and the Governor, arrived in the ball-room, the dance began. When the Governor's wife began to dance, the Mirza gave a hint to one of his men, who took a purse containing Rs. 1,000 and waving it over the head of the lady, put it in the middle of the hall. The Governor assured the Mirza that according to the customs of his people no distribution of money was necessary, but Khusrou replied that the practice was in accordance with the customs of his own country. A few minutes after, a second purse was disposed of as the first had been. This time the Governor remained quiet. When the dance was over, he took the Mirza back to his house and then went to his own place.

The change of climate did the Mirza much good. He also consulted many clever doctors and his health was soon restored. He was completely successful in his political mission and the Rajah of Jaisalmer paid back the amount he had received from the Amirs. During all the time that he was in Bombay he gave large sums of money in charity to the poor. He gave handsome rewards to the British officers, who had to look after his comforts, and purchased suitable presents for the Amirs. He also cultivated friendship with the Persian ambassador in Bombay and some other noteworthy persons of the city. He spent three months in all in Bombay. He received Rs. 300 as his daily allowance from his hosts; but his total expenses came to Rs. 140,000. His last interview with the Governor lasted for four hours and the next day, at the fixed hour, the Governor with his officers and troops was at the port to see him off. The Governor accompanied the Mirza as far as his boat and then bidding him farewell returned to the shore. The Mirza reached Karachi safely. From Karachi he went to Haiderabad.

A right royal welcome awaited him at home and he now wielded at court a more powerful influence than that exercised by any other courtier. Persons in disgrace or

in difficulty found safety by putting themselves under his protection and his help was a sure guarantee against the displeasure of his masters.

There was a dispute between the Nawab of Bhawalpur and the Amirs of Haiderabad about the boundary line at the Sindh frontier; * a fight ensued; and the Nawab was defeated and taken prisoner. He could obtain release only after he had secured the services of the Mirza in his favour.

A Syed Mukhtiarkar of Sehwan was suspected of having dishonestly misappropriated state money. His accounts were examined and it was found that a sum of Rs. 10,000 could not be accounted for. The Syed assured the Mirza that the deficiency was due to some mistake or wrong entry, and not only the amount owing was written off, but the Syed was also sent back to his post with a robe of honour, though with a warning that he was to be more careful in future in writing his accounts.

In 1828, Mir Karam Ali Khan died. Before his death he had written his will on a blank page of the Koran. It ran thus :

"In the name of God, most merciful and kind. Praise be to God, the maintainer of the worlds. Whereas I do not know how long I shall live, I hereby leave my will, for those whom I shall leave behind and for my relations, on a leaf of the Koran to the effect that I entrust all the property of the *haramserai* to the management of Mirza Khusrou Beg, as I am sanguine that he is well trained and able enough to manage everything satisfactorily, and my *deras* too have consented to the arrangement. I, therefore, leave all the jagirs in the charge of my adopted son, Khusrou Khan, who, I trust, will manage them very well. Karamali (The slave of the Prophet's descendants)."

The last words of the Amir to the Mirza:—"Oh my son, I am dying. As soon as death occurs, you must break into pieces my sword that I have always carried on my waist, and kill the horse and the camel that I have always used for my riding. These three valuable things I was very fond of and I wish them to be sacrificed on me. After doing this you may proclaim my death."

The Mirza carried out the orders of his master, who was buried on a hill to the

* The Haiderabad territory touched the frontiers of Bhawalpur.

north of Haiderabad. Before this all Talpur dead were removed to Khudabad and buried there.

Mir Karam Ali Khan was succeeded by his brother, Mir Murad Ali Khan (1828-33). Some mischievous people carried tales to him against the Mirza and there was estrangement between the two. But the Amir soon found out his mistake and made amends by offering to entrust him with the management of the affairs of the State, just as his brother had done. The Mirza, who had decided to lead a private and retired life, to live near his master's tomb, and to serve and look after his harem, politely declined the offer, but agreed that whenever necessary he might be consulted. His good relations with the Amir were not again disturbed; the latter respected him and trusted him, and sought his advice on all important questions.

Mir Nur Muhmed Khan (1833-40) was the next chief ruler of Haiderabad. He too asked the Mirza to be associated with his Government, as he had been in the days of Mir Karam Ali Khan; but the Mirza wished to be excused. The Amir sent rewards to him, but the latter returned them, assuring the chief that he would be ever ready to serve him without a reward. But when the prince sent an Arab horse as a present to him, he kept it. "The Amir then expressed to the Durbaris that his anxiety was that the Mirza should accept some thing from him and as he had done so now, he was very glad."

The reign was marked by important events. A quarrel arose with the Afghans and the Amir started for Shikarpur, accompanied by the Mirza. At Shikarpur the Mirza settled the matter at dispute and the two parties were reconciled. On the way back to Haiderabad the Amir complained to the Mirza for his not accepting any rewards from him and the Mirza promised not to displease him in future.

In 1839, Lord Auckland decided to bring Sindh under the political control of his Government. Khusrou had always supported the establishment of friendly relations with the British, but he resented the arbitrary revision by the British Governor-General of the treaties concluded between his masters and the British Government. He inquired, how long Colonel Pottinger, the British Resident at Haiderabad, was to be their ruin.

In 1840, the Amirs in a secret conclave proposed to send a letter to Mir Sher

Muhmed of Mirpur; it was to be different from the copy which was to be shown to the British agent and was to be such as should cause an unsatisfactory reply from Sher Muhmed and so turn the British against him. Khusrou opposed the suggestion, affirming that the trick was liable to be detected, that the British agent was likely to ascertain what had been written from other sources, and that it would be better to insert in the letter every claim that could be raked up against Mirpur, old or new. His advice was finally adopted.

Mir Muhmed Nasir Khan succeeded Mir Nur Muhmed Khan in 1840. He was as kind to the Mirza as his predecessor and wanted to employ him as his chief minister; but the Mirza still preferred to live in retirement. One day the Amir sent him a present of Rs. 8,000. He accepted it, because he was pressed to do so. But out of the amount he gave Rs. 2000 to a Syed of Hindustan, who had come to him to seek some favour, distributed Rs. 2000 among the poor, so that the merit of the same might go to the soul of his master, and brought the rest to account in the treasury of Mir Karam Ali Khan's harem. The Amir, when informed of this, was struck with the Mirza's magnanimity and his esteem for him was greater than ever before.

In 1842, Sir Charles Napier came to Sindh with supreme civil and military control. He at once began a quarrel with its princes and proposed a new treaty, contravening all former treaties. The Haiderabad Amirs remonstrated against the harsh and humiliating character of the new demands, but accepted them, knowing fully well that their opposition to them would lead to war, in which they were sure to be beaten. They sent Mirza Khusrou with two other noblemen to meet Sir Charles at Larkana and to affix their seals to the new treaty. The Vakils met the General at Nausharo on 30th January, 1843; but he, instead of availing himself of the full powers with which they were entrusted, sent them back, with letters to their masters, saying that he had sent Major Outram to settle the affairs of all the Amirs of Sindh at Haiderabad. Outram reached Haiderabad on 8th February and that very day he sent to the Amirs a memorandum relating to the proposed treaty. Nasir Khan sent Mirza Khusrou and Muhmed Khan, a Talpur chief, with his seal to Outram and in his presence they affixed it to the *kaboolyatnama*.

On the 12th, Nasir Khan signed the treaty. The submission of the Haiderabad Amirs was now complete; but Napier was still unsatisfied. He had greatly enraged the Baluchi troops, the only warriors of the Amirs, by his cruel deposition of Mir Rustum Khan, the Talpur Reis of Khairpur, by his hostile military movements, and by his arbitrary imprisonment of Hayat Khan, a Murri and Sindhi chief. And when, even after the acceptance of the new treaty, the General continued to advance upon their capital, the Amirs lost all control over their troops.

In the war that broke out the Sindhis were completely defeated. Then took place the plunder of the fort of Haiderabad, which lasted for seven days. "The first day," wrote Mir Nasir Khan in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated September 22, 1843, "they (the conquerors) rushed into the 'seraglio' of the late Meer Karam Ali Khan, and the occupants, for fear of their lives and shame of exposure, abandoning their houses, fled on foot from the Fort...the late Meer Karamali Khan and Meer Muradali Khan treated Meerza Khusrobeg as a son; he was imprisoned with us. One day he was taken to the Fort and charged with having misdirected them (British officers) to the spot, where the treasure of the late Meer Karamali Khan was, for which they had him disgraced and flogged, until he fainted; on his recovery he was tied up for two hours in the Fort and afterwards brought back to the place where I was imprisoned."

Outram complained of the way in which this "venerable old man, most highly respected by all the Ameers, as having been the confidential friend of their grandfather, the late Meer Karamali Khan" was treated. "Would not," he remarked, "the Duke of Wellington feel, and perhaps give vent to indignation, were similar occurrences to be transacted before his eyes in Windsor Castle? The Ameers' faithful followers have feelings as well as the most faithful of Her Majesty's servants."

It is true that Khusrou might not have been beaten, if he had made no assault on Major Macpherson, the British officer, who questioned him about the treasure. But he attacked the Major, only after the latter, after speaking wildly and harshly to him, threatened to beat him. Even Sir Charles Napier, recognizing his position, had to order, when Khusrou complained that the sepoy who kept watch on him in the Fort,

came too close to him, that he was not to be treated as an ordinary prisoner. Mir Karam Ali Khan was the richest Amir and much valuable property was plundered from his house. But a rich store of jewels, ornaments and other valuables, including two lakhs of *tolas* of gold, were buried under ground and according to tradition these did not come to the notice of the British.

The Mirza's house was also plundered; he was the only courtier of the Amirs, who lived in the Fort. He kept a complete list of the things, taken away from his house and an enumeration of them will be useful as describing the contents of the house of a Sindhi nobleman in the middle of the nineteenth century. These included swords, knives, a dagger, a steel helmet and a pair of steel gloves, many of them studded with precious stones; shields, guns of various kinds, a match-lock gun, a Rumi gun, a Chobchini gun, one of English make and other guns—and provided with gold and silver fittings, and gold and silver powder-horns; a pair of pistols, a coat of mail, and a pair of steel covers for the feet; gold and silver panjsamis and saddles; household furniture, carpets, kanats, tents and a palki; clothes, lungis, shawls, and whole pieces of silk, of chintz of Multan and of phulkari of Bombay; a pair of khabil khani, a pair of abra woollen sheet, a red gaspech and a green shahpasand; rings, set with jewels, gold and silver watches and silver snuff-boxes; rosaries of corals, zahramuhra and khakshafa; 500 gold mohurs and 3,000 rupees, Korah Mashadi and Nadari; rice, Surati and Sugdasi, saffron, betel-nuts, almonds, tea, sugar-candy and about 15 maunds of wheat, juar and bhajri; cauldrons of copper, cooking pots; iron plates, tea sets and wooden, copper and iron trays; medicines, pistons, and distillery pots and vessels; grinding-stones, candles and lamps; a painted pen and ink case; 4 copies of the Koran and books on history, medicine, poetry and composition; birds; naories, parrots and eagles; bullocks, camels, horses and mules; and water-wheels. The Mirza received back his lungis and his books; these were worth Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 15,000 respectively. He valued the movable property, taken from his house, at one lakh of rupees. All his personal jagirs were also confiscated. They brought an income of Rs. 30,160.8.0. a year to him.

When Napier entered the Fort, he inquired about Khusrou's house. It was pointed out

to him. On entering it, he found in it no one except Akhund Baka, an attendant of the Mirza. He came down from his horse, sat down and asked the Akhund about the number, the names and the ages of his master's sons. He was told that the Mirza had four sons, all under ten years of age. He remained quiet for a while and then remarked that, with four children in the house, there must be some sweets in it and asked the man to bring some halwa for him. The servant submitted that there were no sweets in the house. The General wanted halwa to ridicule the Mirza. When Khusrrou had waited on him at Nausharo, he had told him in reply to his threats that his country was no cold halwa that the General could eat away easily. Now that Sindh had been conquered, Napier thought that he could mock his captive. The next day he purchased some halwa from the bazaar and sent it in a covered plate to the Mirza with a message, that he had after all eaten the cold halwa of Sindh and that he was sending some of it for him (the Mirza) to eat. The Mirza replied that the halwa referred to by him at Nausharo was a moral and spiritual halwa and that, if the General had tasted or eaten it, he would not have eaten himself, or sent him to eat, the dirty bazaar halwa, which was unclean to him by religion and was fit for being given to dogs, and he actually threw it to a dog in the presence of the messenger.

Napier ordered that all the Amirs and the Mirza be sent as state prisoners to Bombay. As the harems were to be left behind the Amirs requested the general to permit Khusrrou to live in Sindh and look after the royal families. Napier at first refused, he was offended with the Mirza on account of his scuffle with Major Macpherson; he also thought that he was a dangerous person and that if left in Sindh, he might cause rebellion. But as the Amirs pressed the matter very hard, he, after great reluctance, acceded to their prayer. When the decision was made, Khusrrou with the Amirs was already on board the steamer, which was to carry them to Bombay, and he had to be recalled from it. He took the deras to Tando Sain Dad, a village near Haiderabad. Here a fire destroyed all the valuable property that had been brought from the Fort secretly or with permission. From the ashes of the burned property 200 tolas of melted gold and 1500 tolas of melted silver were obtained.

Nor was the position of the Amirs one of less distress. From Bombay they were taken to Bengal and the unhealthy climate of that country sent some of them to an early grave. They had been cruelly treated by Napier and sought the aid of the Shah of Persia, of the Court of Directors, of the British Parliament and the British Crown; but all in vain. Their only consolation was their correspondence with the Mirza. They trusted him fully. "I will entrust you", wrote one of them to him, "with (my) things. Keep them. I do not know where else they could be kept safe." They regularly wrote to him letters, affectionate, full of prayers for his welfare and that of the deras and disclosing the secrets of their hearts, as far as it was possible to do so. They took his advice in their attempts to secure justice from the British government. They asked for his blessings. "Do not forget me, when you say your prayers", urged one of them.

The deras too had perfect faith in him. The big dera described him as a person "who is extremely wise (who) has spent his time with kings and (who) has been a chosen one before them" as one "from whose counsel they (kings) have never moved aside one single step, and whose wisdom and cleverness are more widely known than the sun."

The deras of Sarkar Ali Madar and of Sarkar Ali Mikdar were upset, when one day the Mirza was displeased with them, because they had seemingly done things against his wishes. They promised that whatever they did would be with his permission and according to his wishes.

All the deras recognized him as an upright and honest person, who never moved from the path of truth, who would never swear and who was very religious. And Khusrrou more than repaid the confidence reposed in him. He was among the few faithful servants, who clung to the deras, after they had been reduced to great straits. The pension they received from the British Government was extremely inadequate and they were compelled to spend all that had remained to them after the confiscation of the royal property and the destruction of their valuables by fire at Tando Sain Dad. Khusrrou could render no monetary assistance to them—he had also lost all he had—but he decided to stand by them till his last breath.

In fact, there was a time when his difficulties became so unbearable that he thought

of leaving Sindh and going to Egypt. He even wrote to the Pasha of Egypt of his intentions and received very encouraging replies. But how could he leave the *deras*? It must have amused him to find Mir Hasan Ali, one of the deposed princes of Haiderabad, rating him from Calcutta for thinking of leaving the *deras*. The prince asked him to go, if he was determined to go, not to Egypt, but to Bhawalpur, "where the respect of the respectable men of Sindh was known." But he added that he (the Mirza) could do no better than stay where he was and improve his position by making his sons learn English, for then they could be given high posts by the British Government. That Government, however, would do nothing for him, so long as it was represented in Sindh by Sir Charles Napier, who had been generous to so many of the followers of the Amirs after the conquest of their country, had been very unkind to the Mirza and it was not till the appointment of Sir Bartle Frere as Commissioner of Sindh that his circumstances began to improve. Sir Bartle pitied him on account of the troubles he had to undergo, gave respectable appointments to two of his sons, and got him from his Government one of his jagirs, his two gardens on the bank of the Fuleli and Rs. 12,472. 12. 2. as the price of some of the property seized by the British. The Mirza had claimed a pension; his request had been recommended by the Local Government; but the Central Government could not grant it. Mir Hasan Ali was glad that the Mirza got no pension, and that instead a portion of his property had been restored to him. He would have been more pleased, if he (the Mirza) had been successful in recovering all his property. The pension, if granted, he suggested, would have been given to him so long as he lived; it would not have been continued to his sons. Feeling that the Mirza might not have altogether abandoned his idea of leaving Sindh, he advised him to invest the cash amount he had received in purchasing landed property in Bengal, where the soil was rich and the water-supply plentiful. He also informed him that the Calcutta Government had sanctioned the sale of waste lands of Sunderban and had offered very easy and tempting conditions about assessment. He concluded his letter by assuring him that

Egypt was not nearer to Sindh than Bengal. But the Mirza need not now think of leaving Sindh. The dark days of his life were over. Sir Bartle continued to be kind to him. Once when the Mirza fell ill, he visited him twice at his house and sent a European doctor to treat him. In 1854, the Mirza was appointed Mukhdim of Kattar lands. In 1855, the Amirs were allowed to return to Sindh and, on their arrival, he removed with the four *deras* of Mir Karam Ali Khan to Tando Thoro. When the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, he was firm in his loyalty to the British Government. He even stopped writing letters to his friends and relatives in Persia and Georgia because these countries had connection with Russia, which at this time favoured or supported movements in and outside India against the British. Sir Bartle in his official correspondence emphasised his good character and the Mirza had also won the esteem and respect of other Sindh officials. With some of them he communicated on very friendly terms.

For seven years before his death he was confined to bed. During this period, when not very ill, he spent his time in reading books or in having them read. He was a very good physician himself—the princes always consulted him about their ailments, even from Calcutta—but his medical ability was no match for the deadly disease that now had him in its grip. He died in 1860, at the age of 70, at Tando Thoro, a village at a distance of about a mile from Haiderabad, and was buried in the tomb he had built for himself near the tomb of his master, Mir Karam Ali Khan. His descendants still live at Tando Thoro and hold in society a position which is both high and honourable.*

* This life is mainly based upon two unpublished documents:—

1. Memories of Mirza Khusrou Beg by Main Wadalshah, son of Main Yakubshah Alawi Kadri, translated from Persian into English by Mirza Kalich Beg.

2. Letters written by the deposed princes of Sindh from Calcutta to Mirza Khusru Beg at Haiderabad, Sindh, translated from Persian into English by Mirza Kalich Beg.

The material was very kindly lent to me by a grandson of Mirza Khusrou Beg.

The Problem Of Fisheries In Bengal

By A. R. NIZAM

College of Fisheries, University of Washington

DURING recent years the knowledge of the nutritive value of foods has widened greatly. The importance of proper diet in promoting and maintaining life and health is now realized. It is generally believed that food should furnish, (a) enough digestible organic foodstuffs to meet the body's need for energy, (b) enough protein of suitable kind to supply all needs for essential amino acids, (c) sufficient mineral constituents in the right proportions, and (d) enough of the various vitamins.

The main bulk of most of the staple foods consists of the following groups of substances: Carbo-hydrates, fats, proteins, minerals, and vitamins. With the exception of carbo-hydrates, which are practically lacking in it, all the above-named substances, are known to be abundantly present in fish and shellfish.

It goes without saying that sickness and ill-health are the direct result of malnutrition. The absence of any of the above-named essentials of food in right proportions will cause derangement in the system, which are manifested as illness. So the necessity of a balanced diet need hardly be emphasized.

It is a happy incidence that 95 per cent of the people of Bengal eat fish, and in Assam and Chittagong nearly the entire population do so. The analysis of the general dietary of the province will probably show that the usual sources of the nutritive elements are adequate in kind and quality in most of the cases, but far from being sufficient or balanced. Had the medium of the essentials of the food been sufficient, the general health of the millions of population would not have been so deplorable as it is today. The example of people who have similar dietary as Bengal, and enjoy better health is not wanting. The Burmese, Malays, Javanese, Phillipinoes and the Japanese have practically the same dietary, namely rice, vegetables, fish, and occasionally meat. In

Japan meat seems to be more scarce than in any of the countries referred to above. The poor class Japanese cannot afford to take any meat, while the higher classes prefer fish, habitually. Obviously the reason for the difference in health must be either in the quantity of food or in the manner in which it is taken.

The supply of fish in the province has been decreasing day by day until it has become wholly inadequate in the thickly populated parts, especially towns and cities. This scarcity is partly due to abnormal increase in the demands, but mostly as the direct result of depletion of the natural resources. Nature is always lavish in her gifts so long as one restricts himself within the meaning of the well-known maxim of "Give and take." The paucity of the natural supply of fruits, vegetables and meat has led humanity to have recourse to cultivation of lands and to raise domestic birds and animals, from times immemorial. Various methods of agriculture and animal husbandry have been introduced to meet the increasing demands, but what has been done so far for supplementing the natural supply of fish?

The reasons for the depletion of fish in Bengal are the following:

1. Over-fishing the streams and rivers.
2. Indiscriminate fishing such as catching the young fish or fry, and adult breeding fish. In the first case the chances of securing the big and adults are eliminated. If this is considered from the economic point of view, it may be seen that if a perch (Bhatki) is left alone to reach its maximum growth it will give at least 5 to 10 pounds of fish meat though a fingerling will hardly exceed 4 grams. If a fisherman catches 50 fingerlings a day for, say a week in the whole season, he is removing about 1750 to 3500 lbs. of fish, if it is presumed that all the fingerlings will survive to reach maturity. But for practical purposes, one may safely say that such a fisherman is removing at least 1000 pounds of fish. By catching the breeding

fish one is removing the entire chance of their propagation. In the former case there are some chances of some escaping the grip of the fisherman and thus reach maturity, but in the latter case, all the eggs being destroyed, it leaves no chance for the appearance of young ones at all.

3. In the absence of any effort for stocking the interior waters, namely, streams, rivers, lakes, ponds and marshes with the fry or young ones of suitable kinds of fish, by artificially hatching eggs or allowing the eggs to hatch in more favourable conditions than they do in nature and wild state.

4. The absence of any measures for controlling the natural enemies of fish, namely, the fish hawks, heron, fish ducks, mud hen, water ouzel, frogs, water-snakes, turtles, etc.

5. The absence of any fishery laws regulating kinds of apparatus to be used for fishing and the manner of its operation, which have led people to use any kind of net or fishing apparatus for the successful cleaning up of fish in the native grounds.

The above-mentioned reasons for the depletion of fish in Bengal are not unique. Histories of most countries will present the same features, but as soon as signs of reduction in the natural resources of fish have been noticed, the people or the government of the countries concerned, adopted measures to deal with the situation. When the shortage of fish supply was felt in France, the government established the Huningen hatchery for the artificial cultivation of native fishes. The eggs were hatched in the hatchery artificially, and the fry or the young ones were held in the same till they reached suitable size for liberation into the native streams. However, the progress of the science was very negligible for the period between 1850 to 1870, from the economic point of view but it roused the interest of scientists, so much so that in 1866 Professor Emile Blanchard published *Les poissons des eaux douces de la France* (Fresh water fishes of France) and intensive studies were carried on by contemporary scientists. The example was followed by the Germans. They established the German Fishery Association to promote the cause of the fisheries in the country. The activity of the association was greatly noticed in 1880 to 1881, when 6,000,000 trout and coregonus eggs were hatched in the hatchery of the association. This

example of German fish culture led Austria to establish the Central Institute for Artificial Fish Culture, which was mainly founded on German principles. The history of Russian fish culture dates as far back as 1858, when they began to raise carp in the state of Strelna belonging to the Grand Duke Konstantine Nikolayevitch. The same example was followed in Norway and other European countries. Though Great Britain has not developed her fresh water fishery so much in comparison with other prominent European countries, she perhaps excels all in her sea fishery. Her fishing fleet is enormous. Now Scotland has some of the best hatcheries for trout culture. Turning to the Asiatic fisheries it may be noticed that pearl fisheries of Persian gulf and Red sea are quite important. The Arabian naked divers are still regarded as the best in the world. They are hired considerably in Ceylon fisheries. In the Malayan Archipelago, the Department of Fisheries has been making an intensive survey of the neighbouring waters to discover the best fishing grounds for the welfare of the fishery industry of the archipelago. This is not all; they have an up-to-date experimental station for developing the various methods of the preservation of fish, namely, canning, smoking, de-hydrating etc. In Java the Dutch government has established a fisheries laboratory for the study of the life histories of the native fishes with the object of finding out the best method for the propagation of the species in the native waters. They have many publications dealing with fresh water fish culture.

In Siam the Department of Fisheries has one of the most distinguished fishery experts, Dr. Hugh G. Smith, The Director of Fisheries, who was connected with the Bureau of Fisheries of the United States of America for many years and also had been the Commissioner of Fisheries previous to his joining the Siamese government service. This alone will suggest how efficiently the government have been carrying on its fishery work. In Indo-China, the French Government has quite an efficient department of fisheries, and it is understood that they have started elementary fishery schools for encouraging the industry. The reports of the department are published in French. In China, though methods of carp culture are very primitive its extent throughout the country seems to be sufficient to provide the important markets with live carps

of great size. Carp culture in China ante-dates all the methods of fish culture of the world. It is said that European carps were imported from China. The important cities of China, namely, Hongkong Shanghai, Teintsin, Canton have quite a large supply of indigenous canned or otherwise preserved fishery products. 90 per cent of sharks' fins, fish-maws from Burma are exported to China. She is the greatest market for those products. It is said that in Amoy Mr. Tan Kah Kee, one of the most distinguished merchants and philanthropists of the East, has donated a steam-trawler to the Amoy university, which was established solely by his munificence, for studying marine lives. This is however supposed that the operation of the trawler will be partly for commercial fishery, to cover the running expenses of the vessel. There is a number of fishery experts trained in America and Japan in China. All of them are working for the welfare of the industry. Some of them have started elementary fishery schools for training fishermen and fish cannery.

In Korea, Formosa, and Japan, the Japanese government has established fisheries on a sound scientific basis. There are marine and fresh water biological stations equipped with different laboratories for the study of the life histories of fishes from both the sources. These biological stations are maintained by the fisheries associations of the places with an appreciable aid from the government. The Imperial University of Tokyo, with the Imperial Fisheries Institute is the monument of their success in fisheries. There are quite a number of fisheries schools in those places besides the higher institutions of Tokyo and Hokkaido. In each of the schools there are provisions for training pupils for deep sea fishing, inland fish culture or fresh water fish culture, oyster and artificial pearl culture, which is unique in Japan, besides, the marine sea-weeds culture for the manufacture of Agar-Agar, which is so extensively used as a food recipe in China and Japan and universally used as the medium for the culture of bacteria in the laboratories. There is no other place in the world where they have developed artificial pearl culture and pearl manufacture to such scientific precision as in Japan. This industry alone counts millions for her. Other subjects taught in the institutions are the methods for the preservation of marine products, namely fish, sea cucumber, whales, crabs, and

molluscs for commercial use, by canning, smoking, de-hydrating, salting and spicing etc.

The by-products from fishes are also utilized for the manufacture of fish meals which is used for poultry and stock feed, while fertiliser and oils are used for various purposes. In fact, nothing is wasted in Japan, everything is utilized to its best advantage. The mother of pearl button industry of Japan is one of the largest industries of the world. The fish industry is one of the most important industries of Japan.

The Phillipines have got quite an important fishery, and the experts are working under the science bureau for the improvement of the industry in those islands. Turning to the fisheries of Africa one might say that Egyptian fisheries are also developing on modern lines. The reports of the department of fisheries which are published both in English and Arabic give vivid descriptions of activities. In British South Africa it is noticed that the department of fisheries is not only interested in marine fishery but is also trying to propagate blackbass in the native streams. From the above it might be seen that every part of world is doing its best for the conservation and improvement of fisheries.

In America there is a federal department of fisheries called the Bureau of Fisheries, the commissioner of which is responsible for the entire fisheries administration of the United States of America, in general. Every state however, maintains separate departments of fisheries under the State Commissioner of fisheries. In every State there are a number of hatcheries for the hatching of eggs and the subsequent planting in the native streams. A hatchery in America is an elaborate affair with equipment for handling millions of eggs of various kinds of fishes namely salmon, trout, white fish, shads, blackbass. There are both marine and fresh water biological stations at suitable places for scientifically studying the problem of the propagation of each kind of fish and its economic bearing. These biological stations usually run in spring and summer. The professors and research students of the various universities are appointed during that period for biological work in the stations besides the permanent stations staff. Besides government biological stations for fisheries there are other stations attached to the various universities. The universities of Washington and Stanford on the Pacific border maintain Puget sound and John

Hopkin's Biological stations give every facility to students of various universities to carry on research on many biological problems. This not only trains students in handling marine biological problems but also gives valuable light to the possibilities of the improvement of marine fishery by disclosing the peculiar life histories of different marine fishes. There are more than one hundred and twenty-five fish canneries in America besides various organisations for salting, smoking and spicing fish for both domestic and foreign markets. For the utilization of the by-products of the canneries, and the surplus fishes there are about forty fish meal and oil manufacturing plants. There are plants for the manufacture of artificial pearls, for tanning fish skins, manufacture of codliver oils, manufacture of isinglass, Agar-Agar from the sea weeds etc.

In Canada almost everything has been developed as in America. They have their biological stations, hatcheries, canneries and other plants. The outstanding features of America and Canada are that they readily publish all the results of their experiments and observations in connection with the industry and distribute it to the public freely or at a nominal price just covering the cost of the publications. This has made it possible for the public to get abreast of the most up-to-date improvements in the industry.

In Australia, especially in New South Wales, there is an efficient department of fisheries studying the possibilities of improvement. The fisheries of New Zealand has developed greatly under the direction of the government and it has been recently reported that the quality of their codliver oil for medicinal purposes is competing with the well-known cod-liver oils of Norway. Government has been taking much care for the improvement of the industry, and undoubtedly she is wonderfully progressing in fishery. The deep sea fisheries are also improving, owing to the adoption of the conservation measures in fishing, by limiting the fishing seasons and specifying the kinds of apparatus to be used for each kind of fishing, so that it might not tell upon the fish population entirely. The review of world movements in connection with fisheries is given in a nutshell in the above paragraphs, so that these may serve as examples to India in promoting the cause of her fisheries. A few words about the secrets of success of America, Japan and in a

lesser degree of Germany, in fisheries, may not be out of place here. All these countries introduced methods for the conservation of natural resources, developed the best methods of handling the products, educated the people in special schools to deal with the problem scientifically. It is believed that America excels the rest in her efforts to promote the industry. Though she is not a fish-eating country still she visualized the possibility of her vast commercial improvement from marine and fresh water sources. The fisheries of Alaska alone brings her \$40,000,000 annually. To educate the people of the Pacific coast, she has established the well-known College of Fisheries, under the University of Washington, at Seattle. Here they are taught all the methods of fish culture, fish preservation, utilization of fishery by-products, such as scales, skins, refuses after canning the fish, fish maws, besides the various methods of deep sea fishing. The college gets every support from the extensive canning industries, fish meal and oil manufacturers, and the fishermen of the Pacific coast allow the students every facility for practice in each line of the industry by working under them, and all the plants are open for the students to visit or carry on any experiments there to promote the cause of science, in many cases at the expense of the industry.

In India one might see how the fisheries of Madras are improving. One might take pride in the Department of Fisheries of Madras for its handling of the problem of fisheries. She has been taking care of deep sea fishing, inland pisciculture, pearl oyster culture most scientifically. Socio-economic work is another outstanding feature of Madras. The reports of the Department of Fisheries up to 1923 show that Bengal has been following Madras or has been devoting her attention to similar type of work. The efforts of the Government to distribute carp fry in Bihar and Orissa and different places in Bengal as also the attempts to cultivate pearl mussels at Dacca are very commendable. Had the work been continued, Bengal would have surely found some solution of her fishery problems. It was rightly pointed out that "Jatka" or the young of the shads (Hilsa) need to be protected by legislation to insure the supply of hilsa fish. So far as it is known, no efforts have been made to protect the same. This, however, needs thorough study of the migration of the

fish in the bays from the native streams for spawning. This being determined they can be effectively protected in the breeding and fry stages. Besides carp culture no other fresh water fish seems to have been tried for propagation. No efforts have been made to facilitate the distribution of food fishes to the different markets of Bengal. No improved methods have been introduced for the preservation of the fish in the best manner and the utilization of the wastes, but it can easily be seen that in such a short time devoted to the interests of the fisheries it is not possible to turn out anything of value. The following suggestions may be put forward to remedy the depleted condition of the fisheries.

There should be a special department of Fisheries in the province, appointing qualified biologists to study the life histories of the native fishes and their seasonal migrations. Then some laws may be enforced for the protection of fish in immature spawning stages by introducing closed seasons for each kind of fishing and regulating the sizes of the meshes of the nets or the kinds of other fishing apparatus. This will eliminate the chances of over-fishing and indiscriminate fishing and ensure in the native grounds considerable protection. Besides men there are, however, other enemies of fish as mentioned above. This danger may be met by killing them as far as possible. It is done by the Americans in the Alaskan streams and bays for the protection of salmon and they have been remarkably successful in combating the enemies. Had men been contented with the bare necessities of life without indulging in extravagance and waste natural resources would have probably been enough, but as they are not so, effective measures are necessary to stock the inland waters and off-shore bays with the fry or young ones of food fishes.

For the stocking of inland waters due consideration should be given to native fishes rather than uselessly try to acclimatize foreign fishes as has been done by the Punjab Department of Fisheries who are trying to raise trouts rather than give more impetus to the carp or murrel culture which do not need so much care. In Bengal the best fishes for culture may be carp, murrel, climbing perch (*Anabas scandens*), fresh water cat-fish (*magur*), shrimp, and perch etc.

The Bengal Government has already issued a paper on carp culture. The Madras Government has published a paper on the methods of German fish-culture. The cultural methods adopted by Madras and the Punjab at present for propagating carp seem to be satisfactory, though much has to be done to make it a success with due consideration to local conditions. In Bengal instead of running a few government farms as was done, it may be better to demonstrate the methods of handling eggs and the fry, to farmers, who usually have ponds and ditches around them where they can raise carp not only for their own consumption but also for supply in the markets. Instead of publishing the result of the experiments in English, just for the information of the limited few, it would have been far better to publish a great number of these for distribution among the farmers, in Bengali. Public know very little of the results of the experiments carried on in the various departments of fisheries and those had been absolutely of no use to them, though the ultimate purpose of such experiments are or should be the benefit and the education of the people.

Murrel, climbing perch, and cat-fish are indigenous to the fresh water lakes, marshes and bogs. These places are very frequently haunted by water birds, and other enemies of fish. If a reward is announced by the Government or societies for killing those enemies, it is believed that they may be removed easily. These fishes are not profitable to raise in ponds along with carp because some of these are suspected of feeding on the carp fry. So, if they are just let alone in the native habitats or cultured in separate ponds, allowing for the ecological surroundings, they will thrive well, provided they are protected during the spawning seasons from indiscriminate fishing. Sylhet and Khulna are said to be famous for these fishes though they are universally distributed everywhere. They are of economic importance, though no efforts have been made to raise or protect them.

Shrimps and prawns and some of the fresh water shrimps live in ponds with emergent and submerged vegetation, but the best methods of raising the better kind of them are to plant the young ones about 2 inch long, into the ponds by collecting them from the streams. They grow very fast in the ponds but when young they serve

as good food for carps. It is advisable to raise them in separate ponds. It has also been found convenient to let in brackish water into the ponds which are supposed to carry young shrimps and then close the pond, which will gradually sweeten after rainfall and a process of decantation.

Various kinds of perch can be cultured in the ponds. In America perch eggs are taken care of in the hatcheries and then planted in native waters. This may also be done in Bengal or at least the native spawning grounds must be protected.

The question of the distribution of fish is as important as their production. Up-to-date refrigeration cars should be introduced and cold storage plants have to be installed for the carriage and storage of fish in different producing and distributing stations. It is not economical to try to distribute live carps, murrals, perches, and cat-fishes but the consumers are so used to have live fishes of the three last-named species that it will be necessary to distribute the live ones. This can be easily done by making holds to contain fresh water in small motor boats which will not only save time but also be accessible to the shallower waters. The same thing may be done in railway carriages. These have to be done more or less by the public with due protection from Government. Question may arise whether these

attempts will be commercially successful. The answer is that these have been found to be the cheapest methods of distribution in America, Japan which has been sending cold storage Tuna to America, Germany, and other European countries, owing to the greater facility afforded in handling greater quantities at a time and for conserving them to tide over the glut, also in stabilizing the prices. Of course, no country except China tries to transport live fishes. It is doubtful whether this system will ever meet with greater success in Bengal. It is gratifying to learn that the East Bengal Railway provides cold storage vans for the transportation of fish but owing to the absence of cold storage at the stations or at the centre of the trade, no appreciable results have been noticed.

The history of the Bengal Fisheries Department is very interesting. Valuable data are available for marine and fresh water fishery. The life histories of *Rui*, *Katla* and *Mirgal* have been fully revealed, opening field for the fish culturist. Most of the fisheries investigations proved the efficiency and the usefulness of the department though unfortunately it was abolished in 1923.

It is hoped that Government will soon re-establish the department for the furtherance of the fishery interest in the province.

Snakes and Snake-bite in India

• By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THERE is no country in the world in which the number of deaths every year from snake-bite is so large as in India. Moreover, the number must be larger than reported, for the system of vital statistics in this country is still very defective, and as the majority of such deaths occur in villages and out of the way places there is reason to believe that many deaths are never reported. Such deaths are reported in ancient Sanskrit books. Raja Parikshit, descended from the Pandava kings, died of snake-bite, and other such deaths

are mentioned. There was no treatment for snake-bite. In very early times probably nothing at all was done. Later on, incantations and spells were used and these medicine men were called *ojhas* in Bihar and the United Provinces, the word being corrupted into *roja* in Bengal. Curiously enough, the same sort of simple belief existed among the Jews also. In the Book of Numbers in the Old Testament it is written :—"And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any

man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived."

Persons who survived a snake-bite after beholding the brazen serpent or having spells muttered over them would have lived if nothing whatsoever had been done to save them, for every snake-bite, even when the serpent happens to be poisonous, is not fatal. In the majority of cases of snake-bite the snake escapes. Both the persons bitten and the people about him are much too frightened and excited to pursue and kill the snake. In India the only snake that can be distinguished by all is the cobra because of its unmistakable and peculiar characteristics. There are parts of the country where all snakes are dreaded and even the harmless grass-snake is considered dangerous. Although deaths from snake-bite are frequent very little is known about the habits of snakes, or the numerous species that are found in various parts of the country. Even the snake charmers know very little. There is a class of people called *Mals* in Bengal, who know more than the snake charmers who exhibit serpents for a living. On one occasion the late Sarada Charan Mitra, for some time a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, wanted me to see some rare snakes and for this purpose he sent for a *Mal* from his village, and this man showed us a number of wonderfully coloured and striped snakes, including cobras, such as I never saw before. Poisonous snakes are rarely seen in large cities crowded with men and yet one of the largest cobras I ever saw was in Calcutta. It was moving in and out of a small heap of straw in a narrow lane. It was sloughing and was easily killed. It measured between 5 and 6 feet. At Karachi while closing a door of bamboo trellis work at night I found a snake caught between the two panels at the top. When killed I found it was a Russell's viper, one of the deadliest of serpents. At several places in Bihar it was quite an ordinary experience to come across cobras quite close to houses. With a lantern and stick there is not much danger, but poor villagers do not carry lanterns and they are frequently careless.

English doctors and scientific men in India have been doing a great deal to study this subject and to find an antidote to the fatal snake-venom. Poisonous snakes have been captured and classified, their habits studied, the effect of the poison watched and

analysed, and various remedies tried with more or less satisfactory results. Some years ago, Lt. Colonel R. Knowles, I.M.S., Professor of Pathology, Medical College, Calcutta, read an interesting and informing paper, illustrated with magic lantern slides, on this subject, and it is desirable that the facts contained in that paper as well as the methods of treatment tried and recommended should be widely known. For three years Colonel Knowles and Colonel Acton were engaged on research work in connection with snake-bite at Kasauli and his paper contains a summary of the work carried out by them. The period was from 1912 to 1914 and the conclusion at which these two scientists arrived was that with some further investigation the problem of finding a safe and certain cure for the bite of poisonous snakes *can* be solved. This is a very hopeful and encouraging statement and a perusal of the paper shows that there is a satisfactory foundation for it.

The mortality returns of India show that from 20,000 to 25,000 deaths occur annually from snake-bite, while the number of persons bitten is six or seven times this number. This number, as has been pointed out at the outset, is not wholly reliable and there must be a certain number of unreported cases, fatal and otherwise. The number of non-poisonous snakes and their variety is much larger than the poisonous kinds. Many remedies advertised as certain cures are announced in good faith since the persons saved would have lived in any case, because either the serpents were not poisonous or did not inject a sufficient quantity of poison. There is one easily distinguishable difference between the bites of a non-poisonous and a poisonous snake. A non-poisonous snake leaves an impression like the bite of a small animal with the imprint of several fine teeth and a row of bleeding points on the skin. A poisonous snake leaves only two punctures made by the two poison fangs. These fangs are curved and the venom is injected not immediately below the punctures but at the point of the fangs at some distance from the punctures and fairly deep down into the flesh. In the mouth of the snake the fangs curve backwards, and this enables the snakes to secure a better grip when biting.

There are six important poisonous snakes in India, four being snakes and two vipers. The snake are classed as colubines and the vipers as viperines. The mortality from snake-bite is caused by these six species,

though the largest number of deaths is due to the common cobra. The four poisonous colubrines are the cobra, the king cobra, the common krait and the banded krait. The two deadly vipers are Russell's viper and the Echis viper. Russell's viper is the *Chandra bora* of Bengal and the Echis viper is the *Phoorsa*. The king cobra is the hamadryad, while the banded krait, one of the deadliest as well as the most magnificently marked snakes, is known as the *Raj sap*." The cobra needs no description. In Bengal it is popularly divided into two species, *gokhro* and *keute*, but the cobra *de capello* is only one species, the colour or the spectacle markings on the hood making no difference. It is this snake which is the *Kaliya* of Indian mythology, the great serpent on whose extended hood the boy Srikrishna danced and whose head he trampled underfoot, leaving the indelible impressions of his feet on the whole race of hooded serpents. The snake, or the colubrine, is quite distinct from the viper. Snakes lay eggs whereas vipers give birth to living young, unlike most of the *reptilia*. Most snakes are harmless, but all vipers are poisonous, though only two species have venom of sufficient strength to kill men. Among water snakes fresh water snakes are non-poisonous, and this is signified by their name, *dhonda*. On the other hand, sea and salt water snakes are frightfully poisonous, their venom being far more deadly than cobra venom. These snakes are beautifully coloured and always found in salt water, and it is surmised that many of the reported deaths of boatmen from drowning in the Gangetic delta and elsewhere are due to the bite of these snakes.

The fangs of the cobra are like the finest hypodermic needles while the krait's fangs are so fine and delicate that they easily escape notice. The cobra with its expanded and swaying hood cannot be mistaken for any other serpent, but there is a harmless colubrine snake, the common "wolf snake," which is very often mistaken for the common krait, and it is this snake which is frequently found in bathrooms and under beds. All snakes are nocturnal in habit and most cases of snake-bite occur in the dark. This accounts for the superstition in Bengal that the word snake must not be uttered at night, the word *lata*, or a creeping plant, being used instead. In most instances the bite of cobra is almost accidental. A villager nearly treads on it

in the dark, puts his hand in an earthen vessel under which a cobra may be lying coiled, stirs in his sleep and unconsciously hits a cobra gliding by with his hand or foot, and the snake turns upon him and bites him. The cobra can only bite after raising and extending its hood, and it invariably strikes straight down. If it merely darts at a man and hits him with its mouth without raising its head it is only a strike and not a bite. The krait, both the common and the banded species, is very disinclined to bite. It will almost let a man tread upon it and will usually creep slowly away at the approach of a man, when, however, it does bite, its grip is remorseless. Unlike the cobra it strikes like lightning straight up. The king cobra is the only snake which has the reputation of incredible ferocity and will attack a man on sight without any provocation. This has not been verified though at Kasauli one of these snakes attacked a photographer who tried to photograph it. A king cobra or hamadryad has been known to attain a length of 15 ft. and is extremely swift in action. I heard from a professor at Lahore, a native of East Bengal, that he was once pursued across a ploughed field by a very large *Chandra bora* or Russell's viper, and he only escaped by putting down his open umbrella which the snake viciously bit while the professor escaped to safety. A Russell's viper has fangs three-fourths of an inch in length. All the experiments made by Colonels Knowles and Acton were of great scientific value. Of the king cobra, Colonel Knowles writes: "When biting, the snake has the grip of a tiger almost and its great size, agility, ferociousness and readiness to attack render this snake the most deadly of all poisonous land snakes." A viper's method of attack is different from that of a colubrine. It lies in a coil with its head resting on one of the coils in the centre. The body swells and contracts as it breathes in and out with a hissing noise. Apparently "a very sluggish creature it strikes with the swiftness of lightning, the head shooting straight up forward at the prey. The action is just like that of a spring suddenly released."

The effect of the venom in the case of a colubrine snake is entirely different from that of a viper. A fatal bite of a cobra causes a burning pain at the place bitten, but numbness and paralysis, which moves up the limb,

soon follow and the victim becomes drowsy and unconscious, death resulting from asphyxiation. To a certain extent, it is a merciful form of death. Paralysis is more marked when the snake is a krait, and the venom of a banded krait sometimes acts more quickly than cobra poison. It has been discovered that "cobra venom contains a substance which actually stimulates the heart's action." No use has yet been found for this substance in European medicine, but English physicians should know that the Ayurvedic physicians of Bengal prepare a very powerful heart stimulant from cobra venom. It is called *Suchikabharan*, the name being derived from the dose which is just as much as the point of a needle will hold. It is given when a patient is *in extremis* and the heart is fast failing, sometimes with remarkable results. I have seen a man who was suffering from plague and was almost at the last gasp recovering under this treatment.

Deadly as the cobra is it is one of the easiest snakes to deal with, and that is the reason why every snake-charmer carries it. It is the exhibition snake *par excellence*. In the hands of the snake-charmer the snake becomes harmless, for its poison fangs are periodically broken off and the venom from the glands is pressed out. Even otherwise, the cobra is not a difficult snake and its movements can be anticipated and baffled. It cannot bite without preparation. It must raise its head, expand it and then strike downwards straight in front. Its striking length can be correctly calculated. That is why cobras are so readily caught and fall an easy prey to the mongoose, which is a most agile animal. It is not immune against snake-venom any more than any other animal. At Kasauli Dr. Knowles put a cobra and a rat in a large cage during the daytime. The snake had to be repeatedly prodded before it would attack the rat and when it did so the rat behaved just like a mongoose. Each time the cobra struck the rat jumped out of danger and then quickly got in a bite before the cobra could strike again. After fifteen minutes, during which the rat was untouched while the cobra was bitten several times, the two were separated. The next morning the cobra was dead but the rat was quite lively. If this duel had taken place at night the rat would have been certainly killed and perhaps swallowed.

Deadly vipers are certainly to be more

dreaded than poisonous colubrines. They attack more swiftly while death from a viper's bite is long in coming, the patient does not become unconscious and suffers intolerable agony. The bite of a Russell's viper, the most dreaded of all vipers, does not kill in less than forty-eight hours, while the death agony may be prolonged four or five days. There is extensive internal haemorrhage, bleeding from the nose, mouth and gums, gangrene and sepsis, while the patient is conscious all the time, death finally resulting from exhaustion. A mongoose, which has been known to kill five cobras in an hour under the eyes of Dr. Knowles, would not face a Russell's viper at all, and out of three mongooses only one would venture to stand up to a krait. It may be safely inferred that in the wild state the mongoose does not attack a Russell's viper or a krait, because in attack they are both agile and uncertain, and a mongoose may be struck in the very act of jumping away from the snake. A snake-charmer never exhibits a Russell's viper, or a krait, though the *Raj-sap* or banded krait, is certainly worth looking at. Nothing will induce a snake-charmer to handle a fresh Russell's viper. He has no desire of trifling with almost certain death. The king cobra, the krait and the chief vipers are not among the pets of the Sapwala. Except the cobra the other snakes in his baskets are all harmless, and the big python is often a marriage dowry.

Poisonous snakes are killed whenever found and rewards are given for such dead snakes brought in by villagers, but there has been no appreciable decrease in the annual mortality from this cause. The reason is that snakes multiply very fast and they are rarely seen in the daytime. People are generally bitten in fields and on jungle paths and it is impossible to exterminate all poisonous snakes. The question remains whether it is possible to save the victims of snake-bite by treatment. The venom is injected direct into the blood and the action of the poison is very swift. Any treatment to be successful must begin a few minutes after the bite. It is not possible in most cases to see or identify the snake and therefore the treatment should be undertaken as soon as possible. The experiments carried out at Kasauli on animals proved that it is possible to save life even when the quantity of venom was much larger than a fatal dose. The Lauder Brunton lancet with lateral or

cross incisions and rubbing in permanganate crystals yielded no results. Over 500 different drugs and methods were tried. Immediately after the bite two tight ligatures must be bound, one just over the bite and another somewhat higher up. The pain can be borne for about twenty minutes, but not longer, and within this interval prompt medical assistance must be called in. In one case the application of a tight tourniquet alone saved a man's life. He had been bitten by a Russell's viper on the foot. The tissues became dead, the foot shrivelled and the leg had to be amputated at the knee, but a limb can be readily sacrificed to save life. Dr. Knowles and his colleague found that a strong solution of gold chloride, which can be obtained from any photographer's shop, used with a hypodermic syringe has an excellent effect as it completely destroys the venom it can reach. The tissues are also destroyed as it is a very powerful caustic. The gold chloride must be followed by large doses of antivenene. There is a reported case in which a man, who had been badly bitten by a cobra, barely escaped with his life by this treatment. Antivenene destroys the venom of the cobra and the Russell's viper, but has little effect on krait-venom or that of the Echis viper. Experiments are being carried out to find an antivenene which will act on all snake-venom, though this is not mentioned in the paper under notice. The dichloride of palladium has been found to be even more potent than gold chloride. But it is hoped that some compound will be

formed which will destroy the venom without destroying the tissues, and may save life 'almost at the last gasp.'

Scientists like Dr. Knowles and Acton are entitled to public gratitude, but the application of the remedy, even when a perfectly reliable one can be found, rests with the Government and local authorities. Deaths from snake-bite are of rare occurrence in large cities. Men crowd out all wild life from large habitations of men. Snakes strike down their victims in remote and small villages, in corn-fields and in the jungle. Colonel Knowles says gold chloride may be had from any photographer's shop, but are there any photographers in villages? Any remedy to be of any use to the victim of snake-bite must be near at hand. If District and Local Boards, town municipalities and humane landowners co-operate and some little help is given by Government a fall in the mortality from snake-bite will be noticeable at once. Every village has its *ojha* or *roja*; let every village also have its apothecary or compounder with his hypodermic syringes, anti-venom drugs, antivenene and rubber tubing for ligatures. It is not necessary to have highly qualified or highly paid men. They should undergo a course of practical instruction, they should be taught to recognize poisonous and non-poisonous snakes, and kept posted in the progress of curative treatment. No large demand will be made upon the resources of any one, while the saving of life will earn the blessings of humanity.

A New Specimen of Bengal Sculpture

(A VISHNU OR A BODHISATVA ?)

BY KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.

THE attention of scholars interested in Indian Iconography is drawn to a new specimen of sculpture acquired by the Rajshahi Varendra Research Society in its beautiful collection of treasures of Art.

It is a sculpture in relief on a stone slab measuring 32" x 15½" in a fair state of preservation, revealing a fairly developed

stage of art. The topmost portion of the stone slab contains the image of a seated male figure engaged in *Dhyana* contemplation.

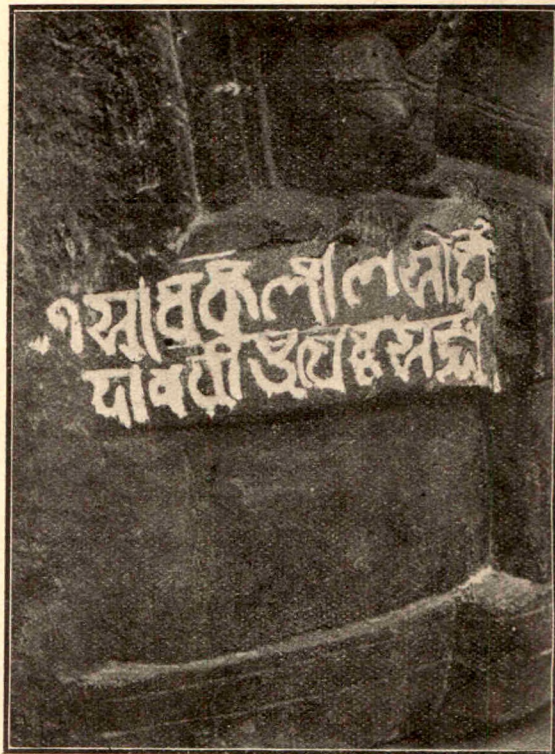
Superficially, however, the image in question may present some characteristics of a type of Vishnu, but it is needless to say that such a combination with a Dhyani-

Buddha, Amitabha at the top has not hitherto been found either in literature or sculpture as an undoubted type of Vishnu in the land of Vishnu worship. There is no place in this sculpture for (i) Vishnu's favourite *Vahana*, the mythical bird Garuda, nor is there any place for (ii) his consort Lakshmi and Sarasvati to his right or left. The pedestal, on the other hand, shows in a circular space a six-armed male figure in a pose of war dance. The main image has four male figures as companions—two on each side. The four hands of the main image hold four emblems but the lotus (*padma*¹) and the mace (*gada*²) are not indicated in the usual way, nor in any such way as to indicate that they are the lotus and the mace.

The lump-like object in the lower right hand cannot, however, be taken to represent the lotus-bud as there are no spots to indicate the same. An object of uniform width placed in a horizontal position on a lotus stalk held in the upper left hand cannot possibly be taken to represent the mace (*gada*). To some it may seem that to the right and left of the image are the *Ayudha-purushas*, representing the discus³ and the conch. Each of these standing figures carries a stalk of lotus and on it are placed the discus and the conch, but the illustration does not show that the lotus stalks are held in any way by the hands of these figures. The smaller figures by the side of these *Ayudha-purushas* remain, however, still unidentified.

The deity wears *Vanamala*, a flower garland of technical name, which hangs down to the knees. The accompanying figure of a Bodhisatva also wears a similar flower garland, clearly indicating that the *Vanamala*

was not a monopoly of Vishnu in Indian sculpture. The discus or wheel (*chakra*⁴) and the conch (*samkha*⁵), favourite emblems held in the hands by Vishnu, are similarly not peculiar to him alone.



Inscription on the pedestal of the main image†

These considerations may raise a legitimate doubt about a definite and correct identification of the image under review. Images of four-armed Vishnu, divided into twenty-four types, arranged in four well-established groups (*Vyūhas*) are well known in literature, and some of the

1. The lotus flower in the hand of Manjusri represents the teaching of Buddha the blue lotus is the special symbol of Manjusri and the Green Tara. The lotus bud is a more frequent form in China or Japan than in Tibet.

2. 'गदाद्विताल' i. e., 2 *Talas*

(Hemadri's *Chaturvarga-chintamani*, Vol. II, *Vratakhanda*).

3. *Chakrapuruṣa* is described in the *Vishnu Dharmottara* as a male figure, with round eyes and drooping belly, this image of *Chakra* should be adorned with various ornaments and should carry a *Chamara*. It should be sculptured so as to indicate that it is evincing a desire to gaze upon Vishnu; and the left hand of Vishnu should be made to rest upon the head of *Chakrapuruṣa* (*Elements of Hindu Iconography* by Gopinath Rao).

4. *Chakra*—in Buddhism it symbolizes "The Wheel of the Law" which turns twelve times, or three revolutions for each of the Four Noble Truths. It is represented with 8 spokes or (multiples of eight), indicating the Eightfold path of self-conquest.

5. *Samkha*—The *Varahapurna* says that the *Samkha* is the destroyer of *Āvidyā* or ignorance.

(*Elements of Hindu Iconography*)

Conch-shell—symbol of the preaching of Buddha as well as of the feminine principles. (A. Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*).

So it is not very unlikely that a type of Manjusri Bodhisatva—the God of 'Transcendent wisdom' should possess a *Samkha* in his hand.

types have also been noticed in the specimens preserved in museums and temples. The specimen under discussion with a *Dhyani* figure at the top does not, however, conform to any of them. An image in a spiritual diagram (*Yantra*) and its essential features are, therefore, regulated by ritualistic scripture in which there is no room for fanciful creations according to the whim of the artists. This makes correct identification possible in spite of all complexities of types.



Dhyani figure at the top (Amitabha)

Ayudha-purushas are personified weapon-emblems, and are, therefore, different from attendant deities (*Parsva-devatas*) and door-keepers (*Dwara-palas*). The literal meaning of *Ayudha* is a weapon of war of one of these three types :—(i) that held in the hand, while in use, such as a sword ; (ii) that thrown with the hand, such as the discus ; (iii) and that thrown with an instrumental contrivance, such as an arrow propelled by the bow. In Indian Iconography the word however came to include, besides actual weapons of war, some emblems which could not properly be regarded as weapons,

such as the lotus, the conch, the *Damaru* drum, the book, and the like. The discus came to be represented in the Indian sculpture in two ways (i) as a weapon of war, (ii) as a mere emblem, indicating the wheel or the reign of law. As a weapon of war, the discus is held in the hand in a way suggestive of motion, as a mere emblem, a state of stable equilibrium is suggested by its artistic treatment which invented a suitable device, a lotus seat for the emblem.

The conch and the discus of Vishnu are noticeable in the head-dress⁶ of his door-keepers Jaya and Vijaya ; but the lotus and the club do not appear to have been used in that way. The *Ayudhas* or weapon emblems came to be given well established human forms, and when such forms were given the symbols in the hands of the deity were superseded by them. Personified forms were placed alongside the main image and two of his hands, conveniently the lower ones, were usually placed on the heads of the personified weapon-emblems. *Ayudha-purushas* came accordingly to represent the *Ayudhas* held in the two lower hands.

If the two attendant figures on two sides of the main figure were intended to represent *Ayudha-purushas*, they would be *Ayudha-purushas* of the lotus and the conch, and not of the discus and the conch.

In the Vishnu images of known types, the main image has by his side, his consorts and door-keepers ; and so two figures, one female and another male, appear on each side. In the illustration, however, are visible two male figures on each side, evidently indicative of companion-deities and door-keepers of the main deity. The *Dhyani* figure at the top clearly connects the image with Buddhistic and not Brahmanic conception. It may reveal a type of Manjusri of the Buddhists, a four-armed standing figure with a seated *Dhyani* figure at the top, and a lump of sweetmeat in the right lower palm, a wheel placed on a lotus in the right upper hand, a *Puthi*-like (book like) object with a flower on it or a flaming pearl placed on a lotus on the left upper hand, and a conch in the palm of the left lower hand. The six-armed male figure in a posture of war dance represents a class or a (*Gana*) of *Bhutas* as

6. Head-dress—According to Canon quoted by Himadri in his *Chaturvarga-chintamani*
मूर्द्धि स्वायुध लाञ्छनम्

may commonly appear in all pedestals according to the texts :

भूतप्रेतादिभिः कुर्यात् पीडासनमनन्तरम् ।

—तन्त्रसारे ।

Manjusri worship was at one time so popular that it received equally fervent adoration from Brahmanic and Buddhist devotees. The *Trikanda-sesha* gives us twenty-four names of this deity, two of which connect him with the wheel अष्टारचक्रवान् (i. e., holder of a wheel of eight spokes) and स्थिरचक्रः (stable wheeled). His attendant figures and figures of door-keepers are well known. As he was conceived as a bachelor and called *Kumar* no female image in some specimens found a place by his side.

Manjusri was conceived in Indian painting and sculpture in two principal types,⁷ as a warrior fighting against ignorance and as a "peace-loving dispenser of knowledge." In one type the sword or the bow and the arrow appear as fitting emblems, together with a roaring leopard or a lion as a *Vahana*. In the other, the wheel of law of stable equilibrium and the conch appear as fitting emblems of the peace-loving dispenser of knowledge. The *Puthi* (book) is his distinctive emblem and is noticeable in both types. The book is supposed to be *Prajnaparamita* which is associated also with some specimens of other Buddhist deities such as Avalokitesvara, Cunda, Vasudhara and Pranjnaparamita as noticed by A. Getty in his work on *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. It is represented in sculpture as held in the hand between the fingers or as placed on a lotus held in the hand by the stalk. The sculpture in question shows an object of uniform width in a horizontal position on a lotus seat held by the stalk in the left upper hand. The mace (*gada*) is not of uniform breadth throughout, it is not a short but a long weapon, and is usually held in a perpendicular position. Its representation in sculpture conforms to those characteristic. As they are totally absent in the illustration, the object in question cannot be safely regarded as a representation of the mace (*gada*). The eyes of the main image

have more agreement with the Buddhist than with Brahmanic deities and correspond to the type described by Waddel as a representation of a "dreamy look."

The ornaments also contain important indications which may throw light upon the question of identification. While almost all



The main image. Cat. No. 661.
(V. R. S. Museum)

7. Manjusri or Manjughosha as he is frequently called in the *Sadhana*, as two distinct types :—one with the sword and book, which is his more usual form and the other with the *Utpala* or the blue lotus the book may be held, but is more generally supported by an *Utpala*, surmounting it is sometimes a flaming pearl. (A. Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*.)

ornaments depicted in sculpture of Vishnu may be found in other deities also, the Kaustuva jewel is peculiar to him. It rose according to mythology from the ocean during its churning. It was a jewel of the

variety called Padmaraga and was appropriated by Vishnu for the decoration of his breast as noted in *Bhagavata* :—

“कौस्तुभाख्यमभूद्वत्तं पद्मरागो महोदधेः

तस्मिन् हरिः स्पृहां चक्रे वज्रोऽलङ्कारणमनौ ॥

—भागवते ।

This jewel appeared in sculpture as a pendant attached to the necklace and is noticeable in specimens of Vishnu images. This pendant is not exhibited in the specimen under review. Besides these, there are other considerations which may raise a legitimate doubt about the identification of this image with Vishnu. As the image in question has a *Dhyani* figure on the top of the slab and an inscription on its pedestal, the two should be taken together into consideration for proper identification. The inscription consists of fifteen letters, *viz.*,

साधक ४ लालसिं (सि) ह

.....सङ्ग (स्य))

The concluding word *Samgha* is indicative of the donor's connection with Buddhism. The image on the top of the slab, a small sitting image of a two-armed male figure in the pose of meditation like Amitabha. Although “Akshobhya” is generally seen on the top slab of Manjusri yet Amitabha also is not uncommon. In the Buddhist Iconography Dr. Bhattacharya says, “As a matter of fact, some consider him to mean emanation of Amitabha, others of Akshobhya, still others of the group of the five *Dhyani* Buddha.”

Brahmanic Iconography discloses essential features of Brahmanic ritualistic characteristics—the *Vahana*, the *Pitha-devatas*, *Prava-devatas*, *Divara-devatas* and the *Ayudha-purushas* which are worshipped along with the main image. Vishnu images have, therefore, to be worshipped with *Saktis* as *Parsha-devatas*, Garuda as *Vahana* and the distinctive *Ayudha-purushas* in the form of symbols of *Samkha*, *Chakra*, *Gada*, and *Padma*. The image in question has no female *Parsha-devata* or *Vahana*. Dancing male figure in the pedestal with Vishnu may seem to one as that of Siva in his *Samharmurti*. The presence of dancing figures in pedestals cannot be safely taken as indicative of any particular sect. Such figures of *Bhutas* and *Pretas* as these may

be found in pedestals. Such dancing figures in the pedestal are also visible in images other than those of Vishnu (cf. No. 692, ^{(d)17}/₄₆₅) in the Rajshahi Museum. The six-handed dancing figure may be taken by one as the representation of Siva, perhaps in his fifth form of the *Tripurantaka* attitude. But in all these five forms of *Tripurantaka murti*, there should be only four arms and no more (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, part 1) and there should be the *Devi* to the left of Siva. The figure in question does not conform to either. Besides these, it is not likely that Siva or Mahesvara—the God of all gods should be placed below the feet of Vishnu. In the representation of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara—they are generally found placed in the same row and not one below the other (cf. No. 400 Rajshahi Museum) representing chiefly Brahma with long beard and Siva with trident.

Next in support of the identification of the *Dhyani* figure on the top of the slab with Brahma one may refer to some specimen of sculptures in the Mathura museum. In some of the specimens there are figures at the side of the halo. The sides of the halo may represent the *Vyoma-mandala* or the sky where gods, demi-gods, *kinnaras* are sometimes represented. Dr. Vogel has not stated definitely that such figures are the representations of Brahma and Siva and he has added “probably” in referring to all such specimens. One may lay special stress on the figure represented on pl. xvii (No. D. 6) in the *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, about which Dr. Vogel says that it “perhaps” represents *Vaishnavi* the female counterpart of Vishnu. Again, however, with regard to the same image in question and the seated *Dhyani* figure in the centre of the top of the slab, Dr. Vogel has stated as follows :—“In the centre of the top of the slab is a cross-legged figure of a *Jina* (?). seated in meditation (Skr. *Dhyanamudra*). the sculpture seems to be the same as the Brahmanical female figure with ten arms” mentioned by Cunningham “as having been discovered in the Kankali Tila. If so, the sculpture is probably Jaina.” So Dr. Vogel has also expressed his doubt as to whether the image should be regarded as Brahmanical or not. Further, the *Dhyani* figure on the top slab may not represent Brahma for the conception of Brahma is generally that of four-faced

8. For साधक, some may read सा(श्रा) वक।

bearded figure with a *Hamsa* (swan) as carrier. These considerations perhaps may lead one however to accept this image under review rather as a Boddhisatva (be it a type of Manjusri or any other Boddhisatva) than as a type of Vishnu, although it may seem to one at first sight as a type of a Brahmanical image.

N.B. In the last Fifth All India Oriental

Conference held at Lahore, I availed myself of the opportunity of placing the photograph of this image before some of the veteran experts in iconography in order to elicit their opinion about this unique sculpture, and I am glad to be able to say that some of them suggested that it was an image of Boddhisatva and not of Vishnu.

A Wonder City of the Deccan

THE ANCIENT CITY OF BIJAPUR

BY ARTHUR R. SLATER, F. R. G. S.

OF this city, Meadows Taylor, who has contributed much to its archaeological and historical interest, says: "For such legends of that beautiful memorial of past greatness (the royal citadel in Bijapur) an interest for all time has been created: but no one has succeeded in awakening for Bijapur any corresponding feeling, and far grander as its memorials are, accounts of them are listened to with a cold scepticism or indifference which hitherto nothing has aroused. And yet, inspired by the effect of those beautiful ruins with the glory of an Indian sun lighting up palace and mosque, prison and zenana, embattled tower and rampart, with a splendour which can only be felt by personal experience, it may be hoped that some eloquent and poetic pen may be found to gather up the fleeting memorials of traditions which are fast passing away and invest them with a classic interest which will be imperishable. Above all, however, these noble monuments may serve to lead our countrymen to appreciate the intellect, the taste and the high power of art execution, which they evince, to consider their authors not as barbarians, but in the position to which their work justly entitled them: and to follow, in the history of those who conceived them, that Divine scheme of civilization and improvement which, so strangely and so impressively has been confined to the English nation."

Since these words were written there has been considerable advance in the interest shown in the memorials of a past greatness

which are to be found in the city of Bijapur, the city of victory. Not a little is owed to Lord Curzon for his energetic action in regard to the preservation of the existing buildings, and the protection of some of the structures from being put to ignoble purposes. The student is indebted to Fergusson, Burgess, and especially to A. Cousens, M.R.A.S., of the Archaeological Survey of India, for clear and concise accounts of the city and for descriptions of the main features of the architecture of the many large buildings at present standing.

In so limited a paper it is difficult to combine the historical, archaeological, and descriptive accounts of so large a city, but no article can approach success which fails to take some account of each of these branches. It appears the most convenient way to give first a brief sketch of the beginnings of the kingdom, and in order to keep up a certain sequence, to describe in succession the structures as they were built. While doing so opportunities may be afforded for brief references to the ruling king and his contribution to the history of the kingdom.

Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the Bijapur kingdom, entered India under circumstances somewhat peculiar. On the demise of his father, Murad, Sultan of Turkey, in 1451, he was saved from the fate his brother suffered, that of violent death, by a stratagem of his mother's, who conceived the idea of his deliverance by the agency of a wealthy merchant by whom young Yusuf was carried

from the zone of danger. He ultimately found his way to the court of the Bahmani king, Sultan Muhammad. His handsome presence, generous spirit and skilful feats soon obtained a high measure of favour from the king, further increased by his successful invasion of the Telugu country. As a reward for this victory he was appointed Governor of Bijapur. But the Bahmani kingdom was quickly breaking up, and Yusuf was able, in 1489, to take the decisive step of ordering the Khutba to be read in the mosques in his own name. Kasim Baird, minister of Bidar and Timraj of Vijayanagar was a perpetual menace to him in the early years of independent reign and his unwise attempt to introduce the Shiah faith made many enemies within. On his death he was succeeded by his son, Ismail Adil Shah, whose reign of twenty-four years was largely spent in fighting. It was during the siege of Golconda, in 1534, that he became sick. He sank and died at Sagar. His eldest son, Mallu Adil Shah ruled for a year, but he failed to rise to his responsibilities and was deposed by order of Asad Khan and his grandmother Punji Khatun.

Before attempting to describe the buildings in the order suggested, a few facts about the city and its fortifications will serve to assist the reader in understanding the importance of the former and the strength of the defences by which the Bijapur kings protected it. Bijapur is reached after a journey of many miles over barren country, but, being on the railway, is quite easy of access to visitors. There is a fortified wall consisting of ninety-six bastions with their connecting curtain walls, and five principal gates. The whole circuit of the walls is six and a quarter miles while the area within them is 1,300 acres. Stone and mortar have been used to give as strong a wall as possible and rammed earth has been placed between the outer and inner casings. A high wall protects the platform running from bastion to bastion. The bastions are semi-circular in plan and on them are mounted several large guns, some of them of huge dimensions. The pivot of the carriage is placed in a hole in the centre of the platform and the huge piece of artillery is held tight, during firing, by wedges between it and the stone wall, thus preventing undue strain on the pivot from the recoil. A deep moat running nearly the whole length of the walls formed

an additional protection to the city. The variety of design is accounted for, locally by the report that sections were built by different nobles who were invited by the ruler, on his return from the battle of Talikota, to take part in the erection of the defences. The five chief gates were protected by flanking bastions, double gates and covered approaches. A striking tower of great height, known as the Haidar Burj, is a conspicuous feature, and is worthy of notice by reason of the long gun, the 'Far-fliner,' the longest in the city, thirty feet from end to end. It is a problem to know how such a piece of ordnance was raised to that level. Suggestions have been made that it was gradually raised as the tower was built, or that an inclined plane served the purpose of lifting the gun to its present position. Two other guns, the Malik-Maidan on the west wall and the Landa Kasab, a gun on the south fortifications, are well worthy of a visit, the former, especially being of great historical interest. Space forbids any account of these but both the Gazetteer and Cousen's guide give good descriptions of them.

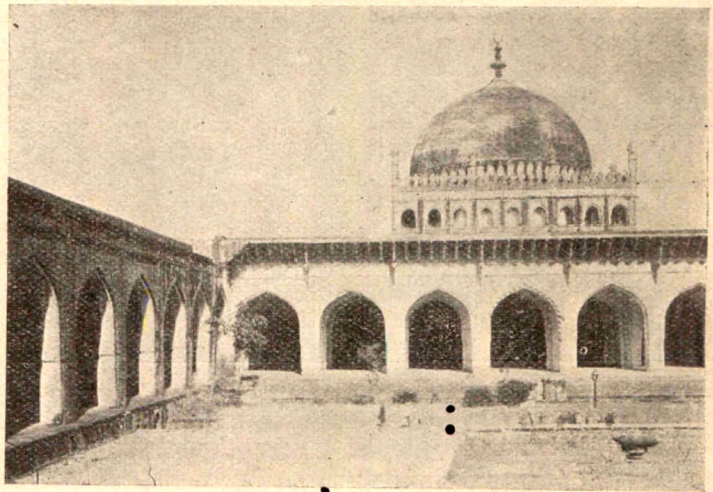
I have already stated that I propose to deal with the various buildings in the order in which it seems probable that they were built. For fifty or sixty years the struggle of the Adil Shahs to hold their own made it impossible for the early kings to pay much attention to architecture, all they did was to make as good provision as possible for the defence of their newly chosen capital. The most important buildings were constructed between 1557-1660, a period of one hundred years. Fergusson says: "During that period, however, their capital was adorned with a series of buildings as remarkable as those of any Muhammadan capital of India, hardly excepting Delhi and Agra, and showing a wonderful originality of design not surpassed by those of such capitals as Jaunpur and Ahmadabad, though differing from them in a marked degree."

The citadel or Ask-Killah, one of the most important parts of Bijapur, was the place chosen by Yusuf Adil Shah as the site of the new fort. It is scarcely a mile in circumference but has a strong defence, a rampart with bastions and a moat. Strong walls built of the stones from a Hindu temple replaced the original mud wall. But despite these efforts to make the citadel a safe place, the wisdom of the selection of

this site cannot be praised, for it is in the lowest part of the city and would have been easily demolished by the guns of the enemy fixed on the surrounding high ground. It was, however, never used as a citadel, but was, for many years, a palace. The Makka Masjid is supposed to be a correct imitation of the mosque at Mecca and is enclosed by a high wall. The two high towers were probably used as places from which the call to prayer was sounded. The date of the building is uncertain but there are certain features which seem to point to this as being the oldest building in the city. It is credited to a saint or *pir* of the thirteenth century. The rough material used would suggest that the structure was erected before the Muhammadans had begun to confiscate the Hindu buildings for the purpose of providing the materials necessary for their erection. The Dekkani Idgah was probably the work of Yusuf, the founder, though an inscription on the wall dates it as being built in the reign of Ibrahim II. There is no evidence of the architectural style of that period, and it seems likely that the date refers rather to the repairing of the building. It is a large structure, but without any beauty.

Ali Adil Shah I ascended the throne in 1557 and received in marriage the famous Chand Bibi, the daughter of the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who was later to play so brave a part in the defence of her country. It was by the help of the Nizam Shah and Ali Bidar that the great conflict took place at Talikota in 1565 whereby the Vijayanagar kingdom was completely destroyed and the wonderful city made a vast ruin. By the wealth gained by this victory Adil rebuilt the walls of Bijapur in order to secure himself against invaders. Later he attempted to drive out the Portuguese from Goa but without success. In a dispute with a slave at Gulburga regarding the return of certain jewels which belonged to his daughter he was struck with a dagger and immediately died. He was buried in a small mausoleum in the south-west corner of the city. But

Adil Shah, though so much engaged in fighting, did not neglect the city. The Gagan Mahal or Hall of Audience is a remarkable ruin, remarkable chiefly for its historic interest and the immense arch which still stands in a good state of preservation. It was built in 1561 as a palace, the upper storeys being used as apartments for the royal household. The span is 60'9". It is supposed that the architect made the arch of such great dimensions in order that king and nobles might witness, while seated in the hall, the varied tournaments held in connection with the *darbar*. Meadows Taylor says: "There in 1686 the Emperor Aurangzeb received the submission of the last of the Adil Shah kings, the youthful Sikandar, amid the passionate tears of the nobles and the wailing cries of thousands, which rose



The Jama Masjid

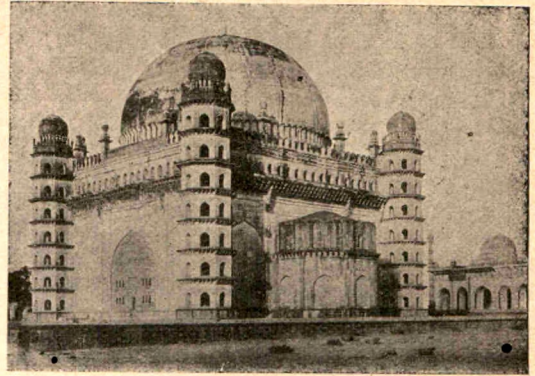
to the throne of God as a witness against a causeless aggressor."

It is notable as the place where Chand Bibi held her court from 1581 to 1584. The principal mosque of the city, the Jama Masjid, was commenced by Ali Adil Shah I and is a worthy example of Bijapur architecture. Its dome is said to be the most perfect in the city and is built on the principle of pendentives, for an account of which it will be necessary to refer the reader to Fergusson's *Ancient and Eastern Architecture*, as the system is not easy to describe without the assistance of diagrams. As several of the largest domes are built by this method, the student will do well

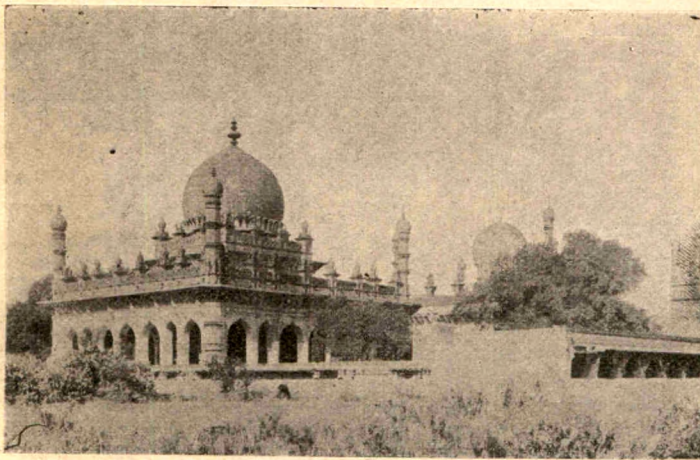
to follow Fergusson's figures and illustrations. The massive square pillars of the Jama Masjid divide the length of the facade into nine bays and the depth into five.

Nine of the forty-five bays thus formed are occupied by the central dome. There is a fine courtyard between the two wings and the gateway of no mean beauty on the eastern side. The floor is divided into squares, 2,250 in number, for the convenience of accommodation.

The nephew of Ali ascended the throne in 1580 as Ibrahim II at the age of nine. The days of his minority were full of tumult, and it was not till the young king broke the power of Dilawar Khan that he had any real power in the kingdom. But, in spite of the fact



Gol Gombaz



General View of Ibrahim Rauza

perfect. The water was brought from Torveh and Begam, a considerable distance from the city, by means of large channels some of which may still be traced. The Muhammadans had a special fondness for a good water-supply and in the palaces water was conveyed by all sorts of contrivances. There was usually a large tank in the enclosure and, when this was full, the water ran in channels to the various parts of the garden, the floor of the channels being cut into zigzag ridges against which the water struck and rebounded in thousands of little ripples. The effect must

that there was not a little fighting and considerable intrigue to which the king was obliged to devote his attention, he has left his mark on the building of Bijapur. The Sat Manjli was built in 1583 and the visitor desiring an extensive view of the city and its environs cannot do better than repair to the tower of this once lovely palace from which a view scarcely to be excelled can be obtained. Originally composed of seven storeys it must, in itself, have been an impressive building. The interior decoration is an evidence of the quality of the workmanship of that period. At present the building has only five storeys which rise to a height of ninety-seven feet. A prominent feature of the city was its water-supply which by several historians has been considered almost

have been very pretty. Perhaps the Taj Bauri is the finest example of the huge storage tanks in use. It is said that Sultan Muhammad, having ill-treated Malik Sandal the architect of Ibrahim Rauza, wished to make reparation and offered to confer any favour he desired. The architect decided on the construction of large *bauries*, a suitable way by which his name might be perpetuated. As there is no evidence of any association of his name with the place it is more likely that the account which ascribes it to the desire of the architect to honour Taj Sultana, Queen of Ibrahim II is the more correct one.

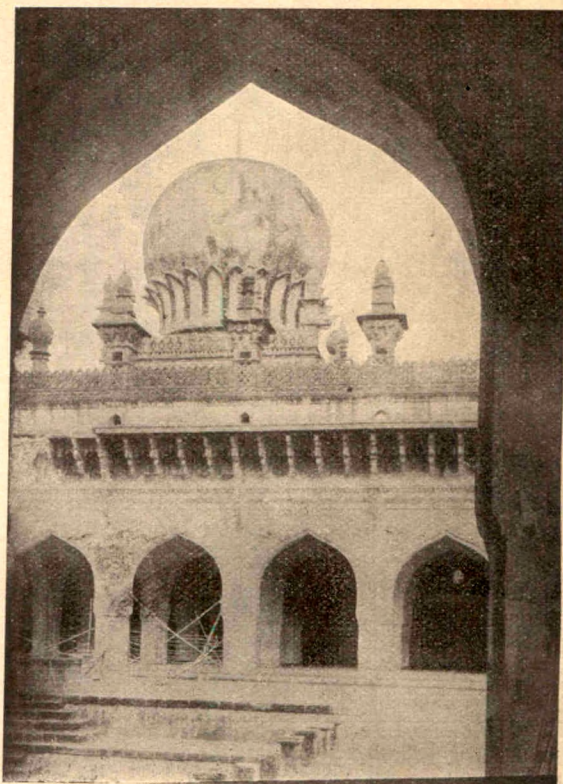
There are many places in the city the visitor is obliged to pass unless he has unlimited time; but the Mehtar Mahal must

be seen at all costs. While called a palace it is really a mosque with a wonderful gateway, the carving on which is of a very high standard of workmanship. The gateway is a tall square tower having two minarets of great beauty, sixty feet in height, and long windows with most ornate carving. The stone brackets above the lancet-shaped windows are exceedingly thin, long, rectangular slabs, perforated and worked over with the most beautiful arabesque. They have existed in almost perfect condition for 300 years. Along the crest of the building between the minarets is a perforated parapet of great beauty. Many stories are told of the origin of this structure but space forbids the recapitulation of them. But perhaps of all

buildings. They were built by Ibrahim II as his mausoleum and with him are buried his queen and several other members of his family. The buildings are entered by a gateway having two minarets and a very



Sat Manjli



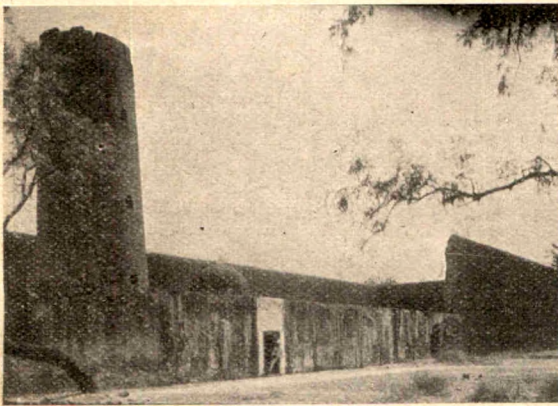
Ibrahim Rauza

buildings in the city the group known as the Ibrahim Rauza is worthy of closest study. Fergusson calls it, "A group of buildings more elaborately adorned than any in India." The Ibrahim Rauza is a wonderful group of buildings and hours may be spent in the mosque, the tomb, and the gardens which surround these

finely carved front, a worthy entrance to so fine a group. The tomb itself has an outer colonnade of seven arches and a platform twenty feet wide, and an inner colonnade of five arches. The exterior of the sepulchral chamber is decorated very richly, and it is at once evident that much time, labour and skill have been spent on it. It is elaborately decorated with shallow surface tracery of arabesque with extracts from the Qur'an interlaced. The shape of the pillars is more suggestive of Hindu than of Muhammadan architecture. The inscription at the door is as follows :—

"Heaven stood astonished at the elevation of this building and it might be said that, when its head rose from the earth another heaven was erected. The garden of Paradise has borrowed its beauty from this garden,

and every column here is as graceful as the Cypress tree in the Garden of Purity. An angel from heaven announced the date of the structure, 1626, by saying "This building, which makes the heart glad, is the memorial of Taj Sultana." There is an interesting ceiling in the sepulchral chamber, which is flat and known as a "hanging ceiling." There is no apparent support, and it appears to have been carried out contrary to all ordinary rules of building. The secret seems to lie in the strength and tenacity of the mortar used. Opposite the tomb is a mosque with well-proportioned minarets. It is of interest to note that it was Ibrahim who founded the new city of Nauraspur 'as his capital, but it was never inhabited.'

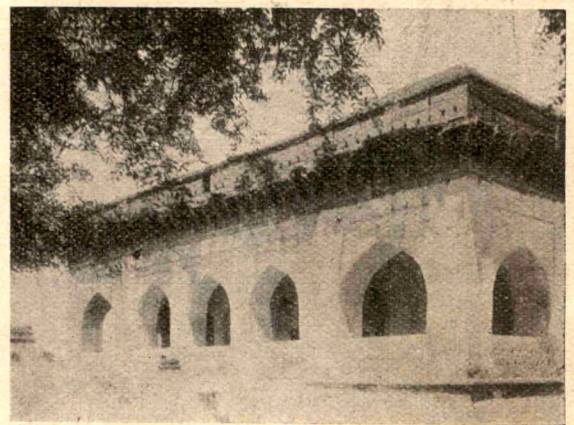


Tomb of a saint

The early years of Sultan Muhammad were occupied in strife with the Ahmad-nagar kingdom which was ultimately disintegrated. From 1636 to the date of his death in 1656 the country enjoyed a period of rest which afforded the king an opportunity of erecting several notable structures, the most important, his own tomb, being a massive building which is worthy of a somewhat lengthy description. It has been questioned why it was possible to erect so many buildings in Bijapur a city, which at the height of its fame, would not number more than a million people. The expenses of a Moslem household were comparatively small, and the surplus money could not be devoted to anything save the erection of buildings. The erection of mosques and monuments was the only way in which the rich man could display his riches and leave behind him a

name. Though great men were likely to have been superstitious and perpetrated atrocities enough to quicken their superstition by remorse, yet we must not ascribe these buildings to superstition alone, but to the desire of popularity, the parade of wealth, the desire of courting the favour of the sovereign, love of fame, and every other passion which could wear the disguise of the prevalent principle or predominant fashion.

To outrival his predecessor in the structure where his bones should rest seems to have been the aim of each of the Deccan rulers. Muhammed Adil Shah realized that, so far as beauty of design and workmanship were concerned, the tomb of his father Ibrahim Rauza could not be excelled. But where quality would not give him pre-eminence, at least, quantity might grant it. He, therefore, decided to build the Gol Gombaz of such size as to dwarf every other building in the city. With this in view he commenced the work at the beginning of his reign. The general appearance of the building is that of a great cube surmounted by a huge hemispherical dome with octagonal towers at each of the four corners. These towers were crowned by smaller domes. A deep overhanging cornice runs round the four sides. The dome is a hemisphere, 124.5 interior diameter. Its thickness is 10' at the base 9' at the crown. The space covered is the largest in the world, 18,110 square feet.



Tomb of an Adil-shahi king

The next in size is the Pantheon at Rome which covers 15,833 square feet. The

exterior height of the building is 198' 6". Of great interest to the visitor is the wonderful whispering gallery at the base of the dome. Here a single sound is echoed no less than ten times. The dome is built on the principle of the pendentives already mentioned.

The Asar Mahal was erected in 1646 as a hall of justice but it was abandoned as such and used as a palace. The building is the most sacred in the city owing to the presence of a casket which is said to contain two hairs of the prophet Muhammad's beard. These relics are carefully sealed and kept under the supervision of a small committee.

From the time of the Sultan Muhammad's reign till the close of the dynasty we have few evidences of their work. The second Ali found his reign troubled by two

great forces, Aurangzib and Shivaji. He was scarcely ever at peace, and he was unable to complete his mausoleum. This mausoleum, had it been completed, would have covered a larger space than even the Gol Gumbaz. The kingdom passed to his son Sikandar who was soon forced to submit to Aurangzeb.

The buildings of chief importance in the city have been briefly described. The visitor may spend many days examining the buildings that are still preserved, but he will not consider that his time has been wasted. He will come away with a sense of the greatness of those ancient architects who spared no thought or labour to make these structures worthy of their king and their religion.

Principles of Life and Philosophy

BY KHAGENDRANATH MITRA, M. A.

I shall begin by trying to understand life. What is life? So many attempts have been made to define life that one may rub one's eyes on hearing the question re-stated in this formal fashion. But be that as it may, every one will agree that we are very far from spotting the precise mark which distinguishes life from that which is not life. At what precise point does it bifurcate in the channel of mundane existence? Sometimes it has been seriously suggested that life originated in some cosmic dust or came to this planet through showers of meteorites. Then again life has been treated as a mysterious factor which baffles analysis and definition. To analyse life is to pass into something that is not life; to dissect life is to kill it. Protoplasm with which the history of life begins is found to contain carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen and sulphur. They are all common elements but none of them by itself or in composition can give us life. By analysing the chemical composition of a proteid which is the most important factor of the vital process, we do not get beyond the region of inert matter pure and simple. Life is not a mere sum

of the qualities of these chemical substances. It cannot be exhibited as a chemical process. Life cannot be defined inasmuch as it is a process; it is not a substance. It is not something static or at rest, but continually moving on. Language is not adapted to the needs of comprehending that which moves on like a cinematograph. All that we can do is to contemplate, seated on slowly ascending tiers of seats, the gradual unfolding of the great cosmic drama.

The most comprehensive definition of life is, I think, that given by Herbert Spencer. "Life is the definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive in correspondence with external co-existences and sequences." On looking more closely into this definition, one does not find that essential characteristic which we are seeking. That life is a combination or group of changes, nobody will deny. It is in fact the statement of a commonplace. The real centre of gravity lies, however, in the tail of the definition 'correspondence with external co-existences and sequences.' But let us try to understand what this correspondence really means. If

there is a barometer, which indicates the temperature in the shade during all the twenty-four hours of day and night or if there is an instrument in the meteorologist's observatory which registers the variations of the direction of the wind, should we not call it a case of correspondence with external co-existences and sequences? At all events, correspondence of this nature can be proved to exist in the material world. Everything, I think, depends on the meaning of 'correspondence.' If it is a self-adjusted correspondence, it is life. If not, it may be something else but surely not life. Now what does self-adjustment mean? Is it voluntary or is it involuntary? If it is the latter, it may be possible for a machine to adjust itself to regularly changing conditions. Then does life consist in volition? Some philosophers have, as a matter of fact, defined life as 'selection.' Whether we accept it or not, I think it indisputable that Spencer's definition takes us far within the borders of Mind. The continuous adjustment of internal to external relations or of the organism to its environment which Spencer regards as the essence of life is in fact the mark of *mind*. To this, it will no doubt be replied that life is not different from mind. Spencer's treatment of the question lends colour to that view; for it was originally included in his principles of psychology and afterwards transferred to the first volume of his principles of biology. His formula for vital phenomena is further illustrated and justified by the fact that the degree of life is low or high, according as the correspondence between internal and external relations is simple or complex, limited or extensive, partial or complete. Now this is veritably a definition of mind. To accept this definition is to subscribe to needless confusion between the province of Biology and Psychology.

This brief examination of Spencer's position convinces me that it is futile to try to define life. It can hardly be called 'force', although we are accustomed to speak of vital forces. Life is as much a force, as mind is. Just as an attempt to define motion makes it liable to all the shafts of Zeno's dialectic, so the attempt to define life as a particular kind of force must result in paradoxes and puzzles. To my mind, the first characteristic of life is reproduction, multiplication or propagation. Life can prapagagate itself, increase itself or multiply itself, nothing else can. The sun, moon and

stars are hanging in the firmament eternally without there being a slight addition to their number. This chair or that table may be left to stand in this room in its barren solitude for years and years without there being a single addition to the list of furniture of this great University. But even the smallest insect reproduces itself, whether the reproduction is asexual or bi-sexual. The question as to how the little insects propagate their species has not yet been fully ascertained, but for our present purpose it is enough to know that they do tend to reproduce themselves.

The next important mark of life is that it is always a "struggle." Struggle for existence on which the evolutionist relies so much is a bare recognition of the fact that life alone of all things shows itself in an attempt to overcome obstacles, in trying to continue or maintain itself in existence and in striving perhaps to make life fuller and richer. Look at the way in which a mosquito avoids the hand raised to bring its earthly existence to a close; or at the adeptness of the bug to slip out of view only when there is a possible danger to its life. If this is what happens in the case of such small insects as a gnat or a bug, we can realize how the whole of the living kingdom is pervaded by the one desire to maintain itself in existence. The conative bow is always bent forward. In the inanimate world, there is no such forward look or forward motion. Browning says, "a man's reach should always exceed his grasp. Or what is Heaven for?"

What Browning says about man is in no small measure applicable to the lower rungs of the ladder of life. There is a pervading presence of teleological pre-adaptation throughout living nature. We call this mind in the case of man and some of the higher animals and instinct in the case of lower animals. Evolution shows the tendency of the lower forms of life to pass into higher. It cannot explain the origin of life from non-life. Nor can it import anything into any of the stages of its process which was not already there. I think we can safely conclude that the history of mind begins with the first chapter of the history of life.

Prof J. E. Boodin in his *Cosmic Evolution* calls life an energy-pattern, but mind is also an energy-pattern. By 'pattern' he means a peculiar adjustment, something which gives us a unique manifestation of energy. But 'pattern' has another implica-

tion ; it may mean something stereotyped and uniform. Life is not something stereotyped and fixed. There is uniformity in life no doubt but it varies widely also. In fact, the peculiarity of life consists in the varying response it makes to the stimuli. It is in consequence of the need for varying response that the different sense organs have been developed. The rays of light have been striking the snowy summits of the Himalayas and weaving a chequered mosaic of beautiful colours and shades for millions and millions of years but the hard, hoary rock is unable to grow any eyes to respond to those stimuli. It is this capacity of adjusting itself to the varying needs of existence that distinguishes life, and mind is just the power which enables it to do so. Preservation and expansion of the self under varying and in some cases, hostile circumstances is pre-eminently the function of mind. Mind is thus a function of life or rather it is the practical activity which is the master-key of all living and knowing, of which reason and sense impressions alike develop as modifications and whose support alone renders them fertile. According to this view, the senses as well as conceptual thought are only secondary functions of life.

The point I wish to make is that philosophy grows out of life and it cannot be understood apart from life. There was a time when metaphysics was sought to be explained on mathematical principles. Every student of Kantian philosophy knows how Kant regarded the reduction of philosophy to the status of mathematical principles as the highest desideratum, although in practice he fell back on formal logic for the Transcendental Deduction of his categories. That philosophy was nothing but a way of life, possibly its critique, appeared very prominently in the teachings of Socrates and Plato and when the metaphysical interest declined in post-Aristotelian period there was again a relapse to Ethics. In the *Bhagavad-Gita*, philosophy appears as the unmistakable guide to life. Arjun is puzzled as to whether Jnana Yoga or Karma Yoga is the better of the two alternatives and Sri-Krishna explains that after all there is not much difference between the two.

न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नेष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते ।

न च सन्न्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधि गच्छति ॥ तृतीय अध्याय ४

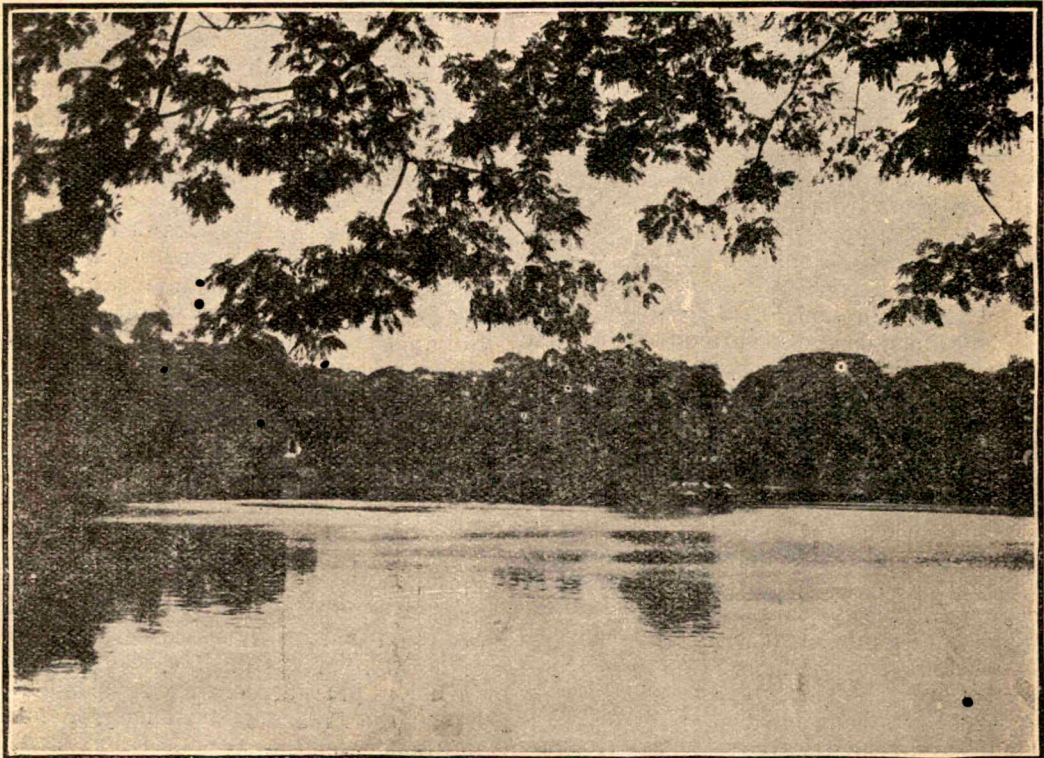
The highest knowledge leads to selfless

activity and without activity knowledge is worse than useless. All these views bring out the close connection between Ethics and Philosophy. Whether such identification of the aims of the practical and the theoretical science is accepted or not, it shows conclusively that in the minds of some of the most eminent philosophers, philosophy did not appear to be detached from the main current of life.

In modern times Bergson has sought to explain Philosophy on biological principles. Because he believes that philosophy being an expression of living thought can be explained by the same principles of growth and development by which the phenomena of life can be explained. Hegel was perhaps the first to conceive that thought is not something static but always moving. The march of conceptual thought always spells progress. The error of Hegel lies in trying to press the forward movement of thought into logical categories. He thought that the ripples of thought-current can all be counted and arranged under certain arbitrary labels of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. He forgot that thought-currents like life-currents defy any distribution among bloodless categories. Just as life fills our mind with wonder by its bewildering variety, so Philosophy is never stale or worn out. One theory is superseded by another in the same sense as youth is superseded by old age. Frederic Harrison draws the picture of an eternal sphinx sitting over the portals of knowledge and propounding to the intending entrants the same world old problems. But this metaphor is not true. The problem of one age is not the problem of another. The Milesian philosophers asked one sort of questions and the Socratic another. In the eighteenth century the argument for the proof of God's existence was a fashion, now there is scarcely any demand for such argument. The problem is conceived in a new form, if at all. Thus we see that Philosophy and life march together in the onward path of progress. Philosophy is the interpretation, evolution and criticism of life. When it is divorced from all touch with life, it becomes an object of ridicule. Then the philosopher is called a dreamer, a visionary, a man from the moon, and his philosophy is styled a mere theory or an idle speculation. The quarrel between Science and Philosophy can be set at rest for ever only when the two are looked upon as varied interpretations of

life. Some of the problems can be set apart and called by a particular name. But this does not mean that there is any fundamental difference between one set of problems and another. Truth is not something eternally fixed and immovable. It is not a fixed dogma settled once for all but rather an hypothesis that has constantly to be defined and modified in the light of the growing needs of life. The goal of philosophy is at once a goal and a starting-point. The essence consists in a striving to grasp the truth and its reach always exceeds its grasp. It is sometimes made a complaint against philosophy that there is no finality in its conclusions. This complaint loses its force as soon as we realize that life itself has no finality. As life is an eternal striving to be better and fuller and more perfect, philosophy

also struggles to throw off its fetters and frets to make itself more and more free, more and more complete and harmonious. If life is a continuous adjustment of organism environment, philosophy is also a continuous adjustment of ideas to the cosmic process. If there is a creative evolution in life, there is a creative evolution in philosophy. If life seeks to reproduce itself, philosophy also tries to diffuse itself till its echoes roll from soul to soul. A philosophy which does not awaken any response in men's minds is no philosophy at all. A philosopher who is unable to create a following can hardly claim that title. Struggle or striving and propagation are the essential characteristics of life and my contention is that they are the central features of philosophy too.



Lake in the Calcutta Zoo



The *Baluchitherium*, the Largest Land Mammal that ever Lived

Vast herds of huge herbivorous mammals swarmed over the continents, huge oxen and bison, mighty deer, mastodons, various types of rhinocerids, and the largest of them all was the gigantic *Baluchitherium*, an inhabitant of the territory now known as Central Asia.

ceroses of to-day, although it was not armed with a horn on the nose, and in some ways suggests a huge horse. But whatever is not known of its form and appearance, one thing is certain, and that is its enormous size. This is clearly indicated by the size of its skull, which is about five feet in length, and the great length and weight of its leg bones. They indicate an animal that stood several feet taller than the largest African elephant



Restoration of the *Baluchitherium*

It is impossible to give an accurate description of the appearance of this gigantic mammal, because so far, only its skull and sufficient of its skeleton have been found to give a general indication of its size and form, but attempts have been made to reconstruct it from such fossil remains as have been recovered, and one of these is given in the accompanying illustration. Everything points to the *Baluchitherium* being related to the rhino-

ever known, and was many times its weight. So large an animal must have been a tree-eater, from which it may be gathered that it lived either in forest land or in what is called savannah country, that is to say, flat or rolling grass-land dotted with trees; while it could have had few enemies, in spite of the numerous savage carnivores that existed contemporaneously with it.

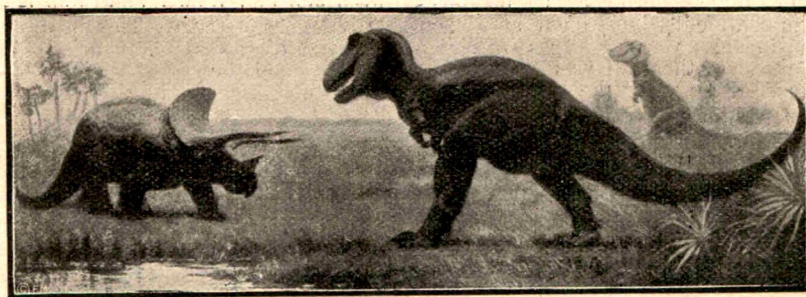
The name *Baluchitherium* was given to it

because it was in Baluchistan that its first fossil remains were found, a few vertebrae from the neck, which were just enough to give an indication of the size and type of the animal. It was during the first expedition of the American Museum of Natural History in Mongolia, under the leadership of Roy Chapman Andrews, that the fossil skull and leg bones were found, the animal, on the strength of these, being described and named *Baluchitherium andrewsi* after Dr. Andrews.

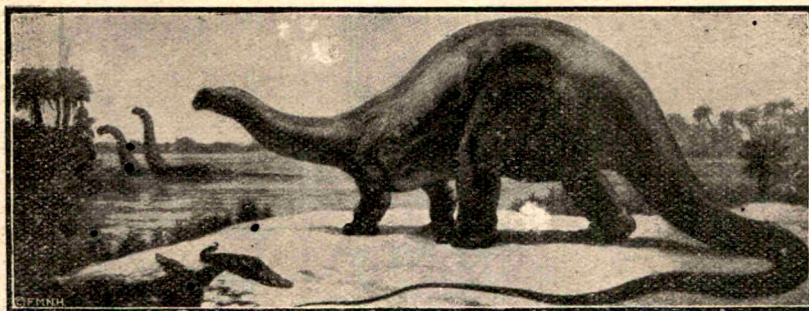
Giant Inhabitants of Our Continent, More Than 100,000,000 Years Ago

The ancient dinosaurs are a never-ending source of fascination to scientist and layman alike. This may be partly due to their great bulk—although

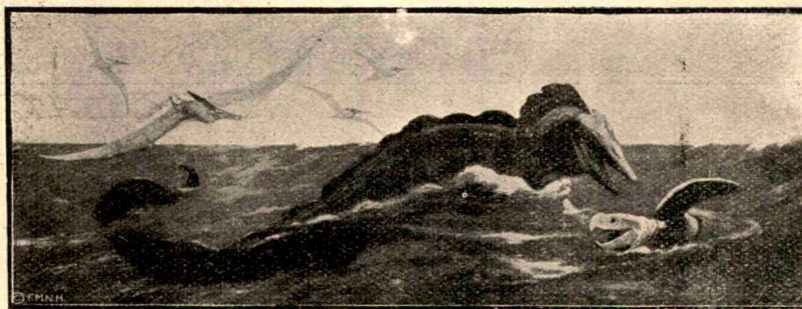
we have to-day a much larger living animal, the whale. But it is not the chief reason the fact that the dinosaurs are extinct, and therefore that we have never seen them? In fact, no human being not even primitive man, has ever seen a dinosaur for there is no evidence that a single one of them survived past the end of the Cretaceous Period, nearly 100,000,000 years ago. Just why the dinosaurs became extinct is still a puzzle. Several theories are listed in textbooks of geology, the most intriguing one being that the small, rapidly evolving mammals of that time—remote ancestors, incidentally, to man—destroyed their eggs. The dinosaurs depicted above were painted by the scientific artist Charles R. Knight. The length of the original paintings, which are now permanently attached to the walls of the Graham Hall of Historical Geology at the great Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, is 25 feet. The upper painting shows the mammoth tyrannosaurus



Tyrannosaurus Attacking a Triceratops



Brontosaurus Diplodocus

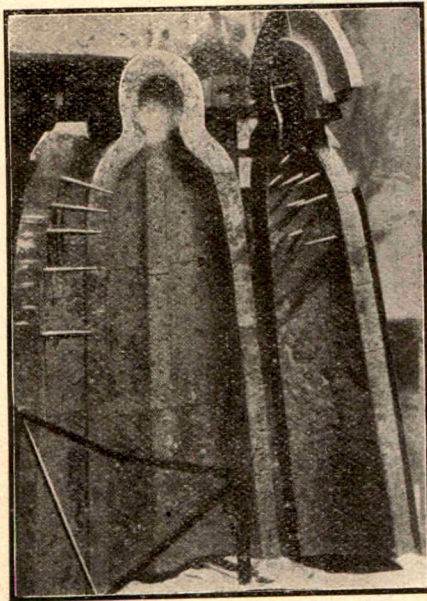


A Mosasaur and Pterodactyls

(right) about to engage in a duel with the only contemporaneous creature capable of giving him a worthy battle, the triceratops. The middle picture shows the brontosaur, which was a vegetarian. Below is a mosasaur, a kind of predatory "sea-going" dinosaur 25 feet long; also a flock of pterodactyls, flying reptiles.

Ancient Torture Chambers

High on a lonely rock, overlooking a bay on the wildest coast of Sicily, there stands to-day a castle which possesses a torture instrument more



blood-curdling than anything imagined by fiction writers. Mention the name of this infamous stronghold, Tolfi, to the Sicilian peasant herding goats in the neighbourhood, and he crosses himself with a shudder.

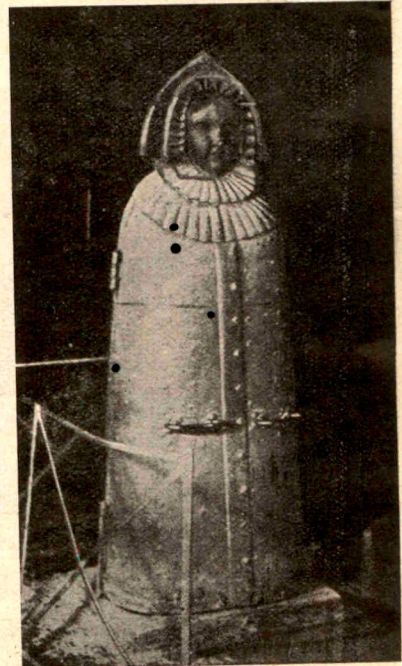
The heyday of this and other similar inventions was in the fifteenth century. At a time when Italy was torn with factions, a band of silent ruffians conveyed to Tolfi castle a bound victim, who had incurred the enmity of the sinister owner. They entered a dungeon cut deep into the solid rock, and passed through great folding iron doors, shut with a triple lock of enormous strength, into an iron cage. These iron doors never opened twice on the same captive. He found himself caged in iron from floor to ceiling. He looked up the lofty walls of this vast square cell and saw seven grated windows, heavily barred set at irregular intervals in the wall apparently to admit light and air. An iron bedstead, littered with straw, stood in a corner and a vessel of water and a coarse dish holding coarser food.

The captive fell asleep. When he awoke, he saw a fresh pitcher of water and food in the cell, yet he had not heard a sound of anyone entering. The same thing happened the next night. In the

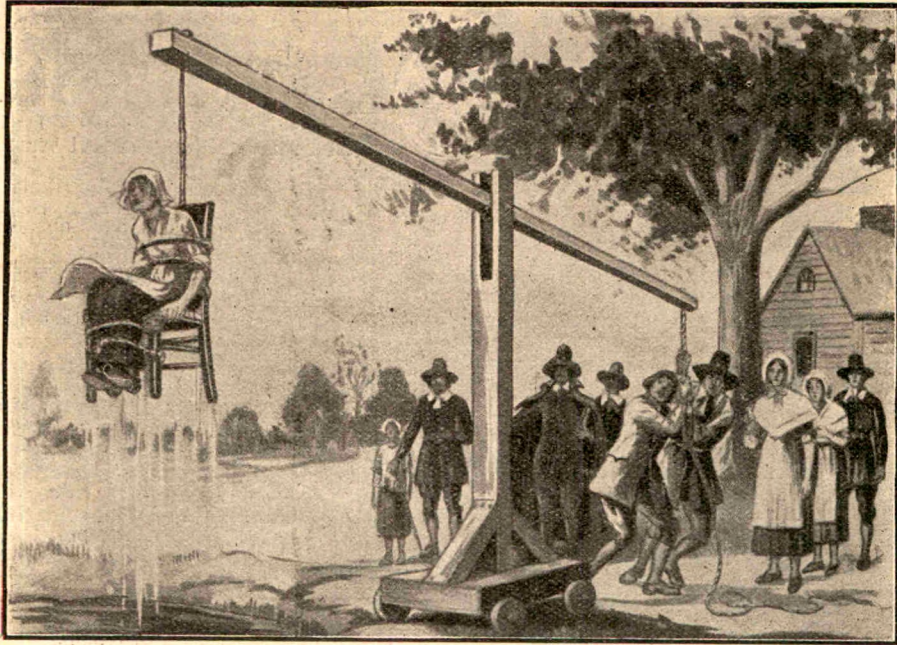
morning, the puzzled captive, looking around his cell for an explanation of the mystery, noticed only five windows in the iron walls. He had left a wisp of straw against the folding doors, so that any intruder would be bound to move it away. The straw lay just where he had placed it! Now he imagined that the dungeon had shrunk in size since he had entered it.

This iron prison was constructed as a cubical cage within another cubical cage, twice as large. The walls were thus double. There were two motions, a downward and an inward. The ceiling and walls, operated by a hydraulic engine, imperceptibly moved downward one section each twenty-four hours, masking one barred window of the seven on the iron wall. As soon as the downward motion was finished, the inward motion began, in which the ceiling and floor dragged the inner walls inward a distance corresponding to one-seventh of their width. By the time the projecting parts of the ceiling and floor were in contact with the outer walls, the victim was dead.

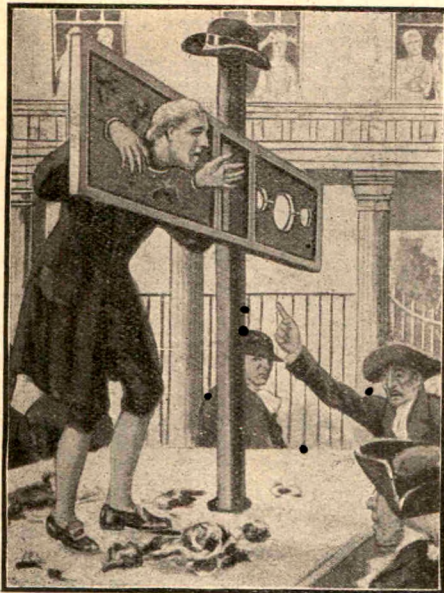
The Duke of Shrewsbury once arranged a remarkable exposition of instruments of torture in London. He had bought them at the royal castle of Nuremberg, Germany. Among them was the terrible "Iron Maiden." The face of a sphinx looked out from the exterior of this figure, which was a strong wooden sarcophagus, tied together with iron bands. Set in the walls of this instrument were two doors, opened to allow the prisoner to be placed inside. The whole of the interior



Two Views of the "Iron Maiden," a Favourite Torture Device of Olden Times; Sharp Spikes Pierced the Victim Placed Inside



More Light on Sumerian Culture

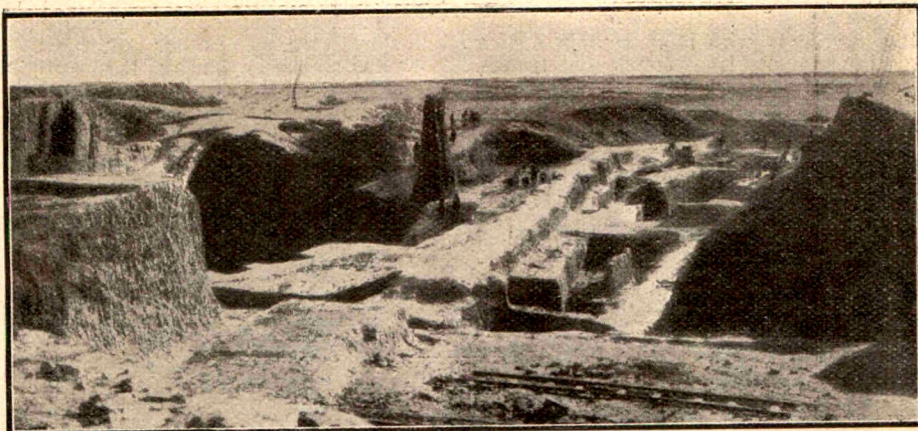


Commonly Used in the Days of Witchcraft.
the Ducking Stool and the Pillory of
200 Years Ago

was fitted with long, sharp iron spikes, so that when the doors were pressed shut, these prongs entered the victim's body,



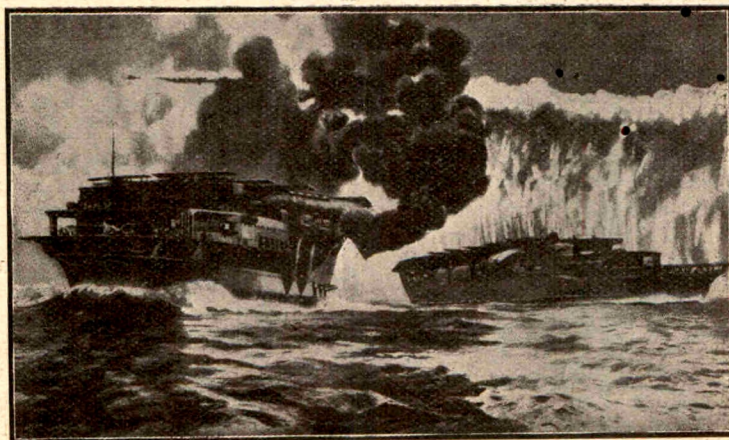
SUMERIAN ART
The small limestone plaque shows a king
trampling on enemies ranged in two rows



Excavations at Kish

Kish, in Mesopotamia, was supposed to be the first city built after the great flood of biblical times and therein was established one of the world's very oldest civilizations. Complete evidence of the great flood recorded in Genesis and also evidence of a flood of similar proportions has been recently discovered by excavators. The Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of the deluge are fully confirmed by the findings of the Field Museum Oxford University Joint Expedition to Mesopotamia, says Professor Langdon. Archeologists of the expedition estimate from the depth of the layer in the excavated site at which the evidence was found, from traces of the damage done by water, and from deciphering inscribed tablets found there, that the flood recorded in the Bible occurred about 3400 B.C. The earlier flood of which the excavators have revealed

traces is estimated to have happened some 600 years earlier, at about 4000 B.C. The evidence of the floods is contained in two strata of the ruins of the ancient Sumerian city which now lie at levels about 45 and 55 feet respectively below the surface of the great mound in which Kish was buried. Crushed down through the centuries, the lower stratum now has a thickness of eighteen inches. The expedition workers have bared a length of some 180 feet of this stratum, all of which shows evidence of the earlier flood. These discoveries are regarded as being one of the greatest steps yet made toward reconciling the results of scientific research with Biblical accounts of civilized man's early history.



Our artist's portrayal of the new Japanese aeroplane carriers *Kagi* and *Akagi* in action. Strange down-turning funnels divert smoke and fumes from the landing decks. A naval plane is seen laying down a phosphorus smoke screen behind the vessels.

Two Strange Warships

Two strange warships with huge funnels curling down toward the water like elephant's trunks, recently joined the Japanese Navy. They are the latest aeroplane carriers, the *Kagi* and the *Akagi*. With them the problem of keeping smoke and fumes from the engines away from the landing platform on the upper deck was solved by using the down-curving "trunks" in place of upright funnels.

On both sides of the *Kagi* these queer funnels extend nearly half the ship's length, turning outward near the stern to belch forth black clouds of smoke that increase the density of smoke screens laid about the war vessel. The *Akagi*

differs in that both its funnels are brought out on the starboard side and only one curves outward and downward. The other is upright.

When smoke is pouring from an upright funnel, a plane carrier has to be manoeuvred so the wind blows the cloud away from the deck. Otherwise pilots of battle planes have difficulty in seeing to land. The trunked funnel will allow the latest aeroplane mother ships to steam ahead irrespective of the wind's direction.

The 91,000-horsepower *Kagi* can carry its sixty fighting planes at a speed of more than twenty-five miles an hour. The *Akagi* is slightly longer and narrower. Her upright funnel will be used under ordinary steaming conditions and the "trunk" when airplanes are in flight.

Higher Schools of the Soviet Union

BY N. I. TCHELYAPOV

A comparison of the present net of high schools with those which existed in Czarist Russia can be drawn only conditionally to a certain degree. First of all, a number of provinces of the former Russian Empire have since seceded and formed independent states, to wit: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, and Estonia. Upon the territory of these former parts of the empire there was a fairly considerable number of higher schools which are at the present time outside of the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the territory under Soviet rule has become organised into six allied Soviet Republics, the majority of which have their own higher schools (RSFSR, Ukraine, White Russia, the Transcaucasian Federation, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan); there is also the Central Asiatic University in Tashkent (Uzbekistan) which is under the authority of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. Among the constituent republics there is only one without its own higher schools, namely Turkmenistan. For this reason it will be more expedient to draw a comparison between the number of higher schools in RSFSR and their division according to specialities, and the state education which prevailed before the October Revolution precisely in this section of the former Russian Empire.

When, so limiting the territory of comparison, we shall find that upon this territory there

existed under Czarism about 35 higher schools, which number included besides the schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, also the higher schools controlled by the Ministries of Trade and Commerce (polytechnical institutes, commercial institutes), of International Affairs (art schools), of Justice (law schools and surveyors' institutes), of Agriculture (higher agricultural schools), of Ways and Communications (transport institutes), but it did not include the higher military schools (including the Military Medical Academy which is still existing).

In 1925-26 there were in RSFSR 70 higher schools comprising 153 faculties.

The central idea of the whole reform of the higher schools was to impart socialist culture of the new Soviet apparatus of political life and to provide for the needs of the country in regard to proletarian specialists, not only born to that state, but capable of appreciating the tasks of a socialist state. A number of educational establishments in the pre-revolutionary period had proven not only superfluous, but directly harmful to the nascent proletarian state.

Thus, the former juridical and historico-philological faculties, the archaeological institutes, and partly also the former economic faculties, by the scope and trend of their activities, by their fundamental standpoints and outlook, were directly opposed to the materialistic conceptions of the proletariat,

and to the method of scientific thought and investigation which forms its underlying basis—the method of dialectical materialism.

Therefore, the People's Commissariat of Education was confronted with the task of not merely gradually reforming the institutions of such kind, but of entirely eliminating them, so that upon the vacant places left, there might be created the new institutions of social and scientific education. These the People's Commissariat of Education was able to start only in 1920-21, after the elimination of the former juridical and historico-philological faculties and of the archaeological institutes. Instead of these there were organized at a number of universities, the faculties of social science. It might be considered a characteristic feature of the "social science faculties" that they have taken the place of all the previously existing types of higher schools and faculties of social science and economics, with the exception of a certain number of economic faculties remaining at the Moscow Institute of National Economy, the former Commercial Institute of Moscow, the Polytechnical Institute of Leningrad, and the Moscow Commercial and Economic Institute and the Leningrad Institute of National Economy which were founded after the February Revolution of 1917.

The social science faculties thus represented a single type of social-economic schools which absorbed the previous juridical and historical-philological faculties and the archaeological institutes. Their teaching plans were drawn up so as to afford the student a certain specialization upon a certain general scientific Marxian basis (economic, historical and philosophical). Therefore, after the first two or three semesters of general courses the students were divided into the different departments; (1) Economics, (2) Law, (3) Language and Literature; (4) Sociology and Pedagogies, (5) Statistics, (6) Museum and Art Research, and so on. Consequently, the faculties of social science embraced special studies in law, economics, literature, art history, and partly also pedagogies. This wide scope of the courses, naturally hindered the pursuit of a distinct specialization, whilst the three year term adopted for these faculties did not allow sufficient time for profound study in a particular subject. And although the departments of the social science faculties were sub-divided again into more specialized cycles; nevertheless the faculties were rather in the nature of institutions of general education.

Yet the introduction of the New Economic Policy caused a growing demand for thoroughly trained specialists in the various branches of industrial enterprise and administration, which the existing social science faculties could not cope with. The revival of the market trade, the appearance and development of banking establishments, the various administrative establishments of the Treasury (the Budget, the collection of taxes), the extended activity of the courts, the investigating and the notary offices, the development of foreign trade, the establishment of diplomatic relations with other European countries, the growing importance and activity of the co-operatives, the need for statistical and financial stock-taking and research, etc. etc. all this necessitated the establishment of schools which graduated trained specialists for all these branches of activity. Moreover, the development of legislative activity, the legislative regulation of economic relations etc., made it necessary to acquire such a stock of knowledge that could not be crowded into two or three semesters devoted to such special subjects in the corresponding departments of the social science faculties. Therefore, as the result of the deliberations of a number of Commissions acting in connections with the People's Commissariat of Education and also of the Scientific-Political section of the State Scholastic Board, the social science faculties were dissolved. The dissolution was decided upon in 1924, but the actual dissolution was completed towards June 1, 1926.

Instead of the dissolved social science faculties there was created a number of differentiated faculties, which engaged in the training of specialized workers in the various branches of the State apparatus; the faculties of Soviet Law, Ethnology, Jurisprudence and Local Economy. Moreover, as already stated, a number of higher economic schools and faculties were retained. The newly formed faculties have retained one common feature of the former social science faculties, consisting in this that their teaching plans provide for the training of specialists upon a common strictly Marxian, scientific sociological basis. Yet the principle of specialization and adaptability to the requirements of the specific departments (People's Commissariats or other institutions) was carried out more rigidly and more clearly. The term of instruction was already

increased to four years, thus affording real opportunities to the students to become thoroughly grounded in general knowledge (in the domain of social science) as well as in the particular speciality.

The social-economic branch of higher education has at the present time seventeen faculties including two purely juridical, three economic (two of them at the Moscow Industrial and Economic Institute) four historico-cultural and two mixed faculties.

A new variety of higher education created only during the Soviet period, is the higher pedagogical education. Until October 1917 we had only the teachers' seminars, the teachers' Institutes, and only shortly before the imperialist war of 1914 there appeared pedagogical institutes like the Shelaputinsky Institute of Moscow, which were by no means characteristic of the official educational policies, and were not even included in the State system of schools.

In pre-revolutionary times the chief sources for the supply of teachers for the average general schools were the physico-mathematical and the historico-philological faculties of the universities. University graduates in history, literature, physics-mathematics, geography, etc. were considered as fully equipped teachers in their respective subjects. Nevertheless they had absolutely no knowledge of the psychology of the particular age of their students, nor of pedagogical principles and methods as applied to their special subjects; therefore, the quality of the pedagogical work could by no means be considered satisfactory from the standpoint of the demands that could be made upon those engaged in teaching and educating the rising generation. At the same time the pedagogical science in Russia, and particularly in the West, had already accumulated vast materials in regard to the organisation of the pedagogical process in strict correspondence both to the age of students, as well as to the particular features of the different subjects taught in the general schools. It became perfectly clear that it was absolutely impossible to leave the business of pedagogical training of teachers of special subjects in the general schools in the old haphazard condition.

Besides these pre-revolutionary circumstances characteristic of the state of education in pre-revolutionary Russia, the basic reason which urged the organisation of the higher pedagogical schools consisted in the cardinal

reform of the general school that had been carried out by the Soviet authorities. All the previous types of the general school, such as the gymnasiums, real schools, commercial schools, etc., were abolished and instead of them was established the single type of general school, the "Single Soviet Industrial School." The fundamental scientific pedagogical and organisational principles underlying the foundation of the new school were so different from those of the pre-revolutionary general school, that the new pedagogue became necessary to take charge of the new school.

The elements which go into the make-up of the type of pedagogue of the new school are the following: (1) the pedagogue must be a specialist in the particular subject which he teaches in the school; (2) he must possess profound knowledge in pedagogies, be well acquainted with pedagogical principles and the age psychology of the pupils, and at the same time possess a thorough methodological knowledge of pedagogies in general; (3) the pedagogue of the Soviet school must be well versed in the scientific method of dialectical materialism, *i. e.* be an educated Marxist. Such were the demands made upon the newly built higher pedagogical school, and these tasks it was called upon to fulfill.

At the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution we had 18 units of such higher pedagogical schools (institutes and faculties). This number is admittedly far from adequate, since the call for educated pedagogues to take charge of the rapidly growing net of general schools is considerably in excess of the number of pedagogues than the now existing schools can turn out.

Besides these higher schools which train pedagogues for the general educational schools, there exists also a tremendous demand for teachers in special subjects in the average technical school. This demand is supplied even to a lesser degree than that of teachers for the general educational schools. The task of training teachers on special subjects for the technical schools is carried out by the so-called higher pedagogical courses, which are organised in connection with the special higher schools. The number of such courses is still very limited, being only 6 in number; at the Moscow Superior Technical School and the Leningrad Technological Institute (for the average technical school); at the Timiryazev

Agricultural Academy and the Leningrad Agricultural Institute (for the average agricultural schools) : at the Moscow Plekhanov Memorial Institute of National Economy (for average industrial and economic schools), and finally, at the Pedagogical Faculty of the second Moscow State University (for the average pedagogical school).

Other branches of education, such as industrial technique, agriculture, and medicine, were less subject to internal structural reorganisation. In these branches the changes occurred chiefly in the following directions : first of all, the number of higher schools and faculties in each of these branches was fairly considerably increased. There were the newly organised higher schools, as for instance, the Mendeleyev Chemico-Technological Institute, the Moscow Mining Academy, the Smolensk University, the Kuban, Astrakhan and Omsk Medical Institutes, and the Irkutsk University. Some of the former higher schools were transferred to new

localities, as for instance, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Polytechnical Institute, the Nijni-Novgorod University, and the Voronezh University ; other schools became more developed during the post-revolutionary period, such as the Moscow Superior Technical School and the Urals Polytechnical Institute ; the Lomonosov Mechanical Institute was reorganised from an average school, and so on.

Another feature in the reorganisation of the higher technical, agricultural and medical schools consisted in that the teaching plans of these schools, and the whole course of their activities, were revised and reformed from the standpoint of complete co-ordination of the activities of these schools to the needs and requirements of our national economy and cultural progress. To these factors are due the considerable changes in the teaching plans which were carried out in these schools during the post-revolutionary period of their existence.

Education in London*

BY ANANT N. DIXIT, B. A.

I

EDUCATION in England is both a national and a municipal service. The Government Department responsible for this service on behalf of the nation is the Board of Education, the president of which is a cabinet minister. The control of the Board is exercised by means of codes and regulations, which have behind them the statutory authority of all the Education Acts passed by Parliament, now embodied in the Education (Consolidation) Act, 1921. These codes and regulations are in force for all schools which receive help from the State ; they prescribe in general terms how such schools shall be conducted. But the actual provision and maintenance of the schools is entrusted to local education authorities. Roughly speaking, the cost of education is

divided between the central and local authorities. For the country as a whole, the State pays rather more than half out of taxes, the localities rather less than half out of rates. In London the apportionment is practically equal, the London County Council and the Board of Education giving "pound for pound" to meet the public expenditure on education.

The London County Council is the local education authority for the administrative County of London ; it is responsible for the promotion and development of London education. The Board of Education thinks in terms of national education, the London County Council in terms of that smaller but highly important unit, namely, the education of four and a half million citizens of London, the largest aggregation of population in the British Empire. The Londoner, in contributing by his taxes to the upkeep of the nation and exercising his franchise as a Parliamentary

* Based on the Reports of the London County Council.

elector, can influence the national educational policy; as a rate-payer, voting in the London County Council elections, he can help to determine how the children of London's citizens shall be educated. This is the democratic basis of the London education service, which derives its power and its inspiration from the people. The people of London, acting through their elected representatives, are thus responsible for the form and extent of the education which their children receive, and they are always anxious to share this responsibility wisely. In doing this they keep in mind the three big questions that appear to them very important, *viz.* (1) are the children and adults being wisely educated, (2) are the teachers and officials usefully employed and (3) is the money being well expended. The education of the Londoner is a Londoner's business and of no one else. The London County Council's education service educates ten lacs of people, employs 30,000 teachers and officials and spends £12,600,000 a year. It is also worthy of note that in the year 1923, the youngest child at school was scarcely two years old—a baby in a nursery school; and the oldest student at school was seventy-eight—a grandmother and a keen student at a women's institute.

Public elementary schools in London are either London County Council schools or non-provided schools; the latter are so-called because they are "provided" not by the London County Council, but by religious bodies, who are responsible for the upkeep of the buildings, except the "fair wear and tear" due to the use of the buildings as public elementary schools.

II

The first London elementary school, which was opened in a cow-shed over a century ago in the Borough Road, was criticized because it taught nothing useful. Things have changed now. An elementary school is not intended to teach a trade to children, but to give them their first lessons in citizenship, to develop both their minds and *their bodies*. It is thought and rightly so, that three tools are necessary for every hour of work and for every hour of leisure; they are reading, writing and arithmetic. Then, as every boy and girl will become a citizen with responsibilities for the Government of the State, every child is instructed in the language and literature of his country

and is taught history and geography. Through nature study and elementary lessons in science, every child learns something of the



Individual Work, Hillbrook Road Infants' School

world in which he lives. Again, every child is taught to draw, to sing and to work with his hands; his physique is cared for by graded physical exercise and by organized games. It is reported that each year 30,000 boys and girls in the London schools are taught to swim. Children receive awards



South Grove Infants' School, Limehouse
Play out of doors with toys

from the Royal Humane Society for gallantry in saving life. Such and many other acts of bravery are recorded on the school "Brave Deeds" boards provided by the London County Council.

London elementary schools have a large amount of freedom. The London County Council believes in giving head masters and head mistresses a wide discretion in arranging the teaching of their schools.

Children stay at the elementary school until the end of the school term in which they attain the age of fourteen; but they can stay, if they wish, till fifteen, so that they may not be out of work and out of school at the same time.

Beginning in the babies' class, handwork is taught throughout the school. From the age of eleven every boy is taught wood work or metal work at manual training centres, and every girl household management at domestic economy centres. This practical instruction is given by a special staff. The purpose is not to make the boys carpenters or plumbers, or the girls cooks, but to awaken manual dexterity. The practical training given in this way totals three months in the pupil's life.

Sometimes children are taken by their teachers on educational visits to see with their own eyes the historic buildings of London, and there are few days in the summer months when classes may not be seen at Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, the Tower of London, or at the docks, parks or picture galleries, visiting the spots about which they have been reading in their history books. Occasionally their teachers organize school journeys, when a fortnight is spent in this country or at the seaside.

The spirit which animates these schools may be understood from the following interesting extract from the reports:

"This is a school of high ideals and broad outlook . . . specially successful in sport, and in fostering a good social spirit . . . It commands the interest and esteem of the children and the parents. Another result is seen in the bearing and conduct of the girls, who are well behaved and courteous . . . The children are "alive" and keen on the school and its pursuits. The attainments of the children, considering the homes from which many of them come, are very praiseworthy. There are weaknesses in the purely academic work, but these weaknesses are small in comparison with the fine spirit which pervades the school."

"*Esprit de corps* is strong among the girls. The senior girls take definite responsibility for the school discipline through a court for dealing with minor offences and have formed a club for the provision of flowers and plants for the whole school. The tone is excellent. The girls are alert and responsive, friendly but respectful in their behaviour towards adults, and the quality of the discipline is shown by the steadiness

with which they carry on their work when the teacher is engaged or they are left alone. By giving the children a large measure of



Organized Games—Maypole Dance

freedom, and at the same time imposing upon them more responsibility, the problem of enlisting their interest and good-will on the side of self education has been solved in notable fashion."

"The result of infant school teaching may be judged from three points of view; first, the extent to which those restrictions have been removed which impair the health and hinder the natural development of the children; secondly, the extent to which habits of courtesy, obedience, "self-control" are acquired together with skill in the use of limb, tongue and hand; and thirdly, the extent to which a grounding is provided in the three R's. From each of these three points of view the experiments have been a signal success; in each respect the school achieves its object more fully than under the old system."

All social problems, it has been said, come to the elementary schools. The schools have become not only places for acquiring the rudiments of education but national laboratories for the new needs of London and old needs of the children. These achievements cost for each child at school £15 annually.

III

The central school is a type of school intermediate between the ordinary elementary school and the secondary school. The London County Council was the first education authority to establish schools of this type

Every year London elementary schools send some of their picked pupils to a local central school, where they go through a course of four or five years' instruction in preparation for employment at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The instruction is general rather than vocational, but the curriculum has an industrial or commercial "bias" according to the needs of the neighbourhood and the wishes of the parents. The subjects taught at central schools are more advanced than those taught in elementary schools. Manual training is also carried further and a modern language generally French, and commercial subjects are introduced. The teachers are specially selected.

Children are selected for transfer to central schools at the age of eleven; the selection is made partly by means of the junior county scholarship examination and partly on the record of progress and conduct at the ordinary school. Many grants are awarded to promising pupils who need financial assistance to enable them to remain at school beyond the age of fourteen.

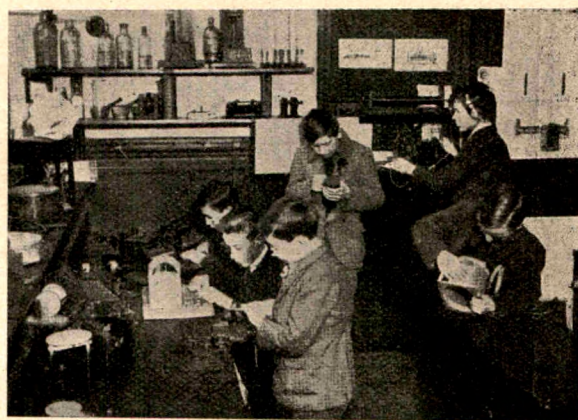
In an official report upon the London central schools, it is said:

"The organization of the central school system is one of the most valuable and promising developments of recent years in the field of London education. The local authority have recognized the fact after selecting pupils for their secondary schools there still remain in the elementary schools a large number of children who can with advantage, continue their education to the age of 15½, though at present economic considerations require that they shall begin to earn their own living soon after that age. If left in the ordinary elementary schools, they are sufficiently above the average in general ability to run some danger of wasting their time, and of not having their powers developed to the full. It is the problem of giving to these children a sound general education and of fitting them to some extent for immediate wage-earning that the central schools have been established to solve."

IV

Even in London the amount of thought and attention devoted to the social well-being of school children nowadays is still only imperfectly realized. This effort is described officially by the general term "Children's care." Every London elementary

school has a school care committee of voluntary workers, who are interested in child welfare. Over 5,000 men and women generously give up part of their leisure to co-operate voluntarily with the London County Council in all matters affecting the physical and social well-being of London school-boys and school-girls. This care work is dealt with by the agency of twelve local offices which have a small permanent staff for administrative and clerical duties; the voluntary worker does "field" service by visiting parents and agencies and institutions such as hospitals, which can help children in distress.



Broadwater Road School, Tooting
Wireless apparatus constructed by boys, with
school set in operation.

Every child in a London elementary school is medically examined at least three times during his school life. The first examination takes place as soon as possible after admission; the second at the age of eight or thereabouts; the third about the age of twelve. In addition, special medical examinations are arranged when needed. No part of the London education service has done more for the children of London than the expert and devoted work of the school doctors, dentists and several school nurses. As a result of this work London school-boys who are eight years old to-day, are half an inch taller and 3¼ lb. heavier than boys of the corresponding age 20 years ago. The increase in weight is more significant than the increase in height. Owing to the increasing friendliness of parents to the school doctors and nurses, the standard of personal cleanliness is also rapidly improving.

Over 200,000 school children are inspected every year by the school dentists, and more than 10,000 of these receive treatment. The results achieved may be referred to as a typical illustration of the benefits derived from the school medical service *viz.*, "Between 1913 and 1919 the improvement amounted roughly to 5 per cent. more children leaving school with sound teeth, from 1919-1921 another 5 per cent. was added and in 1922 still another 5 per cent., making 15 per cent. in all—in nine years."

The school medical service employs apart from general medical practitioners and dental surgeons many specialists. The resources of doctors, skilled in the treatment of the eyes, nose, ear and throat, of tuberculosis, of mental and physical infirmity and so on are nowadays available for London children in need of special attention. The school medical service is also intimately co-ordinated with all other questions affecting public health. In this way children's diseases and their consequences in after life are subject to a searching analysis which would have been impossible a few years ago. About £100,000 is spent annually on this important service. It is said that for the first time in the history of London the age-long ideal of a healthy mind in a healthy body is approaching fulfilment.

For the benefit of the debilitated children in the London schools, a number of open air schools and classes have been established. In Bushey Park (in one of Royal lodges lent by H. M. the King) on the cliffs at Margate and in the milder air of St. Leonard's on sea may be seen London children who are "run down" attending London County Council residential open air schools which are restoring them to health and vitality. The parks and playgrounds of London are also utilized for open air schooling. About 7,000 children each year are selected by the school doctors for instruction under open-air conditions.

V

London has probably the most complete system of special schools in the world.

Children remain as a rule, in attendance at these schools until the age of sixteen; at thirteen, blind and deaf children are generally transferred to residential schools. Handwork is the predominant feature of the instruction; many of the children are taught a trade, so that they may not become a charge upon the

community. Transport and adult guides are employed to take children suffering from physical infirmity to and from school. The average cost of conveyance for each of the 4,000 crippled children in London is about £10 yearly. This cost and the small classes and special medical and dietary attention necessary make the education of defective children a much more expensive charge in London than elsewhere, but few Londoners will begrudge the efforts made to train those



Ladies' Tailoring, Trade School for Girls

unfortunate children who are handicapped by bodily or mental infirmity into self-respecting and self-supporting members of the community.

Industrial schools are provided for the education, training, and maintenance of children who, owing to unfortunate home circumstances or in consequence of some offence (usually of a technical character), have to be removed from their homes by order of a Juvenile Court, and sent to a residential industrial school, where they are given opportunities for becoming useful citizens in after-life. The London County Council has only four of these schools, but has made arrangements with the managers of many similar schools in different parts of the country to which London children can be sent. The old idea that these schools were dreary institutions for the confinement of "wrongdoers" has been dispelled, and a brief visit to such a school would at once remove any doubts. The school would be found to be "populated" by a healthy, happy band of children enjoying many advantages which cannot be provided for children at the ordinary day schools. Many of the boys are

trained for Army bands, others for farming, tailoring, etc. Girls are trained for different kinds of domestic work. The children leave schools generally between the age of 15 and 16 years, but they remain under supervision until 18 years of age. The schools obtain excellent results and many children who begin life under well-nigh hopeless conditions have been enabled to make good owing to the splendid work of the industrial schools.

Very young children, instead of being sent to industrial schools are boarded out with foster parents in various parts of the country, where they enjoy all the advantages of family life in a good home which would otherwise be denied them. These children attend the local elementary schools in the districts in which they are boarded.

It is also the duty of the County Council to provide for children (14-16 years old) who are convicted for offences which would be punishable in the case of adults by penal servitude or imprisonment. These "young persons" are sent to Reformatory schools, where they are retained generally until 18-19 years of age. They receive training similar to that given in the Industrial schools.

There were night schools in London long before public elementary schools, but their main function then was to teach the illiterates. Forty years ago the number of night school students was under 10,000; the modern evening institutes are attended by nearly 120,000 students. As elementary education spread the night school gradually became a school giving technical and cultural instruction to those who had already received the ground-work of education. To-day the term, "evening institutes," is employed because it better describes the co-ordination which has been established by the County Council between all forms of evening education. The polytechnic and technical institutes concentrate, for the most part, upon technology and science, for the teaching of which elaborate equipment and machinery are necessary.

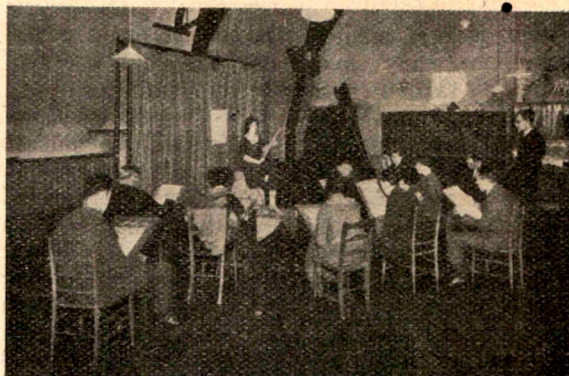
Commercial and literary subjects or other aspects of education requiring class-rooms, as distinct from laboratories or workshops, are now taught right from the elementary to the most advanced stages in evening institutes, thereby releasing at the polytechnics and technical institutes room for development along technological and scientific lines. For instance, the commercial evening institutes in London provide vocational training for all commercial pursuits, from the first stages

in book-keeping and shorthand to the final examinations qualifying for admission to highly-skilled clerical occupations.

VI

In addition to the commercial institutes, there are other types to meet the varied requirements of the Londoner. The chief of these are:

Women's institutes, providing education in domestic and health subjects for girls and women only.



Life Class, Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts

Institutes with more than one Department (*e. g.*, Junior commercial and junior technical).

Men's institutes, providing educational and social opportunities for the study and discussion of men's interests, pursuits and callings.

Literary institutes for students over 18 years of age desirous of learning cultural subjects such as the arts, aesthetics, history, literature, modern languages, philosophy and other humanistic subjects.

Junior commercial and junior technical institutes for students under eighteen, who as a rule take a "course" of instruction covering three evenings a week.

Students in evening institutes are taught by expert instructors; probably 80 per cent of these follow the trade or profession they teach. Thus, law is taught by lawyers; hygiene and medical subjects by doctors and nurses; accountancy by Chartered Accountants; journalism by journalists; music, languages, banking, shipping, insurance, home-dressmaking, millinery and so on by specialists who know the subject and what is equally important know how to teach it.

Children who have just left the elementary school are admitted free to the junior evening

institutes if they enrol immediately on leaving. Thereafter, they can secure free admission during subsequent years by regular and satisfactory attendance. From the Junior Commercial or Technical Institute, they can pass on to the Senior Commercial Institute, polytechnic, or technical institute, where more advanced work can be done and where there are opportunities for research.

The eleven Day Continuation Schools of London are free and voluntary; they may be attended by those employed or by those who are looking for employment. For both types of students, the subjects of instruction have been carefully worked out, so that boys and girls may receive vocational guidance as well as vocational instruction. The schools try to avoid the tragedy of fitting square pegs into round holes, of little pegs into big holes, or big pegs into little holes. The fitness of a boy or girl for a particular kind of job is watched, and once that fitness is determined, instruction appropriate to future employment is given.

The prominent feature of these schools is that they are meeting increasingly with the support of employers. At the Westminster School, boys and girls are trained, after selection by the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors, for positions in the big West-end stores; at the South Hackney School, local businessmen guarantee employment for students who have taken the courses in retail drapery and dyeing; at Brixton the grocery trades are co-operating with the Council in training boys to be grocers' assistants. Similarly, at Battersea butcher boys are being trained at Hammer-smith, waitresses. This training is intended to get the young employee on "top of his job", to interest him in its possibilities and prospects.

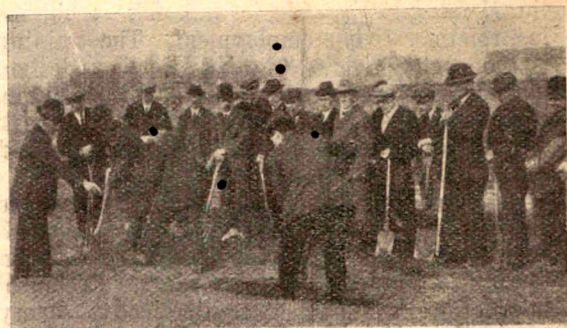
Side by side with vocational training, the students' knowledge of cultural subjects is carried further and attention is given to physical fitness. The whole curriculum, therefore, is a carefully thought-out plan to improve the mental, physical and business aptitudes of the students. The Day Continuation Schools, in short, provide free of charge to London parents, specialized instruction for ambitious boys and girls who wish to obtain a permanent position and not a blind-alley job. They provided a unique opportunity for the parent who cannot afford to pay fees to fit his children for

better chances in workshops, offices or any other of the great variety of industrial occupations that the young Londoner follows. The course vary from six to fifteen hours a week. Classes are held every day between 9 A.M. and 7 P.M. Attendance can generally be arranged to suit the convenience of students or of their employers and every effort is made to find work for unemployed



Stone Carving, School of Building

students, if they prove themselves fit for it. The schools are available for young people between the ages of fourteen to eighteen, the critical years when they are growing into manhood and womanhood.



Gardening Class, Battersea Men's Institute

VII

The concentration of population in London and the many occupations followed by Londoners have made possible the establishment of numerous trade schools, both for boys and girls. A trade school is partly a school and partly a workshop. These schools

are recruited, in part, from students awarded "trade scholarships" and, in part, from fee-payers. They are, as a rule, for boys between the ages of 13 and 16 and girls between the ages of 14 and 16 who are apprentices or learners. Apprentices usually have their apprenticeship shortened by a period corresponding to their training at the trade school. Most of the larger polytechnics and technical institutes provide trade schools during the day-time. In addition, a number of schools, devoted entirely to trade school purposes, have been built or are supported by the County Council.

Boys at these schools are taught furniture, cabinet-making, and wood work trades; wood carving, carriage and motor body building; building, carpentry, masonry, bricklaying, plumbing, painting and decorating and architectural drawing; engineering and metal work trades; silver-smithing, jewellery and engraving; professional cookery and professional waiting; photo-engraving and photo process work; book production (printing and book-binding) and tailoring.

Among the subjects taught to girls may be mentioned photography, wholesale dress-making, dress-making and embroidery for retail houses, trade embroidery, ladies' tailoring, millinery, lingerie making, ladies' hair-dressing, upholstery, waistcoat-making, laundry work and domestic service.

The work done at the schools attains a high degree of excellence, and, in normal times, the girls have little difficulty in obtaining remunerative employment. The training is thorough; girls are taught to plan, design, make; to appreciate the "flair" of their trade, its possibilities and resources; to speak about it and write about it pleasantly and gracefully.

London has no staple industry. It has always been the stronghold of the small trader and small manufacturer. The London County Council has made technical instruction available for practically every occupation the Londoner follows. Great monotechnics have been equipped for teaching everything about one particular trade; great polytechnics for teaching many trades.

Among the former may be mentioned the School of Building at Brixton, where technical instruction is open to boys about to become bricklayers, plumbers, or masons;

to men who are already architects, surveyors or master builders.

At the School of Printing in Stamford Street 2,000 students learn between them, everything about printing; at the school of Photo-Engraving and Lithography in Bolt Court Fleet Street, the various phases of another important London Industry are taught right from its elementary stages for juniors to research work for skilled craftsmen.

The London polytechnics and other technical institutes partly supported, or "aided" receive from the London County Council about £350,000 annually. The Council recovers half this expenditure from the Board of Education. The Polytechnics have also, in the past, been liberally aided by capital grants for building extensions.

Mention is made in the section dealing with secondary schools of the "pious founders" of some of the old-established secondary schools of London. An appreciative reference is deserving here about the ancient City Guilds, which for centuries liberally supported apprenticeship, and more recently technical education.

The tuition provided in all these institutions covers practically every technological process required in the industrial life of London. Each has some distinctive feature, and all have been carefully built up and overlapping minimized. Developments and changes are continually going on with variations in industry and population. Among recent developments which will show what is being done may be mentioned instruction in petroleum technology at Sir John Cass Technical institute; classes for plumbers in oxy-acetylene welding at the School of Building, Brixton; classes for the scale and weighing industry at Northampton Polytechnic; classes for textile distributors; musical instrument making and an advanced school of rubber technology at the Northern Polytechnic; science teaching in connection with commodities and the marketing of commodities at the City of London College; development of the building trades and music trades schools at the Northern Polytechnic; technical optics, aeronautics, telephony, and telegraphy, at the Northampton Polytechnic Clerkenwell; and the establishment of a higher school of commerce at Regent Street Polytechnic.

The Renewal of Culture*

(A Review)

By POLITICUS

THE author, Lars Ringbom, maintains that the development of culture is mainly due to the co-operation of different modes of man's social reaction, one of which is individualistic and the other collectivistic. The individualist relies on himself, and his belief in his own abilities shows itself in the social life by the fact that he makes greater demands on himself than on others, whereas the collectivist puts his trust in, and makes greater demands on, the group or community to which he belongs. The active individualistic mode of reaction belongs pre-eminently to the Western and particularly the Nordic races as well as to the masculine among the sex and the collectivistic mode of reaction belongs to the Asiatic races, as well as to woman in particular. The stronger the two sides both are, and the better they balance one another, the greater are the possibilities of development in that people's culture. The individualistic element is what makes the creative, fertilizing, masculine side of cultural development; the collectivistic element is the careful, protective side, that also holds everything together. In the words of Prof. Edward Westermarck, the author is an original and thoughtful seeker of truth with wide human sympathies, whose arguments are well worth listening to, and in this opinion we agree.

The book deals mainly with the culture of the West, and the only passages in which there is any reference to Eastern culture are the following:

"The culture of the East has of late been strongly influenced by that of the West, and this latter is beginning gradually to esteem the former and to teach itself to understand its various stand-points. A new universal cultural consciousness for mankind would seem to be stirring."

"...We can hardly deny that the East Asiatic cultures, especially the Chinese, have been able better than Western culture to reach an equilibrium between the two [individualistic and collectivistic] sides of the social mode of reaction."

This steadfast purpose of controlling the outward conditions of life through technical instruments has made Western mankind unfree in another way: it has become the slave of its own creations. From this arises the general wail over the mechanization of life; from this the pessimistic outlook on the future of Western culture. The East has always set greater store by the inward conditions of life, and has thereby been able to keep its hoary culture in full vigour of life. The Easterner looks down with a pitiful contempt on the nervous unrest of the Westerner. He knows how to take life restfully, and time for him has little worth. In this respect he is independent of outward circumstances, and in so far he is a free man. The synthesis of individualism and collectivism thus implies at the same time a synthesis of the Western and the Eastern conception of life.... This synthesis would seem now to be an indispensable condition for the renewal of Western culture. When this synthesis is completed and has led to a strengthened craving after freedom, the transformation of society and culture along the lines of a greater freedom can begin, and culture thereby renew its youth, and find unsuspected possibilities.

In this synthesis of the individualism of the West with the East, of the male and female trend and outlook on life, as the author puts it, lies the goal of our seeking, a realization of inner freedom in the individual. To characterize the oriental outlook on life as passive and receptive, and lacking in the sense of individual responsibility, is perhaps to do it less than justice. Let the West try to practise the freedom that comes of being independent of outward conditions of life, and it will find out what a strong, self-controlled will, what mastery of oneself, it requires. As saint Tulsidas has said, the king conquers new countries, the warrior wins battles, but he who conquers his own mind is the greatest of them all.*

Oswald Spengler's philosophy of history, which has now become well known, comes in for very vigorous, and in our opinion not unjustifiable, comment at the hand of our author. Spengler's general conclusion

* THE RENEWAL OF CULTURE (TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH): by Lars Ringbom. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 7s-6d. 1929.

* राजा को राज्यवश, योद्धा को रणजड़ ।
आपना मनको वश करे यो, सबको सेरा दे ॥

is that the various forms of culture, like organisms, follow fixed laws of development, that they have their childhood, youth and full flowering, after which they grow old, wither away, and die. In every culture he sees but a repetition of one and the same natural process. Such an idea of historic evolution, followed by periods of retrogression, is not unfamiliar to Hindu Pauranic literature, with their Yugas and Kalpas, cycles of progress and degeneration. Following his master, Nietzsche, Spengler finds the will to power to be the main driving-spring behind the world of historical events. To suppress the will of other individuals or groups, call it Caesarism or Imperialism or by any other name you like, and then to set about living on their labour and toil, is a form of parasitism, and the author rightly says that it is in its effect of no advantage whatever to evolution, even for him who wields the power. The craving to suppress the will to live of another cannot be regarded as a principle favourable to development, and it is all the less so if those who are suppressed let themselves be blinded by the splendour of power, and worship power for its own sake. In the West, however, the mass mind has been thoroughly aroused, and the evolution of the social consciousness has considerably mitigated the oppressive side of this will to power, and it becomes more and more a will to increase each one's possibilities of development. The will to power thus grows into a will to free development. Spengler's view of the will to power as something constant and beyond change, therefore seems to the author as the greatest weakness in his treatment.

The author's biological studies have been frequently called into requisition in corroboration of his exposition of the trend of social evolution. The subject of heredity has been repeatedly discussed, in connection with education, race hygiene (Eugenics) and cognate topics. It seems that the latest biological researches lend support to the doctrine of predestination and show how little environment can do to modify the influence of heredity. Let us try to expound this fascinating subject by some extracts from the author:

The foundation of the constitution is laid in the individual in the act of fertilization. The fertilized egg-cell has already within it the reaction norm of the organism that is to be, which norm is determined by the germ-plasm (heredity substance) of the two generative cells. In this

organism the reaction mode of each cell is determined by the nuclear substance (idioplasm) it has received from the two generative cells which formed it. The vital activity, the vital instinct, thus lies in the fertilized egg-cell as a developmental tendency. [This developmental instinct is ontogenetic, having to do with self-preservation, and phylogenetic, relating to race-preservation. The instincts towards knowledge, artistic creation, religion &c. have their origin in man's attribute of being social being, and are a synthesis of his mode of reaction to outward and to inward conditions of life, to race-preserving and self-preserving instincts.]

However strong the emphasis on heredity, Biology does not exclude variations, not only those arising at fertilization through new combinations of the hereditary endowment, but also other changes arising suddenly through a change in the hereditary plasm itself, e. g. through some one group of hereditary elements disappearing. These mutations, so called, are now very generally held to be the real source of phylogenetic evolutions. When such mutations, taking the same direction within a species, arise in a large number of individuals, then a new form of life comes into being. Ordinarily, the individual mode of social reaction is determined by sex, age, influences from the environment, and so forth, but in the end it depends on race and descent, that is to say, on hereditary factors.

The theory of heredity,..... has shown the lastingness of the life-type, that is to say, that outward influences cannot directly call forth hereditary changes, but that these are based on modifications in the composition of the inherited mass, partly through a new combination of the inherited mass from various races, partly through mutation. Applied to man, this means that education and environment cannot change the substance of heredity, that is to say, the innermost character of the race; and that thus outward factors have no importance for the offspring, although they have power to change the individual.

It may be that the higher power which men trusted to before, but in whose existence they now doubt, is, after all, at work within ourselves. Every man has his own hereditary endowment, which he can undoubtedly develop to a greater or a lesser degree during his lifetime, but which he has no power whatever to change after his own liking. This endowment is in the last resort determined by unchanging natural laws. In the end man is, like all else in nature, dependent on a 'higher Power'. But also he bears this higher Power within himself, and unlike the lower creatures, he is conscious of his place in nature and of his power to control both inner and outward conditions of life so long as his potential development allows of it. Here there is opened up the possibility of a religion freed from all tradition, free from the belief in authority, and making no demand on us for submission.

The view of religion, a dynamic state of equilibrium and inner harmony and balance—that is envisaged in the chapter on Crisis of Culture has several points of close contact with the Vedantic view. The author's views on love and hate, good and evil, moral and relativity, need of tolerance and of self-development rather than those social reform, happiness ["Happiness is something which we never get as a gift, and is never to be found in the outside world; we must seek it only in ourselves, with our own hearts, and there only can we find it"] go to show that the highest philosophic thought of the West, as well as the results of the latest scientific researches, combine to give their religious ideas, at their supremest level, a distinctly oriental colouring.

The practical bearing of the doctrine of heredity on the problem of education is thus stated:

The belief in education as a kind of moral orthopaedy can no longer be held in the face of the results of biological research. The material which the educator has to work up, or rather, bring to development, is the inherited tendencies, and he can add nothing new to them through education, just as little as he can take anything away. The art of education lies in bringing these inherited tendencies to an harmonic development, in leading opposed and warring instincts and appetites to fuse with one another; but any attempt to take out something from the young thing which lies in it, to change its nature through compulsion, finds its revenge in one way or another.

Regarding the hope of making mankind better by compulsion, the author holds very pronounced views, based on heredity:

Men's thoughts, feelings, and actions have in all times been determined by their inherited dispositions. Education and the influence of the social environment have undoubtedly been able to develop these dispositions in a higher or a lower degree, or to check their development, but anything new in the full meaning of the word the social factors have not been able to contribute, just as they have not been able to take away anything from the inherited substance. To put one's trust in laws and compulsion, and believe one is making better men, is in open conflict with the scientific views of to-day.

Granted that of the two factors nature and nurture, the former is by far the more powerful, since the function of environment in individual development is not denied by the author, it necessarily follows that everything, including legislation, which has the improvement of the environment in view, must have its use in society, though social reform may not be the panacea that its advocates claim it to be.

On the subject of economic compulsion which not only defers marriage but has led to the spread of neo-Malthusian doctrines with limitation of family as their object, the author has some sound observations to make. Man has seemingly made himself lord over matter, but in reality he has become its slave. Mammon had become greater than life, there was no God for man to entrust himself to; it was "blind" laws of nature that man had to do with, and so he dared not rely on himself. It was forgotten that the economic life is only a part of the cultural life taken as a whole. Not to acknowledge the material values as unconditionally the first smacks nowadays of the unpractical dreamer, but we must in the end learn to co-ordinate the economic with other sides of our cultural life and to regulate economic conditions by life, and not life by economic conditions. Life indeed is worth more than riches, and only that nation will live in the future and be able to perfect its culture which consists of strong, healthy and vigorous men and women. But

It is not thought for life's strength and health that lies at the roots of the new Malthusian ideas, but rather a wish to regulate life, and make it fit the prevailing economic conditions. This movement lacks a belief in the power of life to regulate itself, and holds economic conditions to be mightier than life.

This restriction was most general among the culture bearing classes of the race. The lower strata of society took abundant care for their propagation.

These latter had strength in their smaller self-control and lack of forethought; they stood nearer to life; they had not raised Mammon to be a God. Therefore, they had to suffer more, but for their reward they could look to 'living long on earth'. Those who have bestowed the greatest gifts on mankind have never set their trust in riches... Do we not dare to follow their example, and put our trust in the power rather of life than of economic conditions? It is not he who always cautiously cuts his coat according to his cloth that wins something in life and for life; it is the man with the fiery, longing and the burning belief. Life is not carried onward by always avoiding and watching for difficulties, but by overcoming them, even when they are due to one's own self... If wealth is to measure the value of everything, life becomes empty and barren. Men learn to be afraid of life. Their own comfort becomes their goal in life. The belief in money and the power of money, when driven to its full length comes to mean the same thing as arrested development, as death.

As regards the politically powerful classes and their influence on culture the author thinks that the upper layers of society see

rather the material advantages culture offers them, while those below see in culture an ideal that is to be striven for, and so it has a stronger ethical and religious tone with them.

It has been found that our Western culture, in spite of its command over the forces of nature, is in many respects ill-fitted to life. A soul-less mechanization has been the doubtful gain by this material culture, which leaves neither time nor room for the cultivation of personality.... Culture always demands a material foundation for its existence, but it is equally indispensable that it should have within it ideal factors, if it wishes to deserve the name of culture.

Intellectualism has taken such a dominating place in the cultural life of to-day that the feeling and the will have been left wholly unheeded. And yet it is on the development of the feeling and the will that all true character building depends.

The writer has no difficulty in showing how armed strength nowadays gives no security to the nations; on the other hand, these very armaments lead to preparation for war. A general disarmament is possible, if only the will is there, but he has no faith in "Leagues of Nations and conferences with all the tricky ways of imperialism which are a necessary part of them." Among the elements of a common nationality, language is generally held to be the most characteristic, but of course linguistic individuality is not absolutely essential, if there are other historic cultural, or ethnic ties.

On the psychology of the masses and party leadership in a democratized community, especially of the collectivist type, the author has something very bitter to say. The first task of the popular leader is to instil and to fan fear, mistrust and hatred. The mass soul is not capable of any intellectual activity. It is between fanaticism and enthusiasm as its farthest poles that the mass soul swings. A mass swayed by collectivistic tendencies is always despotic, it is drunk with the feeling of collective power. We are witnessing just now a mighty growth of the mass consciousness. New social forms do not arise by way of evolution, for this an upheaval is always needful, and it is only when the revolution is over that it becomes clear that a changed social consciousness is now before us. These periods of upheaval in certain cases are the introduction to a new cultural epoch; they end in the rise of a wholly new social and cultural consciousness, a new tendency of development. The dictatorship of the prolétariat

was followed by the party leader's tyranny. Selfish lust of power came out in a still grosser form. The party leader in aristocratic or oligarchic forms of constitution had the strength to rule, often a vision raised above party, a real love of sacrifice for higher interests. But where the masses rule, the party leader is not a ruler within the party, but its servant; he does not lead the mass whither *he* wishes, but whither the *mass* wishes. It is seldom the best man with special knowledge, but the fanatic, who takes over the leadership. The independent personalities no longer influence the mass, conscious of its power. The will of the majority sets its stamp on all. But equality in power is an impossibility, since men's endowments are so unlike. The hand of the party-leader's oppression lies specially heavy on the born economic and industrial leaders, specialists in the field of economics and technology. These strong personalities whose joy of industrial activity springs not merely from the lust of power but also from the creative urge which they feel strongly, are naturally a thorn in the flesh of the demagogic seeker after power. Development thus becomes regressive, not progressive, and cultural development comes to a stop in democratized communities.

A new class has undoubtedly risen into power, one that rules, not by the grace of God but by the grace of the mass; and so long as these demagogues burn incense to the masses they have a certain likelihood of keeping in power. But the favour of the masses is not very long-lasting, and soon enough it becomes clear that the new men in power are no better than the old.

Culture is not something material, nor should it be identified with refined living and the free disposal of the outward conditions of life, though the environment in which culture finds a congenial soil for growth is one in which all the strength one possesses is not absorbed in earning a livelihood for himself and his own. The essence of culture is not, however, in the outward environment. It is an inward environment of all the traditions, ways of thought, and political, social, scientific, artistic, and religious tendencies that belong to the times. All these have their life in the individual, colour his wishes and fix the direction his life is to take.

Culture ... carries with it a progressive differentiation, and in this process that section of a civilized people with an individualistic reaction gives the note and takes the lead. Under this

lead culture goes calmly and surely forward, but at the same time, as the result of this development, the social classes become ever more differentiated; they grow ever more strangers to one another, hold different views and follow different ideals. The community gains in cultural progress but loses in homogeneity."

That being so, the strength and vital power of the community should be conserved by collectivistic activities, which hold individuals together in wider unities; and the more the two sides balance one another, the more they bring about a state of dynamic equilibrium through an antagonistic interaction, the greater are the possibilities of development in the community or nation.

Mr. Lars Ringbom's book is certainly thought-provoking, and is itself evidence of the general prevalence of the same type of

culture all over Europe, for though the author belongs to the Finnish race, apart from his occasional reference to Nordic superiority, there is nothing in the book which might not have come from the pen of an English, French, German or Italian writer. Though Mr. Ringbom speaks of the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures, he has no doubt in his mind that Western culture "is the only one which can take the leadership in the evolution of the culture of mankind." Whether we agree with this emphatic and confident assertion of Western superiority or not, we can confidently recommend this book to those of our readers who want to keep in touch with the latest phases of European thought.

Reviews and Notices of Books

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE MAID OF THE HILL: By *Innocent Sousa*. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London. 2s. net.

A tale of Goa in verse. The author writes in the preface: "I think this obnoxious practice of demanding dowry arose from the time of Affonso de Albuquerque, the founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East, who encouraged Indian girls to marry Portuguese soldiers by granting donations in the shape of land or money." The heroine's father accordingly says to the bridegroom's father:

Three thousand is the dower I send

To promise me do condescend.

The poetical flow is not so extraordinary as to enable us to compare the piece to "The Bride of Abydos". Everything ends happily and ding-dong rings the bell. We thought of Goldsmith too on reading the first two lines "Land of my fathers, fare thee well: Bliss and peace on the bosom dwell." But we found the stuff following not even as commonplace as Goldsmith's.

BENGAL SWEETS: By *Mrs. J. Haldar, Chakravarty*, Chatterjee & Co. Rs. 2-8. Second Edition.

This book contains recipes for all kinds of

sweetmeats, and will no doubt be useful in every household. There are numerous illustrations. The author is proud of Bengal sweets, and considers that other provinces lag behind. She quotes only 'halwas' and 'Laddoos' of the upcountry people,—no doubt in utter ignorance of the fame of Kalakund, Burfi, Amriti, Jilaipi, Goolgoolla, Nunkhatai, Reuri, Sohanpatti, Motichoor, the four kinds of solid Rabris of Lucknow that threatens to hurl our Sandesh from its throne. There are many other sweets. If the author says that some of these are made in Bengal, the reply is that Sandesh and Rusgoolla too are made in the U. P. and Punjab cities. Moti Moira of Krishnagar passed his whole life in Allahabad, and said that Monohara and Sandesh prepared of U. P. Chhana excelled those made of Bengal Chhana. Upcountry Haluais are ousting Bengal Moiras in Calcutta, and even College St. and Cornwallis St. are full of them. We wish the book success, for every one is as fond of Burdwan Mihidana as of Delhi Kalakund.

TEACHINGS OF BABA MUST RAM: By *Babu Balgobind*. To be had of Mr. Ramchandra. D. P. I's Office, Home Dept., Govt. of India, Simla. Re. 1.

A European turned a Hindu and became a monk. His life appears in brief together with some of his sayings in verse. There are two splendid pictures. A book for those who love religious sayings.

CRITICAL STUDIES IN KURAL : By Prof. Purnalingam Pillai. *The Bibliotheca, Tinnevely.* Price 1-4.

A learned book by a learned author. We are told that "Kural" signifies the metre of a class of poetry written by a poet of whom little is known to-day. But European investigators have worked with great interest. There are some wise sayings which will interest any taste.

SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES : By William Miller, C.I.E., D.D., L.L.D. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price 1-8.

A critical analysis of the Shakesperian characters,—Macbeth and all. We are not sure whether at the present day such minute analysis would interest readers. It is done from a non-technical point of view, that is not done psychologically as has been attempted by Oscar Wilde with such remarkable success and appeal to scientists. It is true Oscar Wilde dissects Shakespeare rather than his characters. The author who is a very learned English scholar hints at the abnormal way in which Shakespeare's originals behaved and gave him opportunity of depicting so splendidly. These characters were all from real facts: he utilized the abnormal characters. He "interweaves new details: modifies old ones" and showed his "insight into the working of the human mind." Thus far Shakespeare has always been dealt with by students of Shakesperian literature. We find nothing new in the author's analysis. Still our deep interest in the portrayal of the feelings of Shakesperian characters always makes us thankful of any newly published discussion, however commonplace.

CRITIC.

MARATHI

CHANDRAKANT, Vol. III, translated from the Gujarathi original by S. R. Babarekar. Publisher: Gujarathi Printing Press, Bombay. Pages 608. Price Rs. 5.

The second volume of this book was noticed in the March issue of this journal. The present volume takes it readers to the *sumum bonum* of

human life, the realization of Brahman. Hindu philosophy points out three ways to attain it, *viz.*, Jnyan (knowledge), Bhakti (Devotion or love) and Karma (action). The author recommends the second as the most suitable and easiest for ordinary mortals to follow. He has carried home to his readers this truth with several illustrative stories. His advocacy of Mayavada may not be relished by many, who consider it as leading to inaction and despondency and consequently prefer Karma-marga to the remaining two paths of life as especially suited to the present times. Whatever the difference of opinion on this point, there is not the least doubt that a careful perusal of these three volumes will enable readers to appreciate the Vedant philosophy of the Hindus without much effort and will interest them deeply so as to undertake seriously further study of that vast subject.

V. G. Apte

SANSKRIT DNYANESHWARI by M. P. Oka, Sanskrit Teacher, New English School, Poona. Pages 300. Price Rs. 2

Dnyaneshwar was a real genius in that his Marathi commentary of the Bhagawat Gita, which he is said to have written at the age of 21, stands to this day after six centuries unexcelled by any one else and is held in deep reverence by the Bhakti school in Maharashtra next only to the Divine Song by Lord Shri Krishna. But for the difficulty of Marathi being understood in other parts of India, or rather of the whole world, Dnyaneshwari would have attracted hosts of intelligent admirers from distant parts of the country. Mr. Oka with his Sanskrit translation of the immortal work has removed this obstacle at any rate from the way of Sanskrit-knowing people. He has remarkable facility of poetic composition and the still remarkable power of accurate expression of even abstruse ideas in simple and elegant Sanskrit verse. In fact, the book may be taken as a model in translation, and fully deserves to be used as a text-book in Sanskrit in the upper forms of High Schools. The present volume deals only with the first 6 chapters of the Dnyaneshwari and it is hoped that Mr. Oka will soon be able to bring the work to *finis*.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(34)

DHIREN and Mukti sat in different compartments of the fast moving train, and gazed out at the darkening landscape through the window. Dhiren

leaned out of it trying to cool his throbbing head and smarting eyes. The sky was heavy with clouds, and his heart felt equally heavy and dark. Gradually his excitement subsided. He could see his way clear now.

Mukti had shown him where his duty lay. He must see her through, first of all. But his heart remained full of misery. If he could have cried, it would have relieved him somewhat. But he was a man and the compartment was quite crowded. He could not cry before others. They would take him for mad. He should not cast eyes of greed at a paradise to which he did not belong. He should try to accept his fate like a man. If he could greet misfortune with a smile, so much the better for him.

He went on thus catechising himself. But through it all, a small voice kept on whispering in his ear—"If Mukti knew that you were the bridegroom, perhaps, she would—"

Mukti sat in the women's compartment. She could breathe now. The terrible past lay behind her. Her heart overflowed with gratitude to Dhiren, her noble deliverer. She did not know what it had cost him to rescue her. While at Shibpur, she had suspected him once or twice, but she thought she had been mistaken. Perhaps if she had been less excited, she could have guessed Dhiren's secret. But she had been too busy with her own thoughts then.

Her fellow travellers whispered and made all sorts of wild guesses about Mukti. She appeared too well dressed for a widow. Yet she did not carry the vermilion mark of the married woman. But Mukti stubbornly refused to satisfy their curiosity and studiously kept her head averted. The ladies also wanted to know who that young man was who got down at every station to see if she wanted anything. He was too deferential in his attitude to be a husband. But in what relation did he stand to the girl? Mukti looked too stern to be questioned.

It was already night when the train reached Howrah. Mukti did not pause to think that it would be too late to enter the college hostel then. She got down from the train and rushed to Dhiren saying, "Please, see me to the hostel."

There had been a heavy shower of rain, only a short while ago. The roads had become well nigh impassable. Even the platform was full of mud. One feared to walk across it, for fear of slipping. So every one walked with extreme care, as they did not hanker after the wet embrace of mother earth.

Dhiren secured a hackney carriage after

a lot of trouble and started with Mukti. The rain still came in spurts; so they had to put up all the shutters. They sat in silence, in semi-darkness, as the tired horse plodded on. The rain penetrated inside frequently through the broken shutters, causing them to shiver and to wrap themselves up more closely. Dhiren felt extremely uncomfortable. He did not like this silence, this darkness and this close proximity to Mukti. He wanted to talk, but he could not begin. What could he say to her? So he became unduly attentive to the broken shutter, trying to mend it. He also ventured some remarks about it.

Mukti knew that Dhiren, who had rendered her such a service in her hour of supreme need, was very much attached to her. She felt her debt of gratitude becoming heavier every minute, and this caused her to feel restless. If it had been any other person, she would have been profuse in her grateful thanks, but to Dhiren she could not say anything. He might think she was joking. She felt much contrition now, thinking that she had once suspected Dhiren to be implicated in Mokshada's plot against herself. The silence within the dark carriage weighed heavily on her heart, but she could do nothing to relieve it. Anything she tried to say appeared ridiculous and unequal to the occasion.

The carriage reached the college building at last. The front gate had been closed long ago. Dhiren got down and shouted for the durwan repeatedly. A few wayfarers stopped to gaze curiously at him. Why was the fellow, shouting there, at that time of night? After a few minutes, a hoarse voice was heard from inside requesting Dhiren not to make so much noise.

Mukti and Dhiren both felt it useless to wait any longer there. The door was not going to be opened. "Let's go to our house," suggested Mukti.

Dhiren was amazed at her proposal. "How could you put up there?" he asked. "There's no one there. Won't you feel nervous?"

"Why, you will be there," said Mukti.

"Oh yes, certainly," said Dhiren after an uncomfortable pause and got into the carriage again. Mukti began to be a bit embarrassed now. She should not have said that.

When they reached Bhowanipore at last, it was nearing midnight. After a good deal of shouting and knocking they roused the

gardener, who was in charge of the house, and got themselves admitted. The rooms were full of dust and cobwebs, but they were too tired to mind these things. The excitement and nervous strain had worn Mukti out. She fell asleep as soon as she had entered her room and thrown herself on the bed. Dhiren was told to sleep in Shiveswar's room. He lay awake awhile, thinking and conjecturing, and then finally fell asleep, towards the small hours of the morning.

He thought mostly of his own affairs. Their last escapade would startle every one. Yet, it was no sudden affair, but had been growing unseen for some time. Its final dramatic outburst had shocked Dhiren most of all.

He was very shy and retiring by disposition. Being thrust into the position of a villain by fate had proved too much for his equanimity. Even when he had hoped to make Mukti his own, when he did not know that she was virtually affianced to another, he could never give utterance to his inner thoughts. So it was quite natural for him to become dumb now. Like a snail hit, he had retired within his shell. He felt ashamed of those few occasions when he had let Mukti catch glimpses of the secret chambers of his heart. He could not doubt that Mukti knew of his love for her, at least partially. Once it had been a joy to him, but now it had turned into shame and sorrow. Let sorrow and despair be his alone, he did not want Mukti to share it. He did not even want her to feel sorry for him. She could never be his, so let her not suffer in vain for him.

(35)

The morning was beautiful. It had rained heavily during the night. So the sun shone upon a wet landscape, and it looked like a beauty who breaks into a smile through her tears. Mukti woke up rather late and gazed out through the window. Rain drops, still dripped from the leaves of the trees, but they were rapidly vanishing under the kisses of the sun.

She came out of her room, and descended to the drawing-room on the ground floor. Dust lay thick everywhere. She found Dhiren sitting in a chair, and he seemed to have been there, for a long time. After last night's strange experience, it seemed rather absurd to behave and talk in the usual way. Still his mind hankered to go back to it,

as it is natural to crave for the ordinary after the excitement of the extraordinary. Man is fond of novelty occasionally, but he wants the comforts of long-standing habits, too. Mukti was feeling a bit awkward now. She did not know how to begin. She asked suddenly, "Won't you have your tea now?"

Dhiren looked up. His expression was rather grave as he said, "You can think of tea, even now?"

Mukti felt rather ashamed of herself. Perhaps she should not have mentioned tea then. Dhiren must think her very light and giddy. But Dhiren remembered that Mukti had gone wholly without food the last twenty-four hours. He was an ass to take her remarks in that way. She must be dying to have that tea herself. So he rushed to make whatever amends, he could.

"It is natural for man to think about his stomach first", he said. "It is to your credit that you were thinking about another's need before your own. I am really perishing of hunger and thirst. So please hurry up with whatever you have got in store."

Mukti hurried to the larder and collected everything she found there. There was not much to boast of. Only tea, some biscuits and a small tin of condensed milk. Mukti got busy making the tea. She talked on, as she found it embarrassing to sit silent. "You must be tired of your enforced guardianship by this time," she said. "Just see me to the boarding house and you are free."

Mukti would have been surprised, if she had known how little Dhiren desired his freedom. His face, too, did not look particularly careworn. But he had to make a suitable reply. "Yes", he said, "I shall have to look up the hostel authorities again to-day." As Mukti made no more remarks, Dhiren too fell silent.

Though Mukti was a young girl and the daughter of a reformer, yet she knew that much that it was against social conventions to live alone in the same house with an unrelated young man. So she became extremely anxious to depart, as soon as their tea was finished. She felt extremely embarrassed even while saying the most ordinary things to Dhiren. The fact of being alone together lent a different colouring to everything. Mukti had known Dhiren almost three years, but never had she seen such an expression on his face. He seemed

afraid to meet her eyes, and would answer her in monosyllables alone. When Dhiren had first met Mukti, he had been a raw youngster and would speak to her with eyes fixed on the ground. But it had been mere shyness then. Now it must be due to something else. Mukti believed that he was feeling exceedingly uncomfortable at their position and was blaming her in his heart.

Only courtesy prevented him from expressing this disapproval. Mukti wanted to end this state of affairs as soon as possible. So she got busy clearing away the tea things, and said, "Please get a gharri while I get ready." Dhiren rushed out of the room even before Mukti had finished speaking. Mukti stared at him stupefied.

The hackney carriage arrived. Mukti was surprised to find that Dhiren, instead of following her inside, mounted on the coach box. Dhiren must be awfully angry with her. Or some one must have censured his conduct. Whatever the reason, it had to do with her. So she felt ashamed to ask him in. They started. Mukti seemed to feel the eyes of every one on the road directed at her.

The path seemed unending. The situation, which Mukti wanted to end as soon as possible, refused to terminate, as if directed by an adverse fate. Rebel against orthodox conventions as she was, she could not help feeling much perturbation.

As the carriage reached the college building, she looked out very eagerly. Dhiren jumped down from the coachbox. It was usual here to meet many pairs of eyes, when some one drove in as Mukti was doing now; but the buildings and grounds looked strangely desolate and deserted. Mukti was going to get down, when Dhiren stopped her with a grave face. "Wait a bit," he said. "I don't see anyone here."

The gardener and the durwan were now seen leisurely advancing to meet the new arrivals. They salaamed to Mukti ignoring Dhiren.

"Where is Mem Sahib?" asked Mukti anxiously.

The durwan bared his teeth in a broad smile and said, "Nobody is here, miss."

"Why, what has happened?" asked Mukti in surprise.

"Do you remember the sweeper's wife Moti, Miss?" replied the man. "She died suddenly of two days' illness. The Doctor Sahib ordered all the young ladies home.

The whole building is to be whitewashed and disinfected; then they will return."

Mukti was at her wits' end. Dhiren's expression became graver, as he said, "There's nothing to be gained by waiting here."

"Yes," said Mukti, "get in please. We must consider what to do now." Her eyes had become full of misery and despair.

Dhiren got in and the carriage started on its way back to Bhowanipore. Mukti remained staring out of the window. After a while Dhiren had to break the silence. "What are you going to do now?" he asked.

Mukti turned to him as her sole refuge in this trouble. "Tell me what to do," she said.

Poor Mukti! she had never been asked to think so much about herself. Her brain was feeling numb. She wanted some one to direct and guide her now.

"Cannot you go to some friend's house?" asked Dhiren.

"To whom?" asked Mukti in reply. "Anadi Babu would have taken me in, but he has gone out of town."

"But your friend Chapala seemed a nice girl. Cannot you go to her?"

"Good Lord, no!" said Mukti in dismay. "I could never explain the situation to Chapala's mother. She would drive me mad with her endless cross examination."

"Where to, Babu?", shouted the coachman from above. Dhiren had no alternative but to direct him to return home. Then he turned to Mukti again. "Haven't you got a friend called Bella here?"

"Yes," said Mukti, "but I am not sufficiently intimate with her to ask her to do so much for me. Besides I feel ashamed to face people now. Everyone would ask for explanations and I am sure I cannot explain clearly enough. Wherever I go, there's sure to be a scene. I don't feel strong enough for it."

"Then we cannot do anything else but return home at present," said Dhiren. "I shall wire to your father asking him to return immediately. Send your gardener for your old maidservant. You must have a woman in the house."

Mukti seemed pleased like a little child. "Very well," she said. "I don't think anybody would bother to enquire whether I have returned or not. I hope father will come back within two or three days, then all these troubles would be ended."

Mukti was very anxious to keep her

arrival a secret. But the poor child did not know that this attempt at secrecy would be a very damaging evidence against her in the eyes of the world.

When they reached Bhowanipore, Dhiren rushed off at once to wire to Shiveswar. Then he sent the gardener in search of the old cook and maidservant, who had long been in Shiveswar's service. Fortunately both the women were found and brought over. Dhiren directed the two women to live in the house, till Shiveswar's return and look after Mukti. Then he began to hesitate. He wanted to say something, but did not know how to put it.

"Look here," he said at last. "I must go and look out for lodgings now. Of course, I shall come and see you everyday."

"No, no, please," cried Mukti in alarm. "It won't do at all. I cannot live here with servants alone."

Dhiren cast a long look at her face, then went out, saying, "All right, don't be afraid. I shall arrange everything."

As he came out he nearly collided with a very stout gentleman with a big bald head. The latter was evidently waiting to be shown in by some one. He looked curiously at Dhiren's flushed and distressed face and

asked, "Can you tell me, when Mr. Ganguli would be at home? I can wait a bit. I must see him on urgent business."

"But he is not in Calcutta", said Dhiren. "He has gone to Simla for a change."

"Is that so?" asked the gentleman in surprise. "The bearer told me that only the young miss was here, the master was out. I thought he had gone out for a drive or a walk. But is Mr. Ganguli's mother here? If so, I want to see her for a minute."

"She is not here", said Dhiren shortly. The gentleman looked a bit amazed. "Please call his daughter then", he said.

Mukti came in. In reply to the gentleman's question, she stated that her father was likely to return very soon. The old man entrusted some papers and documents to Mukti, saying, "Keep these carefully. I shall come as soon as your father arrives. You don't seem at all well. Country air has not improved your health it seems. Who brought you over? This gentleman? Is he a relative?"

Mukti replied uniformly "Yes", to all his questions. The old man took his leave soon after. Dhiren too left.

(To be concluded)

An Indian Pilgrimage to Bristol

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

EVERY year, on the 27th of September, followers and admirers of the great Raja Rammohun Roy make a pilgrimage to Bristol to visit the Raja's tomb in the Arno's Vale Cemetery. This year's pilgrimage was specially interesting on account of the unveiling of two memorial tablets at the Lewin Mead Chapel and one at Park House, Stapleton. The visiting party, too, was this year large and representative and the people of Bristol accorded a very cordial and altogether princely welcome.

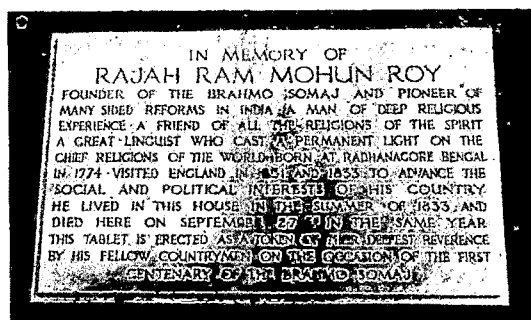
The party left London on the morning of the 27th and reached Bristol about a couple of hours later. It was a large and impressive gathering consisting of Indian ladies and gentlemen of diverse religion, opinion, rank and profession. One could notice in it among

others, the Dowager Maharani of Cooch Behar, Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee, Miss Runga Rao, Mrs. Suniti Sarkar, Dr. S. N. Roy, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Mr. S. K. Sen, Sir Albion Banerjee, many Government officials and a number of students. The party was received, on their arrival at Bristol, by a great crowd, which cheered as the visitors drove through the streets in special motor coaches. Many mothers brought their children to be blessed by the Indian visitors and everybody was eager for a hand-shake. They first drove to the Bristol Council House where they were officially received by the Lord Mayor and the Sheriff.

The Lord Mayor welcoming the Indian "pilgrims" recounted how the great Raja Rammohun Roy came to Bristol nearly one hundred years ago. He came at the invitation of Dr. Carpenter and his daughter Mary

* Photos by Bimal Mukherjee,

Carpenter. The Raja was a great lover of Bristol and admired specially the wonderful scenery of the city and its environs. He lived at Stapleton. The Raja was a great worker and his heavy work told on his health. It was a great misfortune that he could not finish his work thoroughly before his death which took place untimely at Brook House, Stapleton. He was surrounded at the time of his death by friends and admirers who fully realized what pioneer work the Raja had been doing and



The Tablet at Beach House, Stapleton Grove

its importance to the future progress and well-being of the Indian people. The Raja was also a sympathetic student of Western manners and customs.

The Sheriff of Bristol also made a speech welcoming the Indians and said that any one who knew anything of Raja Rammohun Roy's career could not fail to be impressed by his great ability and spiritual qualities. In reply to the Lord Mayor and the Sheriff, Miss Runga Rao and the Maharaja of Burdwan thanked them for their kindness in giving the Indian visitors such a fine welcome.

The visitors then proceeded to the Lewin's Mead Chapel, where Raja Rammohun Roy and, later, Brahmananda Keshab Chunder Sen preached. Two fine bronze tablets have been erected on the wall of the chapel with the following inscriptions:

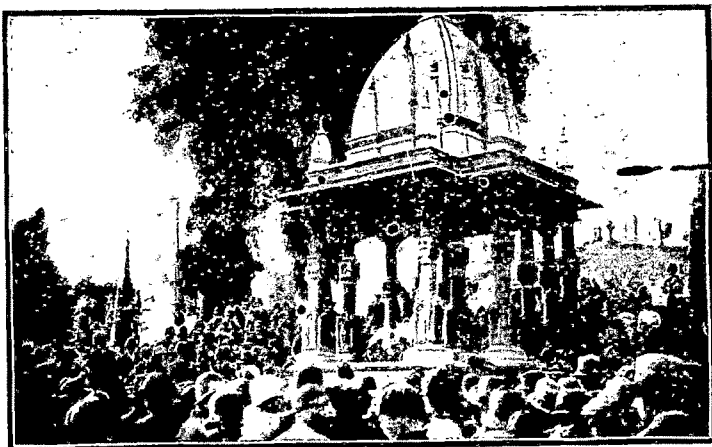
"Raja Rammohun Roy, founder of the Brahma Samaj of India, preached in this meeting house in the year 1833."

"Keshub Chunder Sen, social reformer and spiritual leader of the Brahma Samaj preached in this house in the year 1870."

The first tablet was unveiled by Miss Tudor Jones and the second by the Dowager Maharani of Cooch Behar who is a daughter of Keshub Chunder Sen. After the unveiling the visitors went to see the Red Lodge. Later they had lunch at Bobby's Restaurant where the Sheriff of Bristol, Mr. E. J. Taylor presided. Later in the afternoon the visitors went to the Arno's Vale Cemetery for the annual service held there at the Raja's tomb. Wreaths were laid on the Raja's tomb, in behalf of the visitors and of the London Brahma Samaj by Miss Runga Rao and Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee.

The Rev. Tudor Jones said that for the last fourteen years, even before the Indians in England commenced this annual visit to their reformer's tomb, they had been holding an annual service at the Raja's tomb. The Raja, he said, was a great builder who tried to construct a bridge between the East and the West.

Sir Albion Banerjee (son of Sebabrata Sasipada Banerjee, founder of the Calcutta Devalaya. Sir Albion was born at the Red Lodge, Bristol.) said that Raja Rammohun Roy was undoubtedly the father of modern India. It was he who effected the first and



General View of the Raja's Tomb

the greatest change in the position of Indian women. The Maharaja of Burdwan also spoke of his great admiration for the Raja. The last speaker was Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, who comes of a well-known family of Brahmos in

Calcutta. The service terminated with a Bengali hymn by Sreemati Suniti Sarkar, grand-daughter-in-law of the late Pundit Sivanath Shastri. Her singing created a deep impression on the assembled people.

The party finally drove to Stapleton where a memorial stone has been placed in the garden of Park House, at the original burial place of the Raja. A tablet, erected on the wall of the house, was unveiled by Miss Runga Rao. At the end of the eventful day the party returned to London. The welcome accorded to their Indian guests

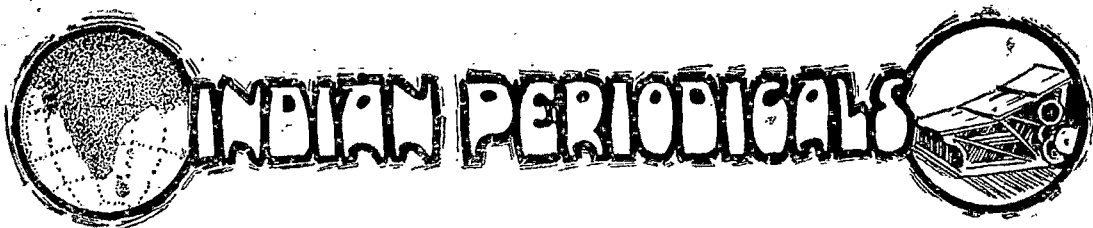
by the Bristol people was really striking and the Bristol press devoted much space to this event on the following day, giving long illustrated accounts of the pilgrimage. It is hoped that next year the pilgrimage will be even more impressive and the number of visitors even larger. Admirers of the Raja in India, should make arrangements with Indians in England every year to place flowers on the Raja's tomb on the above occasion in their behalf. We expect all India to assemble in spirit in Bristol once every year.



Miss Runga Rao Unveiling the Tablet at
Beach House



Miss Suniti Sarkar Singing a Bengali Hymn



The End of Amanullah's Schools

One of the greatest preoccupations of the late King Amanullah was the education of his subjects. He had realized early in his life that educational progress was as much a necessity for his country as political independence and material prosperity, and one of his first acts on coming into power was to send a batch of Afghan boys for education to Europe. He next turned his attention to the reform of education in his own country. A new educational policy was inaugurated and schools directed by Frenchmen and Germans were established at Kabul. How they all came to an inglorious end with the accession of the robber king Bachcha-i-Sakao is described by M. F. Benoit, who was a lecturer in the Kabul College, in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*.

On the 20th of January, 1929, the robber-chief Bacha e Saqao, who had captured the Afghan capital, announced in his proclamation, that all the schools except the Medressehs were abolished. As a proof that king Amanullah was a confirmed kafir and traitor to Islam, it was proclaimed that he had, "founded boys' and girls' schools where writing from left to right was taught as well as foreign arithmetic, the names of kings who had ruled in non-Muslim countries (history was meant), the names of towns and rivers outside Afghanistan (*i.e.*, geography) and many other kinds of infidel knowledge."

In his first attack on Kabul (14th December, 1928) he had held for a couple of days the premises of the School Habibieh, formerly a residence of Habibullah at the northern entrance of the town. The weather was pretty cold, so his men disposed of all available desks and blackboards as fire-wood. The books printed in foreign languages and all books and writings containing illustrations were torn and burnt. All the bottles and phials of the laboratory were declared to contain whiskey and were smashed to powder. The maps, diagrams, apparatus and an old skeleton were also demolished as impious and diabolic contrivances. Many of the resident boys, who had not been able to escape, watched the proceedings, and it is probable that the sight was one of the best object lessons they had ever received. It is doubtful whether Bacha e Saqao was really so pious and scrupulous towards certain injunctions of the Islamic religion as he seemed to be; but he was supported by the whole clergy of Kabul and probably acted from considerations of diplomacy as well as faith. When he took the capital

for good, one month later, his troops were accommodated in the different schools. The library of the French School was looted, the cupboards were broken and the books were either destroyed or sold to any passer-by. Many of the older students of the school, who had heard of the occurrence, at once came, clad no longer in their uniforms but in the orthodox Afghan way, and bought for a few pice piece big dictionaries or atlases that were offered to them by the soldiers.

In this lamentable way ended the efforts of five years during which the enlightened king had left no stone unturned to give his people the advantages of a systematic and progressive education. It is to be wished that the more civilized elements of the nation will some day or other understand how disinterested he had been; and that, far from undermining or being a traitor to Islam, he was trying to make it more progressive and therefore more powerful.

Women and the Arts

Prabuddha Bharata publishes an article by the late Sister Nivedita in which she develops her idea how women might help to revive the old arts and crafts of India:

We talk a great deal of what is to be taught us. Why do we not glance occasionally at what we ought to learn for ourselves? National restoration may involve a *recoiler pour mieux sauter* (a recoil in order to leap better), but national restoration cannot take place by mere imitation of the past. For the strength gathered in that past, we have now to find new applications. Are the old industries dead? Then, with the craft-dexterity and wisdom which they bred in us let us invent new industries. The women's occupations are vanishing curiously. The old incised clay for dishes, the old modellings for worship, the nice floor-ornaments for the threshold, are less and less needed. But the power that produced these things is still there. Let it now become the mother of great Indian schools of design and sculpture. Let us open our eyes to the true ambitions. In some ages woman is admired for her ignorance and touching naivete. In others she is equally praised for her learning. The one sentimentality is as useless as the other. Each is merely a fashion. The true question is: what knowledge, what power, what self-discipline and creative impulse has the race developed in this or that direction, by each one of its children?

Education and the Pacifist Ideal

In course of a paper presented at the Third Biennial Conference of the World

Federation of Educational Associations held at Geneva from July 25 to August 4, 1929, and published in *The New Era* Mr. F. J. Gould points out how education generally, and teaching of history in particular, might prepare the future generations for the idea of world unity :

The human race at heart is a unity. If mankind is not a unity, let us declare that war is a natural shock between one section and another, and that slavery is no crime. Man is one blood. Until the educators make this truth blaze with enthusiasm and poetry man will not reach his complete powers in co-operation, intelligence, and creation of beauty and joy. The centuries have been pregnant with this revelation. The soul of man has painfully waited for it. The vast modern development of kindergartens, schools, colleges, and universities is a failure and a waste unless, like a Messiah proclaiming a new kingdom, or a Columbus discovering a continent, or an oppressed class demanding liberty, it flames this ideal before the eyes of universal youth. Science, if not married to this truth, is a brilliant curse.

The golden road to unity is barred by cruelty, war, slavery, poverty, disease, and ignorance. History reveals man's purgatorial march amid these evils. In language and illustrations suited to youth our denunciation of these evils must be coupled with constructive motives—denunciation of cruelty, coupled with stories of co-operation and of kindness to animals ; denunciation of war, coupled with praise of the soldier's service and heroism ; denunciation of slavery, coupled with homage to the pioneers of freedom ; denunciation of poverty, coupled with praise of the fortitude of the poor and the courage of reformers ; denunciation of disease, coupled with the glorious record of sanitation ; denunciation of ignorance, coupled with the splendid record of nature, observation and of science ; denunciation of colour-prejudice, coupled with gratitude to the apostles of mutual understanding and amity among the black, brown, yellow, and white races. •

All over the educational world teachers cry out against the burden of many "subjects." Education needs a unifying idea. What more unifying idea can it have than the broad, liberal, poetic, inspiring history-teaching which seeks to assist world unity ? History-teaching, in this uplifting and wealthy sense, may be called the Bible of Humanity. Why study science ? As a means of human service. Why art ? As a means of beautifying humanity's home. Why reading, writing, crafts indoor and outdoor, and the rest ? As means of social order and progress. Every one of these "subjects" has a history ; every one has emerged from simple experiments and unfolded into a larger score of usefulness. All are parts of the one great history Bible. In the education of tomorrow this history Bible will stand, not as a subject in a list of subjects, but as the supreme and all-governing study and inspiration.

St. Paul cried at Athens : "One blood ! all nations !" Athens had never heard a grander message. This is the message of unity for politics, economics, science, art, education, religion. It

does not cancel nationality. Let every nationality and every race develop more genius, more local beauty. Let the history-teacher celebrate the peculiar merit of every Motherland. Teachers of all countries, unite ! While social pioneers seek to liberate us all from old slaveries and old money-powers, let history-teachers construct, in the intelligence and heart of all races, a deeper appreciation of the wonderful normal and creative energies that made the civilization of the Past, and are unfolding, slowly but inevitably, the unity of mankind.

The Post Office and the Telegraph Department

Labour brings forward the contention that the Post office is being used to cover the loss in running the Telegraph Department and that the dictum that the Post office is not a revenue-yielding department might prove false if a more accurate system of auditing were adopted :

The Post office is playing the role of "Father-in-law"—*Sosoor* to the Telegraph, Wireless and Telephone branches which are and have been working at a loss. They are battenning on the surplus yielded by the Postal branch, while Post office workers are denied the same enhancement of pay as granted to employers of other departments of Government Service. A committee appointed in England have given its considered opinion that the duties and responsibilities of the Post office clerk are more onerous than those of the Telegraphist and therefore demand a higher wage, but in India, for reasons not apparent or understood, the telegraphist is styled a "skilled workman" and paid at a greatly higher rate, and this in face of the fact that such skill as he possesses has been acquired at Government expense to meet Government requirements.

I am confident that there is something radically wrong in the method of accounting, hence repeat my advice to submit the Budget figures so far as they appertain to the Post and Telegraph Department to a chartered or incorporated accountant of standing and experience, *not for audit*, but for criticism whether the method of accounting is just and fair and in consonance with the declared policy of Government that the Post office is *not* a revenue-yielding department.

Three Overlooked Evils in India

A contributor to *The Oriental Watchman* points out three evils which have more or less escaped the notice of social reformers in India, and the last of which—the cinema, a new, popular and ever-increasing phenomenon, require special vigilance if it is not to degenerate from an educative influence and a healthy recreation into one of the morbidest of pleasures :

There are many evils in our great India which

are to be shunned. There are three special ones concerning which we feel we should warn all honest and right thinking people.

These evils are lotteries, gambling, and cinema shows. They are all connected with getting money. And the love of money, which is the root of all evil, is at the bottom of them all. Lotteries and gambling teach young people to try to get money without working for it. Get something for nothing is the plan of the devil. Every time a person gains anything by gambling or lotteries some one else has to lose something. One man's loss becomes gain for some one else. There is no good in this sort of business, but there is much harm. It often leads to dishonesty, fraud, crime, disgrace, and ruin. Such things are not only harmful to individuals but they are against the best interests of the nation.

The third evil spoken of is the cinema show. This is a comparatively new thing in India. There are perhaps some good things in the cinema, in fact, it is hard to find any bad thing but what there is a little good in it. But the trouble is the bad in such things is always more than the good. The cinema encourages the spirit of unrest, disquiet, and the desire for unnatural and unhealthy excitement. Young people who habitually attend cinema shows will not be satisfied to stay at home with the family, but will always desire to be in the show.

The show leads to a needless waste of money. To those who have plenty of money this point may not have much force, but those who are poor will be caused to part with their money and suffer as a result.

The cinema often shows up an unreal sort of life. Extravagance in dress, and looseness in deportment are shown in these pictures. Lessons in cheating, stealing, robbing, fighting, murder, and immorality are taught by the pictures shown in these places. Young people who see these things from week to week will become affected by them. They will be tempted to try to do some of the things they see done in the picture show. Many young men who are in prison in western countries to-day, are there because of lessons they learned at the cinema. They saw the picture of how some man robbed a house, got some money or jewels and ran away. Thinking they could do the same thing they tried it, were caught at it, and had to go to jail.

It is the duty of every one who loves his country and has a desire to see the young people develop along right lines and shun the pitfalls that the devil has for them, to condemn cinema shows and do all they can by precept and example to keep people from attending them.

Back to Non-Co-operation

In our last issue we published some extracts from the article which Sj. Rajendra Prasad is contributing to *The Hindustan Review*. The first portion of his article was devoted to a survey of the non-co-operation movement. He now brings his argument to a close and re-iterates his faith in non-co-operation as the only means open to the people of India

to realize their political demands as embodied in the Nehru Report :

As I understand the matter, Dominion Status means nothing less than a partnership at will with the other parts of the British Commonwealth, and it will depend entirely on the attitude of the Britishers and the British Dominions, both before and after India attains her goal, as to whether India will exercise that option in favour of maintaining that partnership or of dissolving it. If, however, Dominion Status means anything less, many who are at present content to accept it will not care for it. If "Independence" means perpetual war with the British and the other Dominions, I do not think many who support that ideal now will like to keep India in that condition. The practical proposition for consideration is what steps can and should be taken to enforce the national demand as embodied in the Nehru Report. The present state of affairs is intolerable to all and can be perpetuated in future only by force, as it has been so long, and steps have therefore to be taken, and means adopted to counteract it. Three programmes may be taken into consideration. The oldest and much tried one is that of "constitutional agitation." It is still accepted by the bulk of the moderate and liberal politicians—though some of them now are veering round in favour of boycott of imported cloth—but has been definitely abandoned by the Congress and has been irrevocably rejected by that body as wholly inadequate. The next to be considered may be a programme of violence and open revolt against Government. I am not aware of any such programme, nor is it likely that it can be openly preached and organized by any section of the people, circumstanced as India is to-day. Government advertises, from time to time, the existence of secret societies, whenever it chooses to pass some repressive legislation. But it is admitted on all hands that violence has, at any rate at present, to be ruled out as utterly impracticable. Then there is the third and last alternative of non-co-operation, and that is what the Congress proposes to adopt for enforcing its demand on Government, on its failure to respond to the national demand at the end of the current year. Even if we are not prepared to accept non-violence on the ground of its ethical superiority to violent methods, it has to be adopted as the only way open to the people of India at present. But India should adopt non-violent non-co-operation not as the last resort of the weak and the helpless, not because she is unable to organize an armed revolt at present, not because no other method is available, but because it is the only method which can and will do for India and even for the world at large. Swaraj won by violence—assuming it were possible—will be the Swaraj of the strong. It is bound to create in time mutual jealousies among our various castes and communities and sure to lead to a trial strength amongst them. A civil war in India is sure to have repercussions outside it and to entangle many neighbouring countries in its meshes. The prospect of a civil war as a result of the establishment of Swaraj in the country cannot appeal to sensible Indians, and will not attract thoughtful people in its favour. For these cogent reasons, it seems to me that Non-Co-operation is the only safe method left open to us for bringing necessary pressure on Government. Whether we shall adopt the identical programme

of 1921, or vary it in detail to suit present condition, will have to be decided by the next Congress at Lahore, when it finally makes up its mind to revive non-co-operation. But there can be no doubt that the country has to be made ready for some kind of non-violent direct action, on a mass scale, in the near future, and the last Congress laid down a programme for organizing the country with that end in view, by strengthening Congress Committees throughout the country, and effecting a boycott of foreign cloth through khaddar propaganda. It is up to the nation to make good its promise and be prepared for the serious struggle before it. Let our slogan therefore,—"Back to Non-Co-operation," for that alone will bring India to her destined goal.

Public Expenditure in India and its Incidence

Mr. C. V. Hanumanta Rao, M.A. points out in course of an article in the *Indian Review*, how the cost of the manufacture of munitions and other items of military expenditure which now profit foreigners and foreign industries only might be converted into a means of encouraging industry in India :

The incidence of the expenditure of the Government of India upon the Army and Navy is mostly upon foreigners because nearly all the officers and a great section of the soldiers are Englishmen and almost all the munitions are manufactured in England and other countries. If in case Indians are taken in larger numbers as officers and privates the incidence of this portion of public expenditure will fall upon Indians, thereby benefiting them to a great extent. If a State subsidized or owned manufactures of ammunition, machine guns etc. are carried on in India alone, Indian industrialists can be benefited.

The Elsinore Educational Conference

The *Stri Dharma* has an article from the pen of Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya on the education conference at Elsinore. After describing the conference, she regrets that no great personality from any of the Asiatic countries was present to speak for their peoples and civilizations with the weight they ought to command.

The regrettable feature however was, as is usually the case with most international conferences, the absence of any Asiatic personality on the main platform although there was a large delegation from the East, India alone contributing 15. Some explanation was given that Tagore had been invited but could not come. But scarcely the whole continent of Asia has more than one man to offer particularly when such a noted and magnificent educationalist in the person of Prof. Karve was on the spot. But unfortunately to the average Westerner the international world does not extend beyond the West. But the Eastern Delegation soon stimulated so much interest that the President

found it necessary to arrange some special public meetings, and India had finally the unique privilege of having a meeting all for itself. The crowded hall spoke eloquently for the interest India was beginning to create. This only convinces us more than ever the need of India figuring more largely on the international platforms but she must endeavour to figure more vigorously and in a more self-respecting manner than she has hitherto done and make the world understand that she too has something to contribute to the reshaping of humanity. But if this is to be secured she must become a free country and have a status of her own. It is in such gatherings that our humiliating position is brought home to us more poignantly than ever. It is time indeed that Indian women realized their responsibility in the political struggle of the country. We waste so much of our time and energy on petty reforms and let it run into non-essential channels that we but ruffle the sandy surface leaving the hard rock beneath untouched and in fact allow it to harden more and more with the flying years.

The Sub-conscious and Character

Mr. T. L. Vaswani writes in the *Message* on the sub-conscious foundation of character :

The foundations of character are laid in the sub-conscious self. See how the plant grows. The seed goes under the ground. So little thoughts, little impulses, go down, down into the sub-conscious and build up character, little by little. Ruskin tells us how his life was shaped by little things : the sight of a flower, a picture, a painting. Kumari Bhutta's life underwent a mighty change under the influence of a little song of a girl :—"Who will save the Hindu Dharma ? It sank into his sub-conscious and made him a new man. Little things make or unmake character, little suggestions sent to the subconscious. We move about anxious to do nothing which may bring us into disfavour with our neighbours : we go about as decent respectable people. How often alas ! does our sub-conscious go after undesirable things. It works when the physical body goes to sleep. It is the sub-conscious we must purify and enrich if we are to build up character. But if the sub-conscious are the issues of life, therefore must we be careful of little things. They make, they unmake character. A Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens crumbled down : why ? A colony of ants forced entrance through a small crevice and gradually undermined the pillar. So a little evil impulse, a little impure thought, or desire may gradually grow in strength until character is undermined.

Do we sincerely desire to build a new India ? Then let us take care of little acts, little desires. Not in shouts of crowds, not in clamour of multitudes, not in noise and excitement will new India be built. New India will be built in little acts of kindness, little deeds of silent service. Swaraj will not descend miraculously from the skies : Swaraj lies not in parchments and paper resolutions. Swaraj needs to be built by every one of us during our humble simple tasks of daily life in a spirit of reverence for India, the mother, in a spirit of practical devotion to the Indian ideals.

Cultural Co-operation

Nothing is more characteristic of the thought of the Post-war years as the yearning for a greater co-operation between States and peoples, not only in the field of politics but also in the field of culture. Of this spirit of co-operation the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation which is a branch of the League of Nations is a concrete symbol. Prof. Jagadisan M. Kumarappa draws attention in the *Young Men of India* to this new orientation of the human spirit, and goes on to describe the *Visvabharati* through which a great mind of India seeks to bring together the threads of culture which in their desire for individuality have often set themselves against one another.

Just as the French Revolution rejuvenated Europe in thought and life, so also the Great European War shook the world from land to land, and released new thought currents and spiritual forces which are bringing about a social and political upheaval throughout the world. Having been stirred as never before, thinking men are now seeking seriously for ways and means to hasten this new era in international friendship. Just as the collective egoism of the Nation has hitherto been cultivated in our schools, even so, says poet Tagore, it will be necessary for the purpose of the New Age to establish a new education on the basis, not of nationalism but of a wider relationship of humanity. It is also necessary to create opportunities for revealing the different peoples to one another. While it is true that different peoples do have varied accidental interests—where they cannot meet yet it is also true that all the races have a region of common aspirations, where they can all come together. A common meeting place, Tagore maintains, is therefore found for racial and international co-operation in the region of culture—a region where conflicting interests are absent, and which is the achievement of the people, not of the Nation.

Where is India, the mother of philosophy and religions, in this new movement to exchange cultural hospitality? Having played so prominent a role in the history of civilization, is she not to be the fountain-head of Indian wisdom and Oriental culture? In ancient India, our universities served two great purposes: they were, first of all, centres of learning where students acquired knowledge from the best products of the Indian mind; and secondly, they were centres of India's hospitality where foreign students who came in quest of knowledge were welcomed as guests. But alas! our modern educational institutions are India's "alms-bowl of knowledge." There is not a single university to-day in the whole country, with the exception of Visva-Bharati, to really fulfil one or both of those functions. Even to specialize in Oriental studies, a son of the soil is obliged to go to Europe! Could intellectual poverty be any greater and cultural degeneration any worse in any civilized country? The introduction of Western learning into India at the expense of her own culture, the utilitarian objective of training men in India for the carrying of the white man's burden

and the woefully low economic condition of the country have reduced her to this shameful state. It is no wonder that the reproach of this situation and the pressing need for an Indian seat of learning drove the poet Tagore to set himself the task of founding an Indian University,—a centre of culture to help India concentrate her mind and to be fully conscious of herself; to seek the truth and make that truth her own wherever found; to judge by her own standard, give expression to her own creative genius and offer her wisdom to the quest which comes from other parts of the world. With such ideals, the Visva-Bharati came into existence as the seat of Indian culture and centre of India's intellectual hospitality.

During the last eight years of its existence, distinguished scholars and students from different parts of the world have already been there to share India's cultural achievements... Though Visva-Bharati is in its infancy, yet pilgrims from the West and the Far East have not been conspicuous at any time by their absence in that centre of culture. India is, indeed, thankful that she has at least this gift from her renowned son to save her face, and to extend her cultural hospitality to the seekers of knowledge and messengers of good-will from the West and from the East. In view of the fact that a new interest in Oriental culture is aroused in Europe and America, a greater effort must be made not only to revive our culture but also to establish a larger number of such cultural centres in India, China, Japan and other countries of Asia to provide common meeting-ground for East and West.

Derozio

Louis Vivian Derozio will always be remembered in Bengal for the part he played in its own renaissance as a teacher in the Hindu College. A writer in the *Burma Review* now points out how he foresaw the problems which his own community would have to face in the future and pointed the way for them to follow:

In the cause of his people Derozio was not only an ardent and fearless worker; he also was a seer. He believed that Elysian emancipation could only come through building on a solid foundation, and through the community taking its stand in India as sons of the soil. And events in India to-day are proving that he was right. He saw clearly and he saw whole, the problems confronting his community; and the programme he evolved a hundred years ago is the programme to which the community, after wasting much valuable time, is setting itself to fulfil.

What Gandhi Means to India

Bishop Fisher writes in *The Searchlight* anniversary number on Mahatma Gandhi. He says:

Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest exemplar of love, or soul-force, that we have knowledge of in the world to-day. He is what we term in the

West a practical idealist. He believes in the "trial and error" method to such an extent that when, recently, he was travelling in Andhra and a friend approached him concerning the values of eating only uncooked food, he decided to try a diet of food that required no fire for its preparation. Let me give his own comments on the subject.

"I publish the facts of this experiment because I attach the greatest importance to it. If it succeeds it enables serious men and women to make revolutionary changes in their mode of living. It frees women from a drudgery which brings no happiness but which brings disease in its train. Economically this food has possibilities which no cooked food can have. Let no one blindly copy the experiment. I do not claim success for it yet. I am moving cautiously."

A PRACTICAL IDEALIST

This is what I mean when I say that Mahatmaji is a practical idealist. He tries by every method in his power to grind in the mill of experience all the high principles that he thinks or hopes may prove of value to his millions of friends and followers in India and abroad. He is willing to sacrifice his own personal comfort to carry out his plans. In this dietetic experiment, for instance, in the first month he lost five pounds in weight! And that is a great deal for a man of his size—unless he has gained tremendously since I last saw him.

The exemplification of his spirit of love is found most clearly in his practice of the quality of self-sacrifice.

Slavery and Forced Labour in the Indian States

Slavery and forced labour does not at present exist in British India. Whether they exist in the Indian States was the subject of enquiry before the International Slavery Commission of the League of Nations and before the House of Commons. In both cases it was stated that slavery in the ordinary sense of the term did not in the Indian States. A writer examines this statement in the light of actual conditions in the States in *the Indian Labour Journal*. He says:

Slavery in the ordinary sense does exist in the Indian States, justifying immediate intervention on the part of the British Government to abolish it.

The fact of the matter is there are several communities of slaves in many of the Rajputana States, and some States in the Western Indian States Agency, including the Kathiawad States. According to the Census Report of 1921, in Rajputana and Central India alone, there were

in all 160,735 slaves. They are known by various names, such as Darogas, Huzaris, Ravana Rajputs, Chelas and Golas, etc., and are owned by the Princes and their wives, Hindu and Moslem alike. They are bound to be lifelong servants of their masters and are not allowed to possess any property barring a few necessities. In return for their services, they are given bare food, which ordinarily consists of remnants left in their masters' dishes. Their masters exercise the power of disposing of their wives and daughters and their marriages and divorces depend largely upon the sweet will of their masters. If they run away to other States, they are liable to be brought back and returned to their masters. In fact, there were laws in some of the States until recently, prohibiting these slaves from leaving their masters or from emigrating from one State to another without obtaining the previous permission either of the district magistrate or their masters.

He then proceeds to describe the conditions in four leading Rajputana States.

In Jodhpur, if the Darogas deviate from service commensurate with the position and requirements of the masters, the latter is legally entitled to take adequate service from them.

In Kotah, agricultural labourers, peasants, shepherds, cowherds and serfs of the State are not allowed to emigrate to another State unless they have arrived at a settlement with their masters.

In Bikaner, whose ruler was a delegate to the League of Nations and is a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, there were, according to the Census Report of 1921, in all 10,884 born domestic slaves of the classes known as Chakars and Darogas. In Alwar, another State, whose Maharaja was represented by Mr. Wedgewood Benn, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, as a "remarkable man who shines in every walk of life and whose State bears the marks of the good administration of its ruler", there were, according to the Census Report of 1921 male and 2,599 female slaves. In Jodhpur, once again, according to the Census Report, there are in all 48,100 slaves.

As regards the question of forced labour:

The system of VETH and BEGAR, which means Forced Labour, prevails in almost all the Indian States and all classes of labourers, workmen and artisans are compelled to work for the Princes, and their officials for remuneration which is nothing but bare food. They are compelled to work at any time and for such time as the State requires and are also forced to go miles away from their houses into the villages, to the hills or jungles to follow the prince or his guests, shikar camps and tours of officials.



Mr. Wells and the British Empire

Mr. H. G. Wells is no believer in the British Empire, or rather, has ceased to believe in it since he realized the hopelessness of the role he had often asked it to play—the role of thinking, teaching, intercommunicating and unifying, which was first to unite the Empire and then bring about the unity of the world in a common world aim. As he says in *The Realist*:

For me, I live in the Empire as a man who occupies a house with an expiring lease. I can contemplate the disappearance of the last imperial links with equanimity. The Union Jack now signifies neither exceptional efficiency nor exceptional promise. Let us admit the fact. It did, but it does not do so any longer. The world would not wait for the British. We never braced up our slack educational links. I should be glad to see the English-speaking communities throughout the world free now to recombine in some more progressive unity, unencumbered by any special responsibility for India, most alien of lands, and freed from our formally snobbish traditions.

The battleships, he says, have so far maintained their superiority over brains as instruments for the expression of the Imperial idea. This conviction of the abandonment by the ruling class of Great Britain of what in his opinion was the only possible line of development for the Empire, and the recent propaganda of Lord Melchett and Lord Beaverbrook in favour of a "self-sufficient Empire" prompts him to state plainly that this is not a very hopeful direction and to give the reasons which have led him to this conclusion.

What is the mental basis of this belief in a self-sufficient British Empire? It seems to me there are three possible ways in which such a creed may be held. First there may be a conviction that, contrary to my assertion, there can exist upon the same planet without mutual destruction and for an indefinite time, a number of sovereign world systems, growing out of the extension of the old sovereign states of the eighteenth century, and that the British system at any rate is powerful enough to maintain itself against all other pressures and rivalries. Against this I set the facts that the existing British Empire was made by the steamship and that it is now no more than a heterogeneous system of regions linked by long and vulnerable lines of communication. Its present disposition to build tariff walls along these threads and so monopolise the economic

advantages its disproportionate share of the productive areas of the earth give it, will practically oblige less fortunately situated imperialisms to assume an attitude of hostility. If it will not have economic pooling then it will get war. And the next time it gets a world war because of its disproportionate share of tropical sunlight, it may find itself with a less fortunate selection of allies or with no allies. The idea so popular already among the younger generation abroad, the idea of subduing national patriotism to a United States of Europe, which M. Briand has recently taken up, is a plain retort to the idea of our monopolistic imperialist system. What is going to occur when All-Europe realises that the ratio of its overseas supplies of raw material to its industrial population is less than that ruling behind the great imperial tariff wall?

But there is a second system of ideas rather more plausible in which it is admitted that the Empire is to be regarded as a temporary league leading on to a still wider synthesis of world controls (imperialism of 1890) but that meanwhile it is to be run as this self-sufficient empire, with tariff walls, preferences, monopolisations, "keep out the foreigner," and all the rest of the competitive outfit. Then suddenly, I suppose, it is to do some tremendous *volle face* and make a deal. But the objection to this second group of ideas lies in the fact that so long as we remain self-sufficient, we build up army, navy, air forces and a patriotic imperialist tradition, we mould economic interests to the imperial boundaries, we force lines of economic interaction into unnatural paths and so make the empire less and less capable of that final amalgamation, physically and mentally without a mighty struggle. New ideas do not come suddenly. Wars do.

The mass of patriotic men of affairs to-day have, I believe, neither of these two foundation systems of ideas in their minds. The third system of fundamental ideas in vogue among patriotic imperialists is simply the old junk of nineteenth century political thought. They have nothing in their minds of their own. They have never thought themselves out; nor have they thought out their world. They have just gone on doing business and drifting along in accordance with the political and patriotic traditions of their forefathers (which are as much out of date as stage coaches and semaphore telegraphy).

I suppose that Lord Melchett, Sir Richard Gregory, and perhaps Lord Beaverbrook would fall under the second of these three divisions of imperialists. But Lord Beaverbrook might come into the first-named class. I have given my reasons for regretting they are any sort of imperialists at all. I pose the Open Conspiracy as the modern scientific opposite and alternative to their semi-romantic, short-sighted, and foredoomed imperialism.

Why Clémenceau became Tiger

An Argentine journalist was the first man in several years to have the good fortune to interview Clémenceau who lives in strict retirement and hates journalists; and what was more, he made the Tiger talk. His interview, which was published in a South American paper, appears in a translation in *The Living Age*. The following story explains why Clémenceau became such a fighter. The interviewer was praising Clémenceau for his combativeness. He

reminded him of his activity in behalf of Dreyfus and of his disputes with Jaures. (Jaures believed in collective action by means of socialistic organization; Clémenceau believed that no action was possible without some change in the individual — 'An individual can become a god but a crowd is always a herd of cattle'.)

"How do you manage to keep yourself in such a bad humour in political life? I asked him.

He was pleased at the question.

"Candidly," he said, "it is by remembering what my father suffered. When I am in a dispute, whenever I feel my faith in Republican ideas and democratic principles weakening, I think of him. That memory is enough. I am immediately changed. I become someone else. I become he.

"My father, Benjamin Clémenceau, was a doctor, as I was much later. One fine day, he became so deeply affected by all the human suffering he saw that sadness overcame him. He shut up his office in Mouilleron-en-Pareds and went off to Nantes with my mother and all their children. He planned to dedicate himself to farming, and to the cultivation of Republican ideas. You can imagine the situation of a Republican in the imperialistic France of 1854, under that little Napoleon III who had just dissolved the Assembly, crowned himself Emperor, and was deporting to Argelia all those who did not agree with his ideas, which meant all those who refused to grovel at his feet.

"In Plancon's bookshop in Nantes a little group of intellectuals used to meet and talk together. Among them was my father. One night the police came and arrested him simply because, in private conversation, he had maintained that a Republican democracy was the only hope for France. They decided to deport him to Africa. The day that they took him away to Marseille, standing between two murderers in the prison van, I went with my mother to say good-bye to him. I was thirteen or fourteen. I saw my mother crying. I saw father behind the bars of the van, chained and handcuffed, condemned without trial. None of his intimate friends were there. They had all been afraid to come to say good-bye and had hidden instead. Cowards! From that moment, I knew the difference between true friendship and false. Friendship can be golden, but no wonder it is so difficult to find. From that day forward I began to growl, and I kept on growling. When the van was about to leave, I came up close to the bars. I said to my father: 'I will avenge you!'

"My father, who was a painter and poet, as well as a great man, was deeply affected, and kissed the hands that I stretched out to him through the bars. Then he said sternly:—

"If you want to avenge me, study hard, and work."

"I studied, I worked to avenge him. I am eighty-eight years old. I hope to have twelve more years in which to defend my father's faith!"

American Civilisation

In a former issue of this review we had occasion to write "America has been evolving for the last fifty years what we may justifiably call an absolutely new type of civilisation, which may in its turn supplant the classical European civilization built up by England, France, Germany and Italy. An ever-increasing number of European scholars are studying this new phenomenon and trying to arrive at some conclusions about it." This was, of course, a view of America seen through European eyes, and this is exactly the conception which Dr. Dewey questions in course of an article in *The New Republic*. He calls this America an "America by formula" and goes on to point out that this consciousness of "Americanism" as a distinctive mode of civilization has been forced upon the minds of the intellectual elite of Europe by the War:

Americanism as a form of culture did not exist before the war, for Europeans. Now it does exist and as a menace. In reaction and as a protest, there is developing, at least among literary folk, the consciousness of a culture which is distinctively European, something which is precious and whose very existence is threatened by an invasion of a new form of barbarism issuing from the United States. Acute hostility to a powerful alien influence is taking the place of complacent ignoring of what was felt to be negligible. It would take a wider knowledge than mine to list even the titles of books and articles coming yearly from the presses of Europe whose burden is the threat of "America" to the traditional culture of Europe.

Some of the writers are ignorant as well as bitter. These may be neglected. Others are intelligent, as well-informed as any foreigner can be about a foreign country, and not devoid of sympathy. Moreover their judgments agree not only with one another but with the protests of native-born dissenters. For convenience and because of the straightforward intelligence of its author, I take as a point of departure, the description of the American type of mind and character presented by Mueller Freienfels. His treatment is the fairer because he understands by "American" a type of mind that is developing, from like causes all over the world, and which would have emerged in time in Europe, even if there were no geographical America, although its development over the world has been accelerated and intensified by the influence of this country.

As far as any actual American is true to the type that is proclaimed to the American, he should be thrilled by the picture that is drawn of him

For we are told that the type is a genuine mutation in the history of culture, that it is new, the product of the last century, and that it is stamped with success. It is transforming the external conditions of life and thereby reacting on the psychical content of life: it is assimilating other types to itself, re-coining them. No world-conquest, whether that of Rome or Christendom, compares with that of "Americanism" in extent or effectiveness.

The American Mind

What are the characteristics of this type? According to Herr Mueller Freienfels:

Fundamentally, they spring from impersonality. The roots of the intellect are unconscious and vital in instincts and emotions. In America, we are told this subconsciousness is disregarded; it is suppressed or is subordinate to conscious rationality, which means that it is adapted to the needs and conditions of the external world. We have "intellect" but distinctly in the Bergsonian sense; mind attuned to the conditions of action upon matter, upon the world. Our emotional life is quick, excitable, indiscriminating, lacking in individuality and in direction by intellectual life. Hence the "externality and superficiality of the American soul"; it has no ultimate inner unity and uniqueness—no true personality.

The marks and signs of this "impersonalization" of the human soul are quantification of life, with its attendant disregard of quality; its mechanization and the almost universal habit of esteeming technique as an end, not as a means, so that organic and intellectual life is also "rationalized"; and standardization. Differences and distinctions are ignored and overriden; agreement, similarity, is the ideal. There is not only absence of social discrimination but of intellectual; critical thinking is conspicuous by its absence. Our pronounced trait is mass suggestibility. The adaptability and flexibility that we display in our practical intelligence when dealing with external conditions has found its way into our souls and made homogeneity of thought and emotion an ideal.

Quantification, mechanization and standardization: these are the marks of the Americanization that is conquering the world. Dr. Dewey admits these contentions, but he brings against it a two-fold objection. In the first place, he says, the externalism which distinguishes American life is a transitional phenomenon rather than the last word, and secondly the prized and vaunted "individuality" of European culture that is threatened by the levelling standardization and uniformity of the American type is a very limited affair. Dr. Dewey is inclined to doubt whether, or to what extent, it was shared by the peasantry and the proletariat, and he ends with the consoling thought that this pre-occupation with technique can only signify the emancipation of individuality,

and on a broader scale than anything obtaining in the past.

United States of America and the United States of Europe

In course of the same article Dr. Dewey incidentally observes that this consciousness of an American onslaught on Europe, both economic and cultural, might turn out to be a good thing for Europe. Most social unifications, he says, come about in response to external pressure, and the same is likely to be true of a United States of Europe. If the ideal is approximated in reality, it will likely be as a protective reaction to the economic and financial hegemony of the United States of America. This result which Dr. Dewey envisages as the result of historical evolution, is urged as a practical policy by Mr. Norman Angel in the *Spectator*. He says:

The undoubted superiority of America and its economic predominance to-day are not to be explained by superiority of natural resources, but by a political fact (which gives rise, be it noted, to an economic one). The States have political unity; Europe has not. If the course of historical development in North America had been more like that of South America so that English-speaking America had been as much divided as is Spanish-speaking America; if in what is now the United States there existed, not one nation, but a dozen rival nations—as south of the Mexican border there are more than a dozen different nations—we should not now be talking about American power and its predominance in the world. North America would figure for very little more in such terms than does South America.

But the physical conditions would be precisely the same—the same soil and air and water and raw materials of wealth. They would, however, because of a purely political fact, be exploited in an entirely different way. Large-scale industry, as we know it in America, would not exist. If Henry Ford had had to drive his car, not over indifferent country roads, but over a dozen hostile tariff barriers, into states, each one of which was determined to have its own patriotic one hundred per cent Henry Ford, and if Massachusetts had always been talking of the competition of its trade with that of Pennsylvania or Michigan—well, of course, there would have been no Henry Fords.

If we are to get any clear idea of the relative potential strength of Europe as compared to America, we must imagine Europe achieving at last some unity comparable to that which a happier history has already achieved for the States. In that even we should, leaving Russia out of account, have on this side of the world a unit of two hundred and fifty million people, of whom the British, German, and Scandinavian at least have shown themselves to be every bit as inherently capable of military, political, social and economic organization as the Americans. If we can imagine such unification having taken place, there would

be, in the Near East and in Africa, a field for the employment of large-scale industrial organization corresponding in some measure to the part played by the undeveloped West in the industrial development of America.

Given this one fact of European unity, the predominance of America in terms of potential power, whether military, political, or economic, would have disappeared.

The Egyptian Settlement

The new Egyptian draft treaty is soon to come up before Parliament. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, writing in *The New Republic*, defines its scope and comments on it on the whole favourably.

The arrangement which replaces the veiled Protectorate is not from the standpoint of a citizen of the world an ideal one, but it marks an immeasurable advance. Egypt becomes the military ally of the British Empire, and each party to the alliance promises to avoid any foreign policies prejudicial to the interests of the other. The meaning of the whole arrangement is sufficiently clear. London will tolerate no rival in Cairo, and will continue to control the canal, but Egypt is at last, in her domestic life, her own sovereign and mistress. President Wilson was ideally right when he said in one of his early pronouncements on the League of Nations, that "partial alliances" are a contradiction of its principle. It has not lived up to that austere logic. It has blessed the Locarno treaties which guarantee the peace of Western Europe. It will not frown on this Anglo-Egyptian alliance, though it turns the Suez Canal in time of war into a British waterway. It would be well for the world if the requirements of strategy involved no graver consequences than this. Danzig is torn from the body of the German Republic, and the Tyrol is subjected to forcible Italianization in obedience to the same law of military safety. One may congratulate the Labour Party on doing what ~~lay~~ within its power, but a task remains for the future in which it, too, as the years go on, may well be the pioneer. The organization of the Old World for peace will be incomplete until the League itself assumes the guardianship of its narrow straits and its maritime canals. For the Suez Canal after all, is something more than a link in the communications of the British Empire. It is the world's highway. It may require a generation of education in the technique of international co-operation before the League dares itself assume this responsibility. But Egypt will no longer wear fetters while we learn to organize an international police.

Its acceptance by Parliament, in spite of some resistance from the ultra-diehard, is almost assured. The final outcome depends then, on the Egyptians themselves. If the *Wafd* which is the most influential party in Egypt, were to reject it, it would only display a folly, which would Mr. Brailsford says, approach the sublime. His remarks on

the dismissal of Lord Lloyd are particularly interesting.

The dismissal of Lord Lloyd was a symbol of the change in the mind of the Imperial Power so unmistakable that only a blind nation could misread it. He is a man whose ability and good intentions no one questions, and he had behind him a considerable experience of the East. But it was not merely to his personal qualities that he owed his appointment. He belongs, as Lord Cromer also belonged, to one of the old banking families, toward which the City cherishes an almost superstitious loyalty. He is, moreover, a cousin by marriage of the lady who may one day, if the Prince of Wales remains unmarried, be our Queen. He personifies the marriage of blood and money which made our ruling caste, as faithfully as he represents its traditional belief that Orientals understand nothing but force. When plain Mr. Henderson—who used to be a working iron-moulder—dismissed this master of millions, who is also a prince's cousin, and dismissed him for his heresy about firm government, it was obvious that something had changed at the heart of the Empire. The Tories were well aware of it, but even Mr. Churchill thundered to no purpose in the debate which followed the fall of the last Pro-Consul of our Egyptian province.

The Indian Ryat

The International Review of Missions has an interesting article on the Indian Ryat. The following paragraphs from it give a vivid sense of his importance and personality:

A delightful story is told of the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson. It relates to the time when he held high office in India, and concerns an ardent and insatiable visitor. After showing him the sights and dignitaries of Delhi, Sir Denzil in a burst of confidence said, 'Come now, and I will show you the most important man in India.' This was wine to the thirsty traveller, and he accompanied his host with alacrity to the open country. Pointing to a gaunt ploughman, ploughing placidly with an ancient plough and almost as ancient bullocks, Sir Denzil said, 'That is the most important man in India.'

To-day we make the same gesture; but with this difference, that what Sir Denzil said in confidence a generation ago we proclaim from the house-tops now. All the world knows by this time that the *ryat* is India's essential man: the only person who seems to doubt is the essential man himself. In these days of diffused democracy he is in danger of becoming the most sought-after man in the community. Only last year he had a Royal Commission all to himself; the Viceroy who now guides his destinies comes of farmer stock and is not ashamed of his brethren; the politician, angling for his vote, sits suppliant on his doorstep; the social reformer is hard on his track, eager to uplift him.

This is as it should be. The great war reminded us that 'if the life of our large towns went up in a mist of fire, the slow peasant living upon the earth, and bowing his head beneath the sky, would

still go on.' That is peculiarly true of India, where agriculture is the premier and predominant industry. The slow peasant, bowing his head beneath what is often a merciless sky, will still go on though dynasties pass. His persistence is largely due to sheer force of numbers: there are two hundred and fifty million of him, and he represents eighty per cent of the population. But something more than the merely numerical keeps him alive on the earth: he has a soul that refuses to die, and in the struggle to keep himself alive he incidentally keeps the race alive.

There is an element of surprise about the Indian *ryat*. I expected to find him a transcendentalist nobly occupied with the things of the spirit and serenely indifferent to the things of the flesh; but I lighted instead on a materialist like myself.

If the *ryat's* 'this worldliness' has surprised me I have been no less surprised by his fortitude. He may not desire whatever happens, but he accepts it without protest. I have seen him driving his cattle to the uplands before the oncoming flood and heard never a murmur; when fire lays his hut in ashes he patiently sets out to rebuild with never a word of revolt; when plague and cholera take heavy toll of his loved ones I see the tears come and hear him reverently say, 'It is the will of God.' His life is an incessant battle with the forces of nature, so terrible at times in their Indian moods, and there is little in his heritage or environment to lead him on to victory.

On the whole, the *ryat* has surprised me most by his capacity for hilarity. He is a man of many fears and few illusions; but he is not always a pessimist. While the wind on the heath blows him little sweetness and his skies are often like brass, there are times when the clouds lift and the heart makes merry. A marriage revel, a resounding chorus from the *Ramayana*, the fierce joy of a wrestling bout, a law court triumph, a visit to a fair, a bumper harvest, a vision of Mahatma Gandhi, the annual meeting of his co-operative bank—and the *ryat* has his day. This leads me to believe that when the gates of a more abundant life open to him he will not dishonour his birthright.

Philip Snowden

Mr. Philip Snowden, the Chancellor of Exchequer in the Labour Government was certainly one the three or four great personalities of his party. But as his strength lay more in sheer intellectual power, than in qualities of more popular appeal, there were few legends about him. The Hague Conference has put him before the footlights and made him a favourite of his countrymen. Sympathetic accounts of his policy as well as of his personal career have begun to appear in the press of almost all the countries of Europe. Here is a portrait of him drawn by the London correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*:

He does not impress one by a romantic aspect like Lloyd George or Ramsay MacDonald. He is

of small stature, and for years he has been lame as the result of a bicycle accident. The features of his countenance are sharp. His voice does not resound and ring like the notes of an organ. His speech is not infectious, not burlesquely humorous. The smile playing about his grimly firm lips and small mouth does not seem expansive, but rather like a pale sunbeam on a winter day.

Moreover, Philip Snowden is sarcastic, intellectually superior, and remorselessly critical. What characterizes him is less the trait called in England 'humorous' than a striking capacity for witticisms of the satirical kind in a somewhat continental European manner. Often his speech seems stuck all over with needles and pins. Sometimes it seems to afford him delight to play with an opponent as a cat plays with a mouse. And amid the play a mood of bitterness will find expression in his words. And always he is mercilessly frank—ask Poincaré!

All these are traits which in England and among the masses of the English people do not win popularity without something besides. In fact, Philip Snowden owes his towering position in English politics to quite other qualities than those which in an age of democracy and publicity have hitherto been held indispensable.

Here is a man who throughout his long political life—Snowden was born in 1864—has ever been true to himself. Forty years ago, when he was a subordinate official in the civil service, he looked not very different—he did not dress differently, and he did not deport himself differently. A little house in the rural district, a comfortable and rising income from journalism, and the knowledge that he is the first Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Labour Ministry comprise the most important changes in his existence. Not that we need omit to mention the appearance, now and then, in the social column of the London *Evening Standard* of the list of guests in Mrs. Snowden's *salon*.

The man himself is unaltered. He is consumed with a longing to accumulate the intellectual building stones for a reconstruction of the overgrown autocratic-capitalistic State edifice into a humble, orderly home. Snowden was for years the chairman of the Independent Labour party, which means commander of the intellectual advance guard of the Labour movement. That is his peculiar field—thinking out, construction, drawing up the programme. His extremely powerful intellectual capacity destined him to such a task, and his bodily infirmity relegates him more and more to the study.

The Constitution of China

Now that civil war in China is over, we hear less about the country than we used to though it is quite probable that the development now going on in that country are no whit less interesting. A writer in the *Political Science Quarterly* gives the following account of the present government of China:

DR. SUN YAT SEN, the venerated leader of the

Chinese Revolution, predicted in his *Three People's Principles* that China would pass through three stages in its evolution toward assuming a place in the family of nations worthy of its importance *viz.*: the Period of Military Supremacy, the Period of Political Tutelage and the Period of Constitutional Administration. After the success of the Northern Punitive Expedition last summer in taking Peking, the fourth meeting of the State Council was held on Friday, October 26, 1928, with President Chiang Kai-shek in the chair. A manifesto was issued stating among other things that the Period of Military Supremacy had been brought to a close.

The constitution and the government organized under it are the creation of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party. The Executive Council of the party elected Chiang Kai-shek as President of China, and organized the five councils and the cabinet of ten ministers. It is evident that the Kuomintang, like the Fascisti in Italy and the Bolsheviks in Russia, intends that China's new government for some time at least, is to be a one party regime. It is modelled on the oligarchic system of Russia rather than on the personal dictatorship of Italy. "Future activities will centre around the Five Yuan as the pivot of the Political Tutelage campaign" proclaims the manifesto of the Nationalist government of October 29, 1928. And the Five Yuan are manned by the leaders of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang bears the relation to the Nationalist government of China that the Communist Third International bears to the Soviet government of Russia or the Fascist Party bears to the government of Italy.

The Silly God of Speed

If science has any achievement to its credit which nobody ever dreams of disputing, it is that it has shortened our days and shrunk up our world. Everything has been speeded up. And is the mind we inherited from our slow-brained ancestors going utterly to ~~break down~~ under the strain which this speeding up of our activities is putting on it? M. Paul Morand, the famous French author, who, as he says, was once called a worshipper of speed, now tells us in the *La Nouvelle Revue Française* that he has ceased to worship it. He has perceived that:

It is far from being always a stimulant; it is also a depressant, a corrosive acid, a dangerous explosive capable of blowing up not only ourselves, but the whole universe with us, if we do not learn how to defend ourselves.

The notion of speed arises from that of progress, with the Americans one goes with the other. Now the notion of progress is one of the most characteristic of the Occident. Speed is a function of the least effort. We do as quickly as possible tiring or painful things. This is why machines were invented. The noise of the motor is the continued basis of our existence, and the words "motor," "mechanism," imply speed. Speed brings about overproduction.

In truth, we are children; the novelty of this

play fascinates us. 'Faster! faster!' cries Alice in Wonderland. Will it last? Like dope-fiends, we must drug ourselves more and more.

There is, in the lure of speed, the notable desire to exceed that has raised the Aryan race above all others; but there is also a terrible excitement that is beginning to tell on humanity. The modern symbol of temporal power is not territory but the rail. Mussolini well understood this when he offered the Pope not a State, but a train. This is but an aspect of the fear of death—that materialistic error of the Western world, of which, perhaps, it will one day perish.

While the doctors want to lengthen life, men wish to enlarge it, by making it contain more and more things; to live fast is to trick fate, to live several times. People argue thus: since death is immobility, movement is life; whence, in the opinion of many, great speed is the great life.

Speed is overturning all our old customs. We are throwing overboard, one after another, the slow tools of the past—horses, cookery over a slow fire, politeness. Who takes his time in the great cities to eat, to sleep, to attend funerals on foot? Speed is disjoining our old world. Nature, when she works well, works slowly; she takes a day to make a larva, but twenty years to make a man.

Art itself is modified by speed. Our best painters do three pictures a day; beyond 200 pages to-morrow's novel will be just 'filling'; everything long becomes unreadable, distasteful, unliveable.

Has not modern science been upset by the essay of Einstein on relativity, occupying three pages, and by his new work on the relation between gravitations and electro-magnetism, which has only five? But we must not forget that it took him ten years to conceive them.

Our style has become telegraphic; but what an error to think that it is enriched by pure speed! That which it does benefit is rather the contrast between the customs of different parts of the world. As for ideals, the slowest countries bend to catch up with the swiftest: there will soon be no difference between Peking and New York, Amsterdam and Tahiti. Speed annihilates climates and annuls the old theories of environment.

Fiction in Eclipse

Reading novels and talking about them is one of the major occupations of people who pursue culture in society. This is not said in disparagement, for, both modern cultured society and modern novel had reached a level of refinement which would have been highly praiseworthy had it not defeated its purpose. The very cleverness of the novel, it seems, is driving people away from it. Is it due to the novel or is it due to the people? A writer in the *Nation and the Athenaeum* says that we are on the verge of a psychological revolution which will lead to the decline of fiction as a literary form:

Even so solid and imaginative a piece of work as "The Old Wives' Tale" would, if it were offered

to-day, be less regarded than a good specimen of that biographical art which probes with ever more and more delicate instruments the intellectual and emotional motives of some man who has actually lived, or a record of actual experience set down with as much honesty and charm as the narrator can command, and invested with the enchanting melancholy of remembered things. It is as if we needed first to be assured that what we are reading was actually felt or thought or lived in action by a real person, the narrator or another, before we can accord it the deepest attention and respect of which our mind are capable. What we care for in a book is no longer that it should be, as our fathers said, true to life, but that it should be the truth of life, or of a life.

The more sensitive and if the phrase be allowed more truly creative a mind, the more fastidiously it turns from the distorting medium of fiction. It shrinks instinctively from a method that, it is persuaded, will diffuse its energy and blunt its delicacy of apprehension. Two of the finest and most creative modern minds—Mr. Edmund Blunden and Mr. Siegfried Sassoon—do not write 'fiction.' They write, with an exquisite delicacy and assurance, of what actually was. 'The memoirs of a Fox-hunting Man' is not 'fiction': it is an attempt to portray truthfully one aspect of a young man's life, as 'Undertones of War' is an attempt to tell the truth of one man's war.

It is possible, that fiction, the novel as we know it, can never become the vehicle for this higher reality, which sleeps in all our minds and can be evoked for us only in the form of symbols. It can perhaps concern itself only with being and never with becoming. If this is true, then the modern temper (which fulfils itself more fully and with more assurance in modern physics than in the modern novel) will force us to leave the novel behind. More and more the finest minds will reject fiction, and will write directly of what they have felt and known. Until one of them, by virtue of who knows what talisman, will stumble upon the hidden door and, opening it, let out the future.

Soviet Russia's Educational and Cultural Programme

Dr. P. Monroe is one of the most eminent educationists of the United States. He is well-known for his educational surveys of China, Philippines and elsewhere. He describes Soviet Russia's educational and cultural programme in the *Current History*. He begins by saying:

The question is often raised as to the extent of the cultural efforts of the Soviets. For the significance of many of their cultural and educational reforms, I do not believe that the essential question at the present time is that of extent. The main question concerns the validity and the worthwhileness of the idea, and whether it is workable in some instances.

As the present Government is more concerned with rural masses than with any other section of the population, the educational

work has necessarily been concentrated in the villages and

This work in the villages illustrates one great principle of the Russian cultural programme that education should be directed toward every element in the population, not merely toward children of the school age; that the cultural level of the entire population should be raised. It is in the cities, however, that the cultural programme can be best studied. Here can be seen the various forms of adult education and the various forms of education of the pre-school age, in creches, kindergartens, playgrounds. In factory regions creches abound where infants are cared for the mothers being released from work every three hours to care for the children. The kindergartens take on a wider range of activities than with us, containing rooms for sleep and rest, provision for preparation of food, gardening, handwork of a useful and constructive character. Such infant schools comprise the entire range of life's activities for the children.

A second major principle of the educational programme also best illustrated in the cities is that all social institutions should contribute to education.

A third major principle of the educational programme is that every school child should do some form of "socially useful work." It is admitted that the idea was borrowed from the American school or from American educational theory, but if it were permissible to use the term in Russia, one would say that the Russians have capitalized the idea.

Many of these activities illustrate the fourth major principle of Soviet education—namely, the close relationship between school work and all cultural activities, on the one hand, and on the other the general political and economic programme of the Soviets. As previously remarked, this through intermingling of radical doctrines in all educational work gives rise to that feature which is so conspicuous to the Western observer—namely the element of propaganda. But this is just because of the nature of the communistic programme. In the individualism of the West the chief problem is to protect the schools from propaganda; where everything is communistic, propaganda becomes the natural activity.

Because of its special interest to the West, one form of this propaganda deserves special notice, that is the propaganda against religion. There is no concealment of this, for it is a most conspicuous feature in the schools, in the culture centres, in the "wall papers," and in the posters used for public education. So far as a casual observer could see, there was little restriction on public religious worship; but every effort was taken to guarantee that the coming generation should have little interest in religion. In part this hostility to religion is an antagonism to, superstition and ignorance; in part it is opposition to unhygienic customs and practices of the old religion, in part it is based on a desire to develop a knowledge of science; in part it is often hostility to religion as religion on the Marxian doctrine that religion is "the opiate of the masses." It was interesting to note however, on Russian Easter, that the churches were thronged with people and that special provision was made by the government to supply the extra quantity of milk demanded by the religious observances of that season. Also, one

hears the report of great religious revivals among the masses in certain regions of this vast country. We are on more solid ground, however, in quoting the fact that certain tests or statistical investigations of the schools revealed that a very large percentage of the children confessed to a belief in God.

Future of Indian Railways

Sir Clement Hindley, the former President of the Railway Board read a paper before the East India Association on the development of Indian Railways. His interesting concluding remarks are quoted from *The Asiatic Review* :

What is going to happen to this great national asset of India? Amongst the countries of the world India occupies the third place in respect of railway mileage. Nearly 90 per cent. of it is State property and necessarily under Government financial control, while nearly half, both as regards mileage and personnel, is already under direct State management. The present Government is committed to a policy of transfer of management to India as the companies' contracts fall in, and present national sentiment, in so far as it is articulate, is in favour of complete nationalisation. The old controversy of State versus Company management in India is as dead as the Great Mughal, and the main argument of the opponents to State management—namely, that it spells inefficiency and insolvency—has been exploded by the obvious, visible and tangible success of the experiment in India.

How is the organisation to function in the future? In formulating the constitutional changes, will any consideration be paid to the difficulty must inevitably arise from the growth of a department of a Government to dimensions of financial and administrative importance rivaling those of the Central Government itself? There are parallels in other countries where solutions have been found to the problem of nationalisation which appear to be free from objection. In Canada, Germany and Belgium State railway administration has been commercialised and made a separate authority subordinated by statute to Parliament. But whether such a solution is likely to be found by the makers of India's future constitution remains to be seen. From all appearances neither the Statutory Commission nor the political parties in India have recognised the importance of the problem.

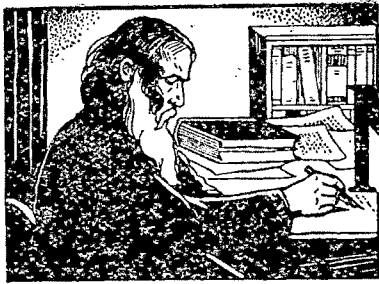
Anglo-American Naval Accord

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is soon to return to England with his American laurels. The success of his mission has been extremely gratifying, and the informal conversations of the heads of the two Great Anglo-Saxon

empires will probably very soon materialise in a close formal understanding. Mr. MacDonald has already notified that the agreement between the United States and the British Empire forms part of a wider universal programme of disarmament and will in no case be used a counterpoise to any other combination of world powers. This has not allayed the suspicions of continental Powers, particularly France. *The Literary Digest* quotes some French and German journals on this subject.

Dark indeed for France will be the day on which Premier J. Ramsay MacDonald concludes the Anglo-American naval accord declare some German editors, who show an odd concern for their one-time enemy country that is unexpected, if really believable, say their English compeers. But in France itself there are also journals which fear that the result of the negotiation between the United States and Britain during Mr. MacDonald's visit with Mr. Hoover may be the presentation to France, Italy, and Japan of cut-and-dried formulas for naval reduction that these countries may take or leave. Nevertheless, the so-called semi-official organ of the French foreign office, *Le Temps* points out sharply that France, Italy and Japan are in absolute control of their own mind, and will not be bound in any way by the principles on which London and Washington agree or have agreed. This famous Paris daily claims it is necessary to put emphasis on this point, because it would be "unthinkable" for the other naval Powers to find themselves in any conference where they should be under obligation to accept or reject an Anglo-American outline without having had a chance to show their own point of view, and to defend their own interests.

If the precise object of Prime Minister MacDonald's journey to Washington is primarily to complete the preliminary Anglo-American naval arrangement *Le Temps* thinks his mission is likely to prove a success, but it adds that "if his object is to bring about an Anglo-American entente to impose the will of Washington and London in all domains of activity, Mr. MacDonald risks being deceived." In the Paris *Intransigeant* Leon Bailby says that he senses the possibility that "we are faced with the development of a vast effort to establish Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the world," while at the same time in the Paris *Pigaro* André Chaumeix remarks that "if because of love of ephemeral success and for reasons of internal policy Prime Minister MacDonald endangers the essential strength of the British Empire, he will expose himself to terrible reproach from all his people." The naval accord with America will give him much trouble, according to this French editor, who proceeds with the complaint that during the post-war period America has had "observers" everywhere in Europe, has "moved in all the conferences and all the controversies," and "through her economic situation and riches she plays an important role in all that Europe undertakes, and exercises a sort of power without responsibilities."



NOTES

A British View of the "India in Bondage" Case

•The London *Inquirer and Christian Life* writes :

"TYRANNY" IN INDIA

A CORRESPONDENT asks for our comment on the suppression by the Indian Government of a book by Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the American Unitarian minister, and the punishment of his publisher, Mr. Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*. Our reply is that we detest all such proceedings against free speech and believe they generally defeat their end. At the same time we have to admit that the matter is easier to judge in a democracy than in a country in a state of transition from autocracy to democracy and clearly not yet ready for full democracy. And it is really rather difficult to say that the Indian Government, with its vast responsibilities for peace and good order, puts itself hopelessly in the wrong when it refuses to allow itself to be described from outside to the impressionable people of India, as an "oppressive, tyrannical, dwarfing and unsympathetic foreign tyranny."

DR. SUNDERLAND'S HISTORY

WE are at a disadvantage, of course, in not having seen the book (the passage above was quoted at the trial). But we have seen the "brief review of the situation in India" sent by Dr. Sunderland to our contemporary, the *Christian Register*, the principal organ of American Unitarianism, "in connection with the news of the suppression of his book." This is how Dr. Sunderland states "the exact situation" in India :

"India, the second largest civilized nation in the world, a nation which for 2500 years was free, self-ruling and one of the most illustrious of nations, has for forty years and more been urging Great Britain to give back to her the freedom and self-rule which she believes never should have been taken from her."

We should have preferred in the circumstances to ignore these amazing statements, but in face of our correspondent's challenge we feel bound to characterise them as a rather shocking misconception of the facts.

It is quite a characteristically British observation to say in effect that all proceedings against free speech are detestable, but that when such proceedings are taken by British officials in a country subject to them, they are—well, excusable, nay, perhaps even necessary.

The Inquirer appears to hold that free

speech is good for democracies, but not good for a people who want to be a democracy. That is quite an ideal proposition for an imperialist nation to lay down! For a subject people cannot become free and democratic without adopting various means, one of which is the free expression of opinion by speech and writing. It is for the subject people themselves and their *disinterested and well-informed* foreign friends to determine what is required to be said without exceeding the limits of truth. In our opinion Dr. Sunderland is quite a competent judge of what requires to be said.

As for "peace and good order", during the three years during which Dr. Sunderland's articles have been before the Indian public, either singly in various Indian journals or as a collection in book form, not even the spies and informers of the British Government in India have been able to ascribe any disorder or unrest directly or indirectly, to that book;—though, now that we have made this challenging statement some of those gentry may find it to their interest to do so.

The editor of *The Inquirer* accuses Dr. Sunderland of making "amazing statements" and characterizes "them as a rather shocking misconception of facts." We can only smile at the amazing assurance of this British arm-chair critic, who does not possess a fraction of Dr. Sunderland's sympathy, wide and deep knowledge of India and his disinterestedness. For more than forty years Dr. Sunderland has studied all that relates to India in books, periodicals and newspapers and by travelling extensively in India twice, seeing both rural and urban areas, visiting both easily accessible and comparatively inaccessible regions and mixing with the political, social and religious leaders of India and her young men and women, as well as with Britishers residing in India. His book has received the commendation of men like Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, C. F. Andrews, etc., as well as

of the leading Indian journals. The editor of *The Inquirer* says he has not seen Dr. Sunderland's book. As the book has been suppressed in India, copies are no longer available either for presentation or for sale. Perhaps, however, Dr. Sunderland has by now sent the British editor a copy of the American edition of his book.

An American view of the "India in Bondage" Case

Unity of Chicago is a religious weekly, edited by John Haynes Holmes. Its issue of 9th September contains an article by the editor with the heading "India in Bondage." It begins thus :

Some months ago, our honoured friend and fellow editor, J. T. Sunderland, published in India a remarkable book entitled, "India in Bondage." This book appeared under the distinguished auspices of the publishing house of R. Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*, which is one of the best-known and influential of Indian magazines. Dr. Sunderland's volume represents on the part of the author the fine fruitage of a long and scholarly life devoted, among many other things, to the liberty and enlightenment of India. No one American is so famous and so beloved in this far eastern land as Dr. Sunderland, and his book, a copy of which lies here upon my desk as I write, gives eloquent testimony as to the reasons for the reverence in which he is held by Indians. A survey of Indian history, a remorseless betrayal of contemporary injustices under British rule, a passionate plea for the freedom of an oppressed and exploited people, this volume may well become a classic in the literature of India's emancipation.

Now comes suddenly the news that "India in Bondage" has been suppressed by the authorities, the publication office raided and plundered, Mr. Chatterjee arrested on the charge of sedition, and even the manuscript of Dr. Sunderland's book seized and held. A personal account of what happened has been given by Mr. Chatterjee in a letter to Mahatma Gandhi, as follows :

Here follows the letter, which need not be quoted. Mr. Holmes proceeds :—

This event has stirred India. The *Bombay Chronicle* has given it large space in its columns. Mahatma Gandhi has of course lifted up his potent voice in protest and alarm. Writing in *Young India* he says :

Here Mahatma Gandhi's comments are quoted. As they were very widely reproduced in India when they appeared in his paper, they need not be extracted again.

Unity's concluding observation is :

Dr. Sunderland has one source of comfort at east. His book is well named ! If anything could prove that "India is in bondage", this is it.

The difference between the British and the American points of view are

too obvious to require pointing out. It will be clearer from the radio message sent to Mr James Ramsay MacDonald by some American Liberals.

An American Liberal Message to the British Premier

According to a "Free Press" message, dated New York, September 30,

Over twenty prominent American Liberals, amongst whom are included Messrs Dewey, Barnes, Lovett and Dreiser, have forwarded to Mr. MacDonald a radio message protesting against the suppression of Dr. Sunderland's book "India in Bondage," and also condemning the conviction of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, and demanding in the name of international democracy and peace, the cause of which Mr. MacDonald is pleading eloquently and championing before the world, that the sentence and conviction of Si. Ramananda Chatterjee be immediately remitted, the ban on the book "India in Bondage" be removed and officials responsible for the outrage against the freedom of the press be dismissed.

Indian Shipping a Century Ago

Not to speak of the dim past, even a century or so ago, Indian ship-builders were famous for excellence in their craft. We will call two British witnesses to testify to the truth of this statement. Says Bishop Heber :

The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. (Heber's *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 382, first edition).

In Rickard's *India*, vol. i. p. 34, footnote, occurs the following sentence :

In the dock-yard of Bombay natives alone build merchant ships of the largest class ; which are often preferred to those of any other country.

The British and other foreign opponents of Mr. Haji's Bill do not evidently want any revival of India's past shipping traditions.

"The Unemployed Intelligentsia"

LONDON, Oct. 22.

In a speech at the prize-distribution in a school in Folkestone, Lord Burnham said that he had come after a long enquiry in a distant land that showed the danger of allowing clericalism to be the guiding motive of educational life of a great country. "Half of the appalling conditions in India is due to the wrong aims of education and the idea that examinations are the be-all and end-all of teaching." The real root of the difficulty in India, added Lord Burnham, was the existence of what might be called 'the unemployed intelligentsia,' all of whom were striving for Government posts, but only a small proportion were able to find them.—Reuter's Special Service.

English education in India was originally intended to supply clerks and other subordinate officials. In spite of some slight reforms introduced later, it is still mainly literary and academic. Scientific, technological, technical, or industrial education is very scantily provided for. The ruin of India's trade and her indigenous industries has added to the difficulties of the problem. Along with general education, facilities should be provided for some sort of vocational education from the primary up to the highest University stage for those who want to avail themselves of it, as has been done in the educational scheme prepared for Mysore by Dr. Brajendranath Seal. And simultaneously every effort should be made for the revival of India's indigenous industries where possible and desirable and the starting of new industries—of course by and for the children of the soil. By such means alone can a variety of careers be opened up for the educated youth of the country.

Another Cure for Unemployment

In concluding his argument against the accused in the 'India in Bondage' case, the learned Advocate-General of Bengal said :

"...But I ask you to remember that at the present moment sedition is both fashionable and sometimes profitable. In this case we know a second edition has come out and if you think the accused is guilty under section 124-A and if there is any question of inflicting a fine, that is one of the points to be remembered."

Accordingly, the Government of Bengal took away from the accused Rs. 2,000 in the shape of fine and, by proscribing and confiscating *India in Bondage*, about Rs. 2500, the price of about 500 copies of the book taken away by the police, as the State's share of the profits of sedition. Besides this sum of Rs. 4,500 taken by the Government, there were the Author's royalty, the expenses of—

But it is not our intention to show how highly profitable sedition may "sometimes" be, so as even to excite the envy of an Advocate-General. What we want to do is to thank the Advocate-General for unintentionally suggesting a solution of the unemployment problem. If Government encouraged our 'unemployed intelligentsia' to master and practise the art of sedition, they would have a "profitable" occupation. In any case, if their practice of sedition were unprofitable

to them outside jails, they could be sent to prison by the law-courts, and there they would be able to earn their board and lodging. And that is better than unemployment and starvation at home.

Grievances and Plenty of Applicants

In the course of his address delivered at the annual meeting of the Indian Railway Conference Association Sir Ernest Jackson asked :

"If grievances do exist to the extent which Unions would have us and the public believe, why is it that there is no lack of applicants for posts in every branch of Railway working? We all know applicants tumble over each other when a vacancy occurs."

The reason why plenty of grievances and plenty of applicants co-exist is that millions of Indians do not have a square meal a day, and that many would like even to go to jail for a living were it not for the indignity still associated with jail life.

The Opium Evil in India

There is in America an association, called "Foreign Policy Association." At the "115th New York Luncheon Discussion" of this association held on March 2, 1929, "India's Future" was discussed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. C. F. Andrews and Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe. Concluding his speech, Mr. Andrews said :

"Let me tell you one thing about my country, Great Britain, of which I am intensely proud, and that is the way in the last few years the Indian Government and the British Government together have wiped out far the greater part of the opium evil from India. I want to affirm this here today, because I have been the strongest opponent of the Indian Government when I did not believe in its opium policy; but under our present Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and his predecessor, and under those who are carrying out his orders, we have really cleaned up the situation in a way that would have been incredible only five years ago. I give the greatest credit to your American statesmen also for this new situation. They walked out of the World Conference at Geneva in protest against India and Great Britain. I think that gesture gave us a shaking, and we have learned our lesson."

Dr. Taraknath Das started the agitation in America against opium. He also ought to have been praised for his efforts.

Mr. Andrews has expert knowledge of the opium question, we have not. But our impression about the achievement of the Indian Government does not exactly tally

with the impression conveyed by Mr. Andrews's warm praise of that government. It would not have been, right, however, to pit our mere impression against the positive assertion of an expert. So we have been on the look out for definite information. Here is a paragraph from the "Report on the Operations of the Opium Department for the year ending September 30, 1928," printed on April 30, 1929, about two months later than when Mr. Andrews spoke:

"18. *Financial results.*—The net profit of the manufacturing operations of the department for the period under review amounted to Rs. 1,98,79,248 as shown in Appendix II-A, as compared with Rs. 1,69,67,833 for the preceding eleven months ending 30th September 1927. *Most of the profits were, as in the previous year, obtained from the sale of provision opium.* Special medical opium despatched to the United Kingdom yielded a profit of Rs. 4,44,127-2-0. Indian medical opium, cake and powder, also yielded a profit..." p. 5 (Italics ours. Ed. M.R.)

The latest official report, therefore, shows that the Indian Government made greater profits in 1928 than in 1927, and that out of the total net profits of Rs. 1,98,79,248, so much as Rs. 1,89,39,056-12-0 was derived from the sale of provision opium, supplied to opium addicts. This shows that the Indian Government is still very far from approaching the League of Nations' ideal of consenting "to limit its manufacture to a definite quota of the world's scientific and medical requirements." It is, however, only fair to add that a steady reduction in the area cultivated for opium has been going on, that in 1927-28 having been 76,743 bighas as against 83,645 bighas in 1926-27.

Let us pass on to some questions in the British parliament as reported in *Abkari* for October 1929, p. 70:

In the House of Commons on July 22, Mr. Cecil Wilson asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Committee appointed in July 1927, to examine the position with regard to opium in the Malwa States has presented its Report; whether the Government of India has taken any decisions arising out of that Report; and whether the Report will be published?

Mr. Benn: The Committee has reported. No decisions have yet been taken. The question of publishing the Report has not yet been considered.

Mr. Wilson asked the Secretary of State for India whether all the Committees appointed in the Autumn of 1927 by five Provincial Governments to inquire into the high consumption of opium in certain areas have presented their Reports; whether the local Government which arranged to make a similar inquiry has presented its Report; what action the Government of India has taken or proposes to take upon the Reports; when Reports not

yet presented may be excepted; and whether all the Reports are to be published?

Mr. Benn: Four of the six inquiries have been completed. As soon as the remaining two are finished the Government of India propose to convene a Conference to collate and compare the results obtained before the Local Governments pass orders. The publication of each Report is a matter for the Local Government concerned. The Bengal Report has been published. (Italics ours. M.R.)

This shows that up to July 22, 1929, five months later than Mr. Andrews' speech, the India Government and at least five provincial Governments had not taken action on the complaint of high consumption of opium in certain areas.

Lastly, we will place a few brief extracts before the reader from Mr. H. G. Alexander's *The Indian Ferment*, published in 1929, with an introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews. Mr. Alexander gives credit to the Central Provinces Government for having done about all that a Government can do, and then goes on:

"The price has been so much increased that in the Central Provinces consumption is only one-third of what it was, and revenue only half. Of course, at first revenue goes up with the increase of price. Continuance in price-raising after the revenue begins to fall is the real test of Government sincerity. The Central Provinces stand the test; *Bombay does not.*" (Italics ours. Ed., M.R.) Pp. 31-32.

"My older host was very kind in finding out the best people to give me opium information in Cawnpore. When he discovered that the Cawnpore opium consumption (or at least sale) was over ten times the League of Nations index figure, he was quite indignant with himself and his fellow missionaries that they had not known this before and done something about it.... Opium smoking is still legal in the United Provinces..." P. 41.

"The (Rev. Herbert Anderson's) report is likely to contain demands for drastic reforms." P. 71.

It seems to us that the Government of India has hitherto tried more to set itself right with foreign countries than with its own subjects.

An English Author on Indian Art

The reader must not think that *The Indian Ferment* deals mainly with the opium problem—and perhaps with fermented liquors also! No. During his travels Mr. Alexander was interested in Indian politics, Indian bird life, Indian art, and many other Indian things. We may give the reader hereafter some idea of his political and other impressions. Here is something about Indian art and Indian economics (!).

"During my few days in Calcutta Nalin Ganguly and his brother Alin showed me much kindness. They live in true Indian simplicity; Nalin's room is reached by a steep outer staircase, which is almost a ladder. I told him that it suggested to me the steep ascent to Heaven. I found that some of his Y. M. C. A. colleagues object to his cheap Indian clothing, and tell him they hardly like to invite him to meet their friends. This is the sort of thing that almost drives one to despair. I suppose Christ, with his rough hands and common clothes, would never have been allowed in their drawing-rooms, though no doubt they have sentimental misrepresentations of him all over their walls. However, I suppose one must try to be gentle even towards those who seem to be unchristian Christian." P. 176.

Mr. Alexander proceeds to narrate:

"I spent an afternoon and an evening at the Gangulys' house. On the latter occasion Nalin invited three of his friends, and we had a very interesting talk, chiefly about India's economic disabilities. One of his friends, Chatterjee, was a Cambridge economist. So I knew he would not mislead me! He asked me to tea at his house a few days later. Nalin also came, and he invited an old King's contemporary of mine, B. M. Sen. Also Chatterjee's elder brother and his wife were there. The elder brother is a great student of art, and he showed me magnificent illustrations of the Ajanta Cave paintings and other Indian art. I could hardly have had a happier initiation into the meaning of Indian art, and I came away with the feeling that I might, with prolonged study, be able to appreciate it. Some of the figures are very beautiful. It is easy to see that there is a rare sense of design and of form in much of this ancient art, and in modern Indian art too. But their attitude to nature is very different from ours. Buddha seems to be as central in ancient Indian art as Christ is in Western medieval." Pp. 176-7.

This is followed again by something which is economic or politico-economic:

"Nalin also took me to call on Professor Radhakrishnan, and we there met other learned men. Professor Radhakrishnan had some amusing tales of people he had met in England. The Labour Clubs at Oxford and elsewhere had all declared that England could not possibly allow India to control her own tariff policy, as that might destroy the livelihood of the work people in Lancashire. The only leading statesman he met who seemed to appreciate the Indian point of view was Haldane, who said we English were too hopelessly unimaginative to be able to understand the needs of India or the real reason of her discontent.

"One of the things we discussed at the Gangulys' was the economic impoverishment of Bengal, and especially the silting up of its waterways." P. 177.

The Council of the League of Nations

"The Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations re-elected Poland to the Council of the League and elected the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to replace

Roumania and Peru to replace Chile. The Members of the Council are now: the five permanent Members—France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Japan; nine elected Members—Canada, Cuba and Finland, whose periods of office expire in September 1930; Persia, Spain and Venezuela until September 1931 (Spain was declared re-eligible by the Assembly on her election last year); Peru, Poland and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes until September 1932."

The Members of the League do not care ever to elect India to the Council, because she is not free and independent, and because, therefore, electing her would be practically giving one more vote to Britain.

Recognition of Sir Atul Chatterjee's Ability

"Among the members of the Committee of thirteen appointed by the Assembly to enquire into the organization and working of the Secretariat may be mentioned M. Adachi (Japanese) Sir Atul Chatterjee (Indian), M. Para-Perez (Venezuelan), M. Urrutia (Colombian). This Committee is to report to the Assembly in 1930 on what measures should be taken, if any are necessary, to give full effect to the principle that the Secretariat is an international civil service acting as the instrument of the whole League." The inclusion of Sir Atul Chatterjee in the Committee is a recognition of his ability and experience, and is a personal triumph for him. It is hoped that he will safeguard India's undoubted rights to greater participation in the League secretariat work.

Extension Given to Sir Atul Chatterjee

Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee's period of office as High Commissioner for India has been extended by fifteen months. But this cannot suffice to conceal the fact that his claim to a provincial governorship has been overlooked, men junior and inferior to him in ability and experience having been preferred.

The League, Bolivia and India

This year Bolivia, a small but *independent* country in South America, sent a delegation to the League of Nations Assembly for the first time in several years, whereas India, an *original* member of the League, has been sending a delegation every year since the

foundation of the League. But the requirements of Bolivia have received immediate recognition, though its contribution is insignificant.

"The Council and Assembly of the League in September approved of the necessary measures and budgetary credits required to enable the League Health Committee to comply with the request of the President of the Bolivian Republic for assistance in organizing the health service of Bolivia. An expert designated by the League Health Committee is to co-operate with the Bolivian Director-General of Health for six to eight months to study how a scientific organization of public health work should be undertaken. After this the Health Committee will see that an expert is available to work as technical co-operator with the Bolivian Director-General of Health for two consecutive years in order to carry out the programme of re-organization."

The League has not helped India in any such way, though among civilized countries she is the most disease-stricken. Instead, it has sent a malaria commission to acquire experience and learn in India in order that this experience and knowledge may be applied in some countries of Southern Europe! The reasons for neglecting India are presumed to be three: (1) India, not being free and independent, does not count; (2) India's population is of non-European stock and is mainly non-Christian; and (3) the League cannot offer help to India without the request or consent of Britain, which Britain cannot make or give, because any extraneous help would be construed as failure on her part to do her duty to India.

Besides Bolivia, various other countries have received the help of the Health Section of the League in different ways.

Extension of the Jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice

"During the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations no fewer than fifteen States—Australia, Canada, Czecho-slovakia, France, Great Britain, Greece, India, the Irish Free State, Italy, Latvia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Siam and South Africa—signed the Optional Clause (Paragraph 2 of Article 36) of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, by which they recognize the right to summon or be summoned

by all other signatories before the Court on all disputes arising out of questions of law or fact or treaty interpretation.

"The compulsory jurisdiction of the Court is now recognized by thirty-three States, including four (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy) of the five Great Powers Members of the League. Nine years ago, when the Statute of the Court was adopted, it was freely predicted that no great power would ever give up the privileges of force and put itself on equal terms with small states before the law by accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

"A good many of the new signatures exclude disputes arising out of past events from the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court and reserve the right to have recourse to the League Council in the first instance, and to appeal to the Court only if the Council fails to settle the matter to the satisfaction of both parties. Great Britain, India, and the Dominions, with the exception of the Irish Free State (which signed without any reservation), have reserved disputes between Members of the British Commonwealth and questions within their domestic jurisdiction. Greece has reserved disputes affecting her territorial status or sovereignty. By Paragraph 4 of Article 36 of the Court Statute which not being "optional" has been accepted by all the signatories from the moment they became parties to the Statute, "in the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court."

This extension of the reign of law is greatly to be welcomed.

That Great Britain and the Dominions (India's following suit was a foregone conclusion) have reserved "domestic" disputes shows their prudence. What dire consequences would ensue if by some unthinkable chance India placed some grievance of hers against Britain before the Permanent Court of International Justice!

The Meaning of Independent States

In one of the notes contained in the October issue of the League of Nations "News for Overseas", to which we are indebted for much information, it is stated that "the League is an association of independent States." Is the Irish Free State an independent state? Are the British

Dominions independent states ? And, finally, is India, far from being independent, even a self-governing state ?

Are the Foremost Indian Social Workers Non-religious ?

Mr. William Paton, editor of that excellent quarterly, *The International Review of Missions*, writes in the course of an article in the July number of his review on "What Is Secularism ?" that in India "on the whole those who are foremost in education, social reform, the emancipation of women and kindred movements look on religion with indifference and even hostility." It seems to us to be an amazingly untrue statement. It is surprising that one who has personal knowledge of the country should make such a mistake. It is true that some who talk of social reform and of women's education and emancipation and some who have practically done some little work to advance those causes "look on religion with indifference and even hostility." But certainly they are not the *foremost* social workers in those movements. In the Punjab and northern India the Arya Samajists have long been the foremost social workers. They are not indifferent or hostile to religion. In Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Andhradesa, etc., the Brahmo Samaj has been foremost in these fields of work. The Rev. Dr. Southworth, President of the Meadville Theological School in Chicago, who toured in the provinces of India some months ago, writes in *The Christian Register* of Boston, which is a journal of free churches:

"India has no single agency at the present time which is fighting more valiantly than the Brahmo Samaj the battle against illiteracy, superstition, caste, purdah, child marriage, intemperance, the disability of widows, and untouchability. They are fighting this battle under conditions of poverty and political vassalage which, for a proud, high-strung people with a history of high intellectual achievement reaching back for five thousand years, are growing increasingly intolerable. They have maintained the influence of their Samajes despite lack of organization, which would have doomed to failure the most vigorous churches of the Occident."

There are other religious bodies, like the Ramakrishna Mission, the Prarthana Samaj, etc., doing good social work. That religio-philosophic body, the Theosophical Society, has some similar work and influence to its credit. The direct and indirect social reform work done by Mahatma

Gandhi, a deeply religious man, is of inestimable value. Though Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a devout Hindu, may not claim it, the Hindu University Woman's College is a centre of influence making for social reform and woman's emancipation.

A Muslim Opinion of the "Gita"

One F. K. Khan Durrani, B. A., of the Tabligh Literature Society of Lahore, perhaps the same person who had to withdraw his book on Dayananda Swami from circulation, writes in "The Bhagavad Gita, a Criticism," that "It is an immoral book" (p. 87). It does not much matter what he writes. But the question is, would Muhammadans like *their* Book and Prophet to be characterized in this way ?

The author's qualifications for writing on a serious subject in a responsible manner may be guessed from the statement made in the same booklet, page 91, that "India has given no inventions and no technical skill or knowledge to the world." He concludes his booklet thus :

"We are small men ; are views are narrow ; we lack initiative ; we are less manly, we are altogether unfit to be free and bear the burdens and responsibilities of a free people. Hindu philosophy has made us so, and we shall remain so, as long as we follow the ideals of Bhagavadgita and the ideals of Hinduism. Hindu philosophy is alone responsible for the emasculation and thralldom of the peoples of India. For a free national life, it is necessary that we give up Hindu philosophy and Hindu ideals for all time, that we wash off its stains from our persons for good. A healthier, more vigorous and more manly philosophy of life we need, the philosophy of Islam. Under the sway of Hindu ideals we shall either soon sink back into barbarism, or what is more probable, fall a prey to some other nation. Hindu India cannot be free. It has never been free and never shall be. The salvation of India lies in Islam. Abolish Hinduism ; remove its ideals and its philosophical doctrines from the minds of youth. Make India a Muslim country and she can win freedom and keep it against all the world. The salvation of India lies in Islam and Islam alone." Pp. 111-112.

Hindus may be criticized, condemned and abused with impunity. That will not lead to their extinction, because there are men among them competent to criticize and reform themselves and all that is Hindu, when and where necessary. But Muhammadans may ask themselves why, for the sake of survival and progress, Muslim countries like Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Syria have felt it necessary to discard to a greater or less extent what was Islamic and Arabic. They

may also ask themselves why in India the modern fight for freedom is predominantly a Hindu fight.

The International Labour Conference

During the twelfth session of the International Labour Conference, the Committee on Unemployment elected the following officers: Chairman and Reporter: Dr. Paranjpye, Indian Government Delegate; Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Vogel, German Employers' Delegate; and Mr. Findlay, British Workers' Adviser. We appreciate the recognition of Dr. Paranjpye's worth. We only wish he had been elected in a non-governmental capacity.

Twelfth Session of I. L. Conference

International Labour Review writes that "the general impression produced by the Twelfth session of the International Labour Conference is one of serenity and untroubled progress. The number of delegates and advisers, the number of delegations, were all greater than in previous years. Countries of great economic importance, such as China, whose participation had hitherto been little more than nominal, sent complete delegations to this year's Conference, took an active part in the discussion of the various items on the agenda, and made a number of interesting suggestions. The agenda of the Conference was fully dealt with after careful discussions, and resulted in decisions which promise well for the immediate progress of international labour legislation and for the procedure of the Conference itself."

It is to be hoped that this anticipation of immediate progress of international labour legislation will turn out true. Otherwise, as Mr. N. M. Joshi warned the Conference, the lure of Moscow, very often illusory, might prove more attractive than the slow amelioration of labour conditions hoped to be brought about by the efforts of the International Labour Office at Geneva, though the latter may be surer in its results.

Waterways in America and India

In the United States of America the forecast of waterways development for its vast commerce is contained in the words, "a web of inland canals for the nation, and every Great Lakes port a sea-port." In

India, it has been held that the subject of waterways should be Provincial. But in America Mr. Good, Secretary of War, pleads for a national rather than a sectional view of rail, air, and water transportation. "We can never have too much of it", says he, to keep up with increasing commerce, pointing out that river and harbour improvements have reduced the nation's freight bill "more than 600,000,000 dollars annually, while the value of our waterways in national defence cannot be expressed in dollars and cents."

The silting up of rivers in Bengal has affected the health, commerce and agriculture of Bengal. But no serious steps have been taken so far. More than a year ago Sir William Willcocks, the engineering expert of Sudan fame, lecturing on the possibility of better irrigation in Bengal, said that "if a seven-mile dam were built across the Ganges in Upper Bengal a magnificent flood could be brought down all the existing channels, and many more, to the enormous advantage of the whole country, both for destroying malaria and for increasing cultivation." But one may be sure that the greater-than-Willcocks experts of our Government will not allow such a thing to be done. If there be any money to spare, rail-roads will be constructed, provided again that they do not reduce the income of Lord Inchcape's steamer lines.

Prospect of Lower Taxes in America

About a month ago press writers in America were rejoicing over the prospect of "a substantial slash in Federal taxes before next year's income-tax payments fall due." And this in a very rich country like America. Here in poverty-stricken Bengal an anonymous writer waxed eloquent over the virtues of high taxation in the University organ and is given the place of honour.

Aviation in Other Lands

In every civilized country but India the children of the country are trying to take the utmost advantage of natural forces. It is true the worship of speed does not necessarily make for ethical and spiritual uplift. But neither is such improvement secured by being left behind in the race in locomotion and commerce—and also in war, if it comes to that.

That sometimes the men or women of this nation or that are beating the previous record in aviation may not be a proof of that nation's moral or spiritual excellence. But neither is it a proof of our elevation of soul that we are doing nothing in that line. It is for us only to read with admiration a paragraph like the following in an American paper:

Lieut. James H. Doolittle, piloting his plane under conditions duplicating those caused by the densest fog, rose from Mitchel Field, Long Island, on September 24, flew for fifteen miles, and landed safely within a few feet of his point of take-off, without at any time seeing the ground or any part of his machine except the illuminated instrument-board. This achievement in "blind flying," we are told, will focus the interest of aviators all over the world, since fog has long been recognized as man's greatest enemy in the air.

The Latin Alphabet in Turkey

A Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* draws attention to

the profound change which may ensue in the every-day life and thoughts of a nation as the result of changing its alphabet and which is in evidence now in Turkey. Since June, it appears it has been illegal to use the old Arabic letters in any public document. Arabic letters have been totally replaced by the Latin alphabet. If this seems an easy transformation, say some, imagine the English-speaking peoples of the world, and of all countries where the Latin alphabet is the only one in use, trying to set down the simplest commonplace phrases in Arabic characters. The old Arabic characters, writes a Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, have given way to the Latin in all public documents, in the address on envelopes and letters, in telegrams, and in all business accounts. And as for letters addressed in Arabic script still being mailed by ignorant people, there is an accumulation of thousands of them at the Post office, and if not reclaimed within ninety days, they are to be destroyed.

Higher Intellectual Quality in the Teachers

In a letter to *Science* Prof. Yandell Henderson of Yale contends that in University teaching it is higher intellectual quality in the teachers more than the smallness of classes which is most important. Says he:

"Higher intellectual quality in the teachers is the most important element in better teaching. No new educational devices, however meritorious in themselves, such as the tutorial system, residential halls with separate staffs, etc., can contribute to the education of large bodies of students to a degree comparable with a few able teachers. A generally higher quality can be obtained only by a much higher salary scale. Therefore, the greatest improvement in our universities involves holding the faculties at approximately their present

size until funds accumulate sufficient for higher salaries. So enormous are the sums now annually poured into our universities that there are few institutions, which, if they met this condition and limited the increase in the faculty, would not be enabled within a decade to raise all salaries 50 to 100 per cent. At that higher level of salaries and ability new educational devices could be introduced with a much greater chance of proving effective than on the present level of salaries and ability.

Who is to Blame for Palestine Bloodshed?

From a distance it is very difficult, if not impossible, to divide the blame impartially for the bloodshed in Palestine. The *Literary Digest* of America sums up some Jewish and non-Jewish opinions on the subject. Let us first take the views expressed in *The American Hebrew*

The arrogance of the so-called Zionist Revolutionist is doubtless a causative factor behind the Moslem outbreaks against the Jews, says *The American Hebrew* (New York), in apportioning the blame among all those immediately concerned in the blood-letting in Palestine. Primary responsibility is placed on the British authorities for permitting the opening of the blind end of the Wailing Wall area "to an inflamed and frenzied Arab mob," but the "unscrupulous Moslem agitators" come in for a share, "and what we say of the Arab malefactors," continues *The American Hebrew*, "we apply also to the Jewish agitators in Palestine. The bravado with which they claim Jewish Palestine against the Arabs, the aggressive zeal with which they demand an exclusive Jewish nationhood in Palestine, the inflammatory political harangues with which they demonstrate their foolhardy assertiveness, are in no little measure to blame for the ill-will and recurrent clashes between Moslem and Jew in the Holy Land." This criticism applies, of course, only to the radical element among the Zionists, for in a later editorial pleading for a better understanding between Moslems and Jews in Palestine "for the sake of Palestine," it is stated that "the Jews of the world would not desire a homeland for their brethren in Palestine if it is to be won and held at the point of a bayonet." Rabbi Isaac Landman, the editor, calls the attention of the Moslems to the purpose of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, enunciated by Dr. Chaim Weizmann speaking for the Zionists, and Felix M. Warburg, speaking for non-Zionists, both of whom have declared that the objective of the Jews in Palestine is to create "a work of peace" that will benefit Moslems, Christians, and Jews alike. The editor thinks that this work of peace can be achieved mutually by Arabs and Jews, if the former, like the latter, would create an Arab Agency for Palestine on the lines and with purposes similar to those of the Jewish Agency.

In the above one finds a re-apportionment of blame and a generous Jewish appreciation of Arab sentiment. We come next to the opinion of another Jewish writer in the *New York World*:

Here again, though he places primary responsibility for the murderous outbreaks on "the entire British policy," Victor Rine, a Jewish journalist who is a close student of Eastern affairs, and who has made five trips to Palestine as an observer and student of events, apportioning some of the blame on both Zionist and Arab leaders. Writing in the *New York World*, he tells us of the reverence in which the Arab was wont to hold the Jew, and then recites:

"The sad changes observable in the Arab attitude to-day are the inevitable results of definite causes, of fallacious policies, malicious incitements, and arrogance on all sides. They have led steadily through misunderstanding to hatred, murder, and plunder.

"Arab propagandists are not without responsibility. They, too, have been willing to interpret the Balfour Declaration as some Zionists interpret it, and they have stirred up their people with the argument that their homes have been taken away from them.

"They have been willing to ignore the plain fact that Jewish colonization has brought to all Palestine, including the 80 per cent. of the population which is Arab, a prosperity which has not been known there for many centuries. The millions of dollars which are collected every year by Jews all over the world for Zionism are largely spent in Palestine, and the Arabs for the most part are the recipients.

"Land prices have risen to heights which no Arab landowner had ever dreamed of before. The colonists are compelled to use Arab labour, and the wages of the workers, low enough by all European standards, let alone American standards, are still much higher than in the days of the Turk. Sanitation, hospitalization, all the comfortable influences of civilization are benefiting the Arabs as never before.

"But some of the Arab leaders speak of these things only as a warning of increasing Jewish influence which will one day deprive the Moslem of his heritage. The argument is strengthened by those Jews who deny the validity of that heritage who regard a thousand years of Arab occupancy as a usurpation, and claim the whole country as their own."

This is followed by two Christian viewpoints.

A Roman Catholic view-point of the tragedy is furnished us by *The Commonwealth* (New York), which criticizes the British Government for withdrawing the garrison from Palestine, and says it "should have long ago defined and defended the right of the Jews to worship in their immemorial holy places." Though it has "no wish to deny that certain sections among the Palestine Jews have supplied their share of provocation in the present feud," *The Commonwealth* believes "their right in the holy places is anterior to the Moslems' in history; and, speaking as Christians," holds "that their right is spiritually superior, as well."

We conclude with a Protestant view-point, wishing that we had an Arab one too.

Remarking that "naturally, American newspapers and politicians are inclined to emphasize the sorrows of the Jews, wantonly attacked by barbarous hordes of fanatical Moslems," *The Reformed Church Messenger* observes:

"This is a popular view—and it must be remembered that the Arab vote in America is pitifully small, nor are the Arabs able to give large patronage to advertising columns. Of course, the Hebrew people, with their higher culture and a faith more akin to our own, seem considerably closer to us than the followers of Mohammed. Nevertheless, the Arabs are greatly in the majority in Palestine, and we wonder if they are to be blamed for not wanting to turn over the country they call their own to a rather uncompromising minority, backed by the material force of a British Mandate. It is a pretty complicated situation, and we can only hope that an enlightened British policy will see to it not only that peace is preserved, but also that substantial justice is done."

Minorities in Palestine and India

Indians, at least Hindu Indians, are expected not to take sides in this strife between Jews and Arabs. But both Moslems and Hindus in India may learn a lesson from it. Indian Moslems will readily sympathize with the Arab view-point, based on the fact that the Arabs are greatly in the majority in Palestine and they call the country their own. So they would be right in contending that they are not to be blamed for not wanting to turn over the country they call their own to a rather uncompromising minority [consisting of Jews], backed by the material force of a British Mandate. Hindu Indians also can readily sympathize with this view-point. But they would ask Moslem Indians in a friendly spirit to apply this view-point to India. In Palestine the Arab majority do not want to give any special privilege or position to the "uncompromising" Jewish minority, and the Indian Moslems feel that the Arabs are not to blame. But when here in India the Hindu majority do not want to give any special position or privilege or excessive representation to the "uncompromising" Moslem minority, the Moslems get angry with the Hindus, who call the country their own. True, India is the country of the Moslems also, though the Moslem claim is chronologically posterior to the Hindu claim. But, in the same way, Palestine is the country of the Jews also, with this difference in favour of the Jews, that it was at first the country of the Jews alone. Both in Palestine and in India the minority, Jews in the former and Moslems in the latter country, have the support of the material force of the British nation.

It is hoped the position will now be clear to both Moslems and Hindus in India—even to Hindus of the Congress camp. If

it be just, as it certainly is, that a minority has no right to impose any kind of government, directly or indirectly, on the majority, it must be just both in Palestine and in India. If Indian Moslems hold that the Arab majority view-point is right in Palestine, they should also hold that the Hindu majority view-point is right in India. The Hindu majority view-point does not claim support on the ground of its being the Hindu or the majority view-point, but because it proposes to enfranchise the followers of all religions or no religion on the same terms. Moslems here would perhaps remind Hindus that they once conquered parts of India. But the historian's answer to that contention is that the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Marathas in almost the rest of Moslem India got the better of the Moslems, and the sovereignty of India passed into British hands only *nominally* from Moslems but *really* from non-Moslems.

Sir John Simon is a Jew. What is his view-point regarding Palestine?

Soviet Hostility to Religion

Many reports relating to Russia are hard to believe, though they may be true. But the Russian Communists' fear of and hostility to religion appears from all accounts to be true. The latest evidence of this attitude of theirs is to be found in a communication to *The Christian Century* of America from its managing editor Mr. Hutchinson, who has recently travelled in Russia. He tells his readers

"that the Soviet Government is to-day closing churches wholesale; sending hundreds, and probably thousands, of persons to jail for the sole crime of religious activity; reverting to the old G. P. U. (secret police) terror, under which persons are arrested, tried and sentenced without public trial, the employment of counsel, and frequently without letting even the families of the accused know where they are confined or with what they are charged."

The reasons assigned by Mr. Hutchinson for this terrific assault on religion are, briefly:

"In the first place, the Soviet Government has been astonished and badly frightened, by the success of the reforming religious movements in Russia." "In the second place, the Government has been aroused by the success of the Protestant churches in organizing the young people."

What is the attitude of Indian communists towards religion?

The British Press on the Child Marriage Bill

The Indian News of London observes:

The comments in the British Press on the Child Marriage Bill, recently passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly, make very sad reading. The English papers make out that in the passing of the Bill Indian opinion is at last yielding to reformist pressure exerted by the Government. Some of the papers, like the *Daily Express*, which is particularly venomous with regard to India, make out that the Bill is a triumph of Britain in India! And yet the proceedings of the legislatures, which are official documents, will show that the efforts to raise the age of consent and the age of marriage in India are entirely due to Indian initiative and persistence and that the Government, far from being sympathetic, and helpful, has till now systematically obstructed and opposed any reform in this direction. We were very surprised to see *The Manchester Guardian* spoil a good leading article by the inclusion of a perversion of the truth that Hindu opinion has at last awakened to the need for reform! The Government of India is the sinner, since it opposed and defeated the Bills time after time.

The lying observations and insinuations of some British papers need not surprise or sadden anybody. That is their way. It may make Indians indignant. That is all.

When Mr. Har Bilas Sarda introduced



Mr. Har Bilas Sarda

his Bill, the late Sir Alexander Muddiman was Home Member. The latter said at that time that, as it was not the convention to oppose a bill at the time of its introduction, he would not oppose its introduction, but would do so at every succeeding stage. After that Sir Alexander was promoted

to a higher post and Sir James Crerar succeeded him. His attitude was at first the same as that of Sir Alexander, so that Mr. Sarda had to read a passage in the Legislative Assembly from this *Review* in which it was said that the British Government had not yet agreed to any social legislation which would make the Indian nation stronger. Sir James Crerar said nothing in reply to this interpretation of the consistent opposition of the Government for some time past to progressive social legislation. The change in the official attitude came later. No one knows the exact cause. Some say, it is due to the accession of Labour to power; others say, it is due to the desire of some bureaucrats to take advantage of a possible resulting split between the orthodox and the liberal Hindus.

Whatever may have brought about this change in the attitude of the officials, it is an unmitigated lie to suggest or say that Indian opinion has yielded to reformist pressure exerted by the Government. That the Government did not take the initiative in the matter of restraining child marriage has been noted by Mr. C. F. Andrews, in his Introduction to *The Indian Ferment*. Says he, in the rôle of a charitable apologist for the Indian Government:

"While it would be absurd to charge the eminent British statesmen who are still at the head of Indian affairs with a desire for reaction in social reform in India, yet the charge of timidity is by no means so lightly brushed aside;..... This was acutely evident in the Bill proposed at Delhi last year for a reform, long overdue, dealing drastically with child marriage. Here the officials at Delhi, with the approval of the India Office in Whitehall, took the side of delay and caution—not from any lack of sympathy with Indian social reform, but through timidity as to the consequences involved. An abuse which Modern Turkey would have swept away in a single session is still allowed to linger and fester." P. 11.

Miss Mayo and the Child Marriage Bill

A still more amazing lie is implied in attributing the passage of the child marriage bill to Miss Mayo's anti-Indian propaganda. *The Indian News* writes:

A reverent world is offering its unstinted homage to Miss Mayo on her triumph in compelling the Indians to see the evil of their ways and pass the Child Marriage Bill! Miss Mayo must be a very self-sacrificing person. She has most unselfishly used her great talents to end an evil which was her only path to fame. And what is more, she is urging the West to keep India to the

scratch. There is, however, one little inconsistency. Miss Mayo wrote in 1925 and published her first book on India in 1926. The fight against early marriages and allied evils began in the legislatures about four years before that. Indian reformers, men and women, have long been engaged in bringing about the reform. But then those are only a couple of facts. Facts never worried Miss Mayo. Her field is fiction, and she is quite at home there.

The fight against child marriage is at least sixty years old. The earliest piece of legislation which dealt a blow at too early marriages was Act III of 1872, which is known as the Civil Marriage Act, and lays down 18 and 14 as the minimum ages of marriage for bridegrooms and brides respectively. Keshub Chunder Sen and his co-workers, by whose efforts this law was enacted, wanted it for the people as a whole. But owing to the opposition offered by the orthodox people and some others, Government did not agree to legislate for the entire population. So it was made applicable only to those who would declare that they did not follow the Hindu, Moslem, Christian and other historic religions. The agitation against child marriage continued even after the passing of that Act, the Hindu reforming bodies, like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, etc. and the Parsi journalist Mr. B. M. Malabari and others taking a leading part in the movement. The present writer distinctly remembers the heated controversy carried on by the opposite parties on the subject when he was a college student, and that was more than 40 years ago.

Laws against child marriage were passed in some Indian States long before any hired mendacious propagandist chose to use it as a stick to beat the Hindus with.

Honest Declaration of Commercial Motive

At the Indian Government Stand in the North-East Coast Exhibition, Newcastle, this year, there are pictorial and graphic displays of the facts that "India buys 50 per cent. of her imports from the United Kingdom," but that "the United Kingdom takes 25 per cent. of India's exports." The British people are, therefore, exhorted to "Buy more from India to enable Her to buy still more from you." There would be nothing very remarkable in this declaration of the commercial motive underlying the exhortation to buy more from India, were it not for the fact that in all their dealings with India, Britishers have

pretended to be moved by philanthropic considerations. They obtained the sovereignty of India for India's good, they rule India for India's good, they have discriminated against Indians in the legal, political, social and economic spheres for India's good. Nay, as pointed out in the statement issued by the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in reply to the circular letter dated the 27th July, 1929, of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, India and Ceylon, Sir George Godfrey in moving a resolution of the Associated Chambers showered encomiums on the British traders in India for their commercial enterprises, undertaken "for the benefit of India"!

We must, therefore, record our appreciation of the truthfulness of the "Indian Government Stand" in the North-East Coast Exhibition.

It is also proclaimed in that Stand that "India ranks 6th in the International Trade of the World." It ought to have been added that almost the whole of this trade is carried on by Britishers and other foreigners.

Delay in Instituting "India in Bondage" Case

The question has been put again and again, in private conversation, and sometimes in newspapers, "Why was there so much delay in prosecuting the printer and publisher of Dr. Sunderland's articles in *The Modern Review* in book-form?" The facts which have given rise to such a question may be briefly stated. At least half, perhaps more, of the chapters comprising that author's "India in Bondage" had appeared before in *The Indian Review* of Madras, *The People* of Lahore, and *The Modern Review* of Calcutta, and some of them had been reproduced in other journals. So far as this *Review*, which published most of the aforesaid chapters, is concerned, the first article appeared in July, 1926 and the last in January, 1929. Many of the passages objected to by the Advocate-General and the trying Magistrate occur in these articles. But from July 1926 to January 1929, the editor of this *Review* did not receive any warning from the Government, nor was he prosecuted for any of these articles. Nor was any other editor who had published any of the "India in Bondage" articles prosecuted for them;—presumably they, too were not warned.

It is not, of course, contended that a

"seditious" editor has the right to be warned. But if an editor really went on committing the offence of sedition for more than thirty months, there was no reason why he should have been shown any mercy. And does it not look like producing a sense of false security in a man to allow him to publish things for three years without even a warning and then to pounce on him on the charge of spreading sedition?

After most of the aforesaid chapters had been published in periodicals, "India in Bondage" came out in book-form in December last. The first edition was sold out. Even then there was no prosecution. The second edition came out during the first half of this year. Even then there was no prosecution. It was after a few hundred copies of the 2nd edition had been sold that there were house searches followed by prosecution of the accused.

No doubt, when a robber or a murderer is not detected soon after the commission of an offence and when they are detected sometimes years after, there must be delay in instituting criminal proceedings. The delay in such cases does not give rise to any question as to its cause. But editors and publishers are not like robbers and murderers. They send their publications to Government officers appointed to receive them. Dr. Sunderland's articles, both when appearing singly and when appearing collectively in book-form, were sent to the Government. Why, then, was there so much delay in prosecuting the accused?

We have heard rumours of reports, alleged to have originated from exalted or unexalted official quarters, relating to instigators and an emissary of theirs, relating to difference of opinion between two authorities and a reference to a higher authority abroad, relating to a certain authority having had nothing to do with it, and so on and so forth. But as such reports, though seemingly corroborated in part by events occurring after they were heard, cannot be verified, and as no names can be publicly mentioned, no definite answer to the question as to the cause of the delay can be obtained therefrom.

One answer has been suggested by more than one person, namely, that if small pebbles are thrown at a lion, that king of beasts may not be perturbed; but if a big stone be hurled at him his equanimity is disturbed, and he may go in for reprisals. In other words, Dr. Sunderland's single

articles could be left unnoticed—though Lord Ronaldshay noticed at least one of them, but a whole sheaf of them bound in book-form was a more formidable missile. It must be admitted that there may be something in this line of argument. But, as many persons have been prosecuted and punished for making a single speech, for writing a single poem, for publishing a single article, this answer is not completely convincing.

Another suggested answer may be noticed. Some have said that as the editor of this *Review* was formerly only a journalist but had latterly delivered speeches in Sylhet, Lahore, Surat, Ajmer, Ranchi, etc., some brilliant official subordinate or informer might have suggested that he was getting more mischievous. But as he continues and must continue to be without any following, particularly among the youth of the country, this answer too is not convincing.

Why the Book Was Not Merely Proscribed

The usual official method of dealing with books which in the opinion of the Government contain seditious matter, is to proscribe them, and prosecutions of the author or publisher rarely, if ever, follow. But in the case of Dr. Sunderland's book the persons concerned with its publication were first prosecuted and convicted and then the book was proscribed. It has been asked why a method other than the ordinary one was adopted in this case. If, as has been alleged, all that the Government wanted was to suppress the book, they could have gained that object by merely proscribing it. It is true by following the course they have done, they have got Rs. 2,000 from the accused. But they have had to pay many times that amount to the Advocate-General and the public prosecutor for conducting the prosecution.

The reason for the exceptional treatment may have lain in the fact that Dr. Sunderland's book being the most comprehensive and convincing of its kind, it was necessary to make it known that publishers of such books must bargain for something more than their mere proscription and forfeiture.

Which Officials Read Seditious Books ?

In the course of the "India in Bondage" trial, Sir P. C. Mitter, an Executive Councillor of the Government of Bengal, and

Mr. Hopkyns, its Chief Secretary, both said that they had not read the book, nor could or did they say who had read it before sanction for prosecution was asked for or given. From the opening speech of the Advocate-General it also appeared that, up till then, he too had not read it. Who, then, is the authority Governments blindly follow in giving sanction for seditious prosecutions ?

"India in Bondage" Case

In writing this note it is not our intention to call in question the legality of the Magistrate's judgment in the "India in Bondage" case. Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code is so comprehensive and elastic that any critic of the Government (whatever the meaning of the word "Government") may be convicted quite justly according to it. If the accused in the case in question had been acquitted, that too would perhaps have been according to the law.

We want to dwell on certain points arising out of the trial and the Magistrate's judgment, from a mere layman's point of view. The following is from the judgment :

"The learned Advocate-General, who argued the case for the Crown, relied mainly on the exposition of the law given by Mr. Justice Strachey in *Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Case* (I. L. R., 22 Bom. 112). He has tabulated five items, which appear from that judgment, as things which may not be done. They are: A. Attack on the Government itself, its existence, its essential characteristics, its motives, or its feelings towards the people. B. Attributing to the Government every sort of evil or misfortune suffered by the people. C. Dwelling adversely on its foreign origin or character. D. Imputing base motives. E. Accusing the Government of hostility or indifference to the welfare of the people."

These five items show that the truth or falsity of any statement, observation, or criticism has nothing to do with its unseditious or seditious character. Neither the learned Advocate-General in his argument, nor the learned Magistrate in his judgment said that any of the passages objected to contained falsehood. So it may be inferred that a passage may contain truth and nothing but the truth, yet it may be seditious. Is the dictum, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," applicable, at least in some cases, to seditious libels also ? Whatever the requirements of law-courts may be, it certainly is necessary for wise statesmanship to enquire into the correctness of the allegations of the Government's critics.

As for the passages objected to by the Advocate-General, it is said in the judgment:

He has then supplied a note with his classification of the passages indicated therein.—Out of these I select in particular the following:

<i>Page and lines</i>	<i>Heads</i>
C. 5, 7	B. C.
D. 22-26	C. D.
9. 17 etc.	B.
11. 21-28	A.
16. Bottom and 17 top	A. D. C.
18. 14-18	D. N.
20. 2-5	B.
52. last 14 lines.	A. B.
55. 15-25	C. D. E.
57. top	A. C. E.
61. 16-30	A. E.
84. bottom	E.
86. 16-96	A. E.
87. 24-33	A. E.
116 first 3rd paras	A.
117 18-25	A.
118 23-32	A.
126 last para but one	A. D. E.
131 last para	A. D. E.
136 9-16	A. C. E. (of page 17)
173 24-30	C. E.
173 last para.	A. D.
184 23-26	C.
190 last para	C.
217. last para	C.
255 7-13	A. B. E.
278 2nd para	D. E.
299 top	C.
300 3rd and last para	C. E.
315 last para	C.
334 2nd para	C. E.
337 last ten lines	A. B.
340 last para	C.
369 last 12 lines	C.
438	
439	
440	D. A.
470 bottom and	
471 top	A. C. E.
500 last para but one	A. C. D.
501 last two paras.	B. C.

The list is not exhaustive, But gives a representative idea of the passages on which the book is to be found seditious if at all. I give a classification, based on that supplied by the learned Advocate-General, which is substantially accurate, but might be subject to objection in some particulars. I have omitted some passages mentioned by him, which do not appear to me to be so important or where I did not agree with his classification.

As the Magistrate has given only references without quoting the passages, they cannot be discussed on their merits. Journalists have been thus placed at a disadvantage. They cannot be expected to possess or procure copies of a proscribed book.

The Question of "Intention"

Regarding "intention", the Advocate-General indulged in a long discussion, with which

we are not concerned. In summing up, as it were, he said: "I ask you to apply this principle, that is to say, the accused must be taken to intend, whatever his motive may be, the reasonable and natural consequences of his act." In his judgment, the Chief Presidency Magistrate appears to have taken the same view, though not in so many words; for he observed: "The writer certainly knew the inevitable effect of his writings, and the accused, the publisher and printer of the work, are to be presumed to have had the same knowledge and intention." This view of the advocate and the judge may or may not be the correct view. Much can certainly be urged on the other side. We are not concerned with all that. But we want to understand whether the persons who from time to time form the personnel of what is known as the "Government" and whose doings and not-doings constitute British rule in this country—whether these persons are prepared to be judged by the principle laid down by the advocate and the judge.

The prevailing illiteracy has been again and again, very recently too, brought forward as an argument against India beginning to be self-ruling. Now, the motive of the British officials in India might all along have been to produce cent. per cent. literacy. But they have all along spent the revenues of the country in such a manner and on such subjects and objects and they have made some such laws and refrained from making other laws and conducted the administration generally in such a way that, in spite of the highest motives to the contrary, India is in the year 1929 A. C., after more than 150 years of enlightened rule, the most illiterate country under civilized rule. Would it be legitimate and unseditious to conclude therefrom, that the British officials "must be taken to intend the natural... consequences of" what they did and refrained from doing? Would it be right to infer that they "certainly knew the inevitable effect of" their doings and not-doings and "are to be presumed to have the... intention" that India should remain an illiterate country?

As regards illiteracy, many publicists have, no doubt, said or suggested that the British officials have not desired to make the people literate; some have even gone further and said that they intended to keep the people as uneducated as might be practicable. But the wildest extremist has

never, to our knowledge, said or suggested that Government, the bureaucracy, the foreign officials, wanted to produce poverty, to produce famines, to produce a high death-rate, or to cause epidemics like the plague, etc. But if the principle laid down in the *India in Bondage* trial were to be adopted, would not strict logic compel one to arrive at the astounding conclusion that, in spite of their noble motives, Government, the bureaucracy, the foreign officials must be presumed to have intended what had happened? For even the staunchest and most loyal eulogist and supporter of the Government must admit that every country's condition is the result of what its people are and its Government is. Nowhere is it the result of what only one party is. Of course, the result may not have been deliberately intended (in the non-legal sense!) by either party. In the legal meaning of intention, however, as expounded by the learned Advocate-General of Bengal and accepted by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, whatever naturally happens and could not but have happened under a given set of circumstances, must be presumed to have been intended by both the rulers and the people. But in spite of the high authority and logic of the learned Advocate-General, it will never be safe for anybody to utter the untruth that the British Government deliberately intended that millions of Indians should suffer throughout their lives from semi-starvation, that India should be the most disease-ridden country in the civilized world, that it should have frequent famines or scarcity, that it should be occasionally decimated by epidemics of plague and influenza, and so on and so forth. For even if such statements could be proved to be true and logically sound, that would not save their utterer or publisher from coming within the mischief of some fresh interpretation of "intention" given by some jurist. Because, Proteus is not really dead.

"Strong Language"

From the fact that the truth of what Dr. Sunderland has written in his book was not called in question by the Advocate-General and the Magistrate, it would not be right to conclude that they held that the book was free from error. We have only concluded that for the purpose of convicting

an accused of sedition it is not necessary in their opinion to prove the falsity of what he has said or published.

Similarly, with regard to many of the words used by Dr. Sunderland, the Magistrate's objection is not that they are untrue and inapplicable but that they are harsh. In his opinion they may be inappropriate also. But that is not stated in his judgment to be the reason for taking exception to them.

In every language there are words which are indecent or obscene. These should never be used. There are other words which imply strong condemnation. Liar, swindler, murderer, and many similar words are of this description. We mention them only by way of example. Collectively they may be spoken of as strong language. No one should be called a liar, or a murderer, if he is not one. But if he be one, it would not be morally wrong to call him one. Whether it would be legally right, we do not know.

We have paid the legal penalty for bringing about the publication of Dr. Sunderland's book. We are not concerned now with the legal liability for the use of what the Magistrate calls "strong language." Conviction in a law-court does not necessarily produce conviction of moral guilt in the mind of an accused person, even if it produces conviction of legal guilt.

Not being lawyers, we are not excessively interested in technical discussions as to what kind of words may be lawfully used and what not. But we are interested in not blaming any persons or collections of persons more than they deserve. Therefore, we should have liked to know whether in the opinion of the Magistrate Dr. Sunderland has wrongly blamed individuals and collections of individuals or whether he has pronounced them to be blameworthy to a far greater extent or in a far higher degree than they really are. Mahatma Gandhi has not found any venom in the book.

What Makes Sedition Blamable?

Stripped of legal phraseology, that is considered seditious in British India which may prove harmful or dangerous to British rule, which may impair its prestige, or which may lead to its subversion. In the course of the *India in Bondage* trial, the Magistrate twice said with reference to some passages written by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald

that if he were here he would come under Section 124-A. He may visit India again. The C. I. D. should be on the alert from now.

In Dr. Sunderland's book many passages are quoted from the writings and speeches of Mr. MacDonald, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Lord Olivier—all members of the Cabinet some time or other, and of many members of Parliament as well, like Dr. V. H. Rutherford,—passages which are not a whit less "strong" or "seditious" than the American divine's own opinions. Now the question is, are Mr. MacDonald, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Lord Olivier and the aforesaid M. P.'s enemies of the British-Indian Government? If they are, who are the well-wishers of British rule in India? Perhaps the C. I. D., subordinate members of which pronounce books fit for proscription and their publishers fit for prosecution. Here then is a curious situation! The Government of India is subordinate to the Government in England;—it is subordinate to the British Cabinet, of which the Premier is the head, and the Secretary of State for India is a member, being the immediate superior of the Governor-General of India. The Premier Mr. MacDonald, ex-Secretary of State Lord Olivier, ex-Cabinet Minister Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, and many Members of Parliament are, it would seem, seditious, according to the Indian law of sedition, and hence hostile to British rule in India; but the subordinates of the subordinates of the subordinates of the British Cabinet are the real well-wishers, bulwarks, pillars, defenders, etc., of British rule in India! This is strange. But there are many stranger things in this world.

So let us take it for granted that there are high-placed British seditiousists in England. It need not be asked why the Indian Government does not prosecute them and their publishers. They live outside India, and cannot be got hold of by the Indian police. But it is quite relevant and legitimate to ask why the British books and other publications which contain their "seditious" opinions and observations have not been banned in India. The Indian law can do it. When Lala Lajpat Rai's "Young India" was first published abroad, it was banned in India—it could not be imported. Why cannot all British "seditious" books be similarly treated? The British and Anglo-Indian mercantile communities demand that there should be no racial discrimination. Will they try to remove

it in the matter of suppressing "seditious" publications?

China Earns the Respect of England

The Chinaman is the most maligned of cinema villains. At least he has been so up till now. Whenever some great evil has to be perpetrated, Los Angeles always looks for a celestial to do it. Psycho-analysis may interpret it as a repression of the awe and admiration which the Anglo-Saxon mind usually feels when it is brought into contact with the superior craft and intellect of the Chinese. But on the surface—of consciousness the Anglo-Saxon has ever shown the greatest contempt for the Chinese whose civilization has been, at its best, "funny" to Anglo-Americans;—abominable and low on a less charitable view. The great civilization of China and the wonderful artistic, philosophical and creative genius of the Chinese have ever remained an unaccountable mystery to those victims of Western propaganda who have been trained to believe that the Chinese were only good at ingenious cruelty and low craft: Intelligent no doubt; but not too intelligent to be detected and caught by Scotland Yard. The main reason why the Western man has looked upon the Chinese, with contempt is that China has not so far been able to give the Western man the thrashing that he has more than deserved in his dealings with China. The argument of the stick has always been the essence of international logic, and China was nothing important or great to the West because of the inability of the Chinese to convince the West of their superiority by this line of reasoning. It was the same with the Japanese until they could prove their "civilization" at Port Arthur and Shuhima. For centuries before the Russo-Japanese war the Japanese had been contributing to the world's culture, only to be considered savage by the gun-worshippers of the West; but the day Japan turned her talent to the use of high explosives and gave a great Western Power a taste of her bayonet, she at once rose high in the estimation of the West. She is to-day the most civilized and progressive nation in Asia. The cinema and the penny press dare not create villains out of the Japanese. When in the West they talk about Japan and the Japanese, they talk with respect.

It appears, from a study of the "fiction press", that in the last few months China has climbed much in the scale of culture. This is surely due to the success achieved by the Chinese in the matter of destroying Western influence in their country. What Han, Tang, Ming, Sung could never do, has been done by the "rebel" armies of the Tuchuns. Even the much-maligned Chinese smuggler has inspired respect in the heart of 1929 Britain. An English hero in one of the recent stories in an English Magazine* bursts out against the Chinese as follows :

"I tell you that they are the strongest power in the East to-day—in the whole world, perhaps. They and the Jews. When a Chinese definitely sets out to beat us, we can't cope with him. We simply can't do it. He's got us cold from the start. There is no doubt about it, they're a superior race—in many ways. Perhaps that's why I hate them so. Why, good God, man! Things that we are only guessing at even now were matters of everyday knowledge to them hundreds of years before Christ was born. Think of it!

The above is doubtless a highly respectful attitude in an Englishman, even of fiction! So that, at last China has "forced" the British to realize their own inferiority. It is strange, but true. The usual argument of the British is, "How can Italian art be better than British art, when we have got the strongest Navy?" The merits of French literature to them are directly proportional to the size of the French Army. In the face of such tremendous odds, the Chinese have established their own rights. Great is *Mahakala* that performs miracles in a world of ready-made actions and reactions.

A. C.

A Medical Research Institute

At the Inter-University Conference held in Delhi at the end of the last month one of the proposals for discussion was the establishment of an Institute of Medical Research in India. Properly organised and worked on the right lines, an institution of this kind may prove of considerable usefulness to the country. It may be reasonably expected that the members of the Conference would bring an open mind to the consideration of a question which is of great importance to the whole country. There should be two points for settlement; first, the

establishment of the Institute itself, and, second, its location. If the Conference decide that an Institute should be established the next question will be the site where it should be located. We have learned with some surprise that some members of the Conference made up their minds, before proceeding to Delhi, not only as regards the establishment of the Institute but even about the particular place where it is to be located. In other words, the Conference was to be asked to sanction a cut-and-dried scheme which had been already prepared and carefully canvassed. It appears that a memorandum, prepared and signed by a fairly large number of the European members of the Indian Medical Service, has been sent round definitely recommending that the Research Institute should be located at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces. In the memorandum several charges have been made against Indian medical practitioners. A resolution on the lines of the memorandum was to be brought before the Conference. This means, without mincing words, that the Conference at Delhi, a mixed body of Indians and Europeans, was to be called upon to register a decision, previously arrived at, of making the Institute a preserve mainly for the European members of the Indian Medical Service. Quite apart from the bare-faced selfishness of such a proposition, it will, if successful, frustrate the primary object of such an institution. To any unbiassed person it should be quite obvious that a Medical Research Institute, to be of real practical use, should be located in a University town. The Haffkine Institute is in Bombay, the School of Tropical Medicine is in Calcutta. An Institute like the one proposed should have not only a completely equipped clinic, but should be in close and direct touch with a first-class medical college. Besides the stipendary staff, honorary workers may be easily found in an important university town, and there may be work for even a Professor of Chemistry from a college. The Bose Institute of Calcutta, with its great achievements and greater potentialities, may be found of great assistance to medical research. For our part, we do not suggest Calcutta or any particular university town, but the choice cannot go beyond such towns. To dump the Institute in an inaccessible and hole-and-corner place like Dehra Dun is to foredoom it to failure so far as public utility may be concerned, though it may provide cosy

* *The Strand Magazine*, September, 1929.

berths for specialists from the Indian Medical Service. We trust the attempt to foist the Dehra Dun location upon the Conference will be unsuccessful. We need not at present anticipate the subsequent stages of this carefully planned proposal, though we may mention that it will have to run the gauntlet of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

"Striking Terror into the Punjab"

The allegations of inhuman and revoltingly indecent treatment of the under-trial prisoners in the Lahore conspiracy case, and the descriptions of police assaults on inoffensive and peaceful inhabitants in more than one place in the Punjab, remind one of the phrase "striking terror into the Punjab," descriptive of a traditional policy followed during the rule of the East India Company and revived by General Dyer and others at Amritsar.

From the last century, the Punjab has been on its trial. That it will come out of the trial with flying colours is the hope and trust of all patriotic Indians.

But why speak of the Punjab alone? Whether in law-courts or outside them, all adult Indians are on their trial. The disinterested public spirit, courage, energy, endurance and wisdom of all of us must be able to stand the severest test, if India is to be free and enlightened.

The President-Elect of the Congress

The election of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Presidential chair of the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress raises hopes in many directions. As he is able and willing to devote all his time and energy to public work and is a good organizer, his accession to office ought to lead to sustained and well thought-out activity all over the country for winning freedom. For though we professional journalists write on many things, the first and most important thing, so far as politics is concerned, is to win freedom for the country. We must be masters in our own household.

Last year an English visitor at the Sabar-mati Ashram (now called the *Udyoga Mandir*) asked Mahatma Gandhi what was his duty as an Englishman on his return to England. Gandhiji replied: "Well, first we want you to get off our backs". By that he meant that

the political subjection of India must first be ended. That does not necessarily mean that the British are to pack. They may remain and help. They may also carry on trade and industry, as they do in really independent foreign countries. But they must give up hopes of the special privileges and racial discrimination in their favour which exist at present.

Pandit Jawaharlal is expected to organize the country for a strenuous struggle for political freedom.

Older men need not hesitate to work under his leadership. But the younger generation have a legitimate feeling that it is their own. He too has the right to demand their unflinching allegiance. His devotion, intellectual attainments and culture entitle him to their homage. A worker himself, it is hoped that he will give them work to do and see that they do it. If he can cure them of their expectation of being fed everlastingly on sensation, on exciting and frothy speeches and shouts, that will be no small service.

The winning of political freedom is required for winning economic freedom also. That all students of public affairs understand. That political freedom is necessary for social reform and progress also is not yet clearly grasped by some persons who worship or profess to worship at the shrine of religious and social reform.

The social obscurantism of some political extremists, dead and living, may have prejudiced these social reformers against political freedom propaganda. But at present most of the foremost political leaders are all for social reform. A few who perhaps are not so at heart, feel compelled to do lip service to it.

Pandit Jawaharlal wants economic freedom for India, and is a practical social reformer also.

Courage and drive he has in abundance. And he is not too young to learn wisdom and statesmanship.

The Lahore Session of the Congress

From almost the time when it was announced that Lahore was to be the venue of the next session of the Congress, the Reception Committee have had to encounter numerous difficulties. Whether obstacles were deliberately placed in the way of the Committee's success, only infallible thought

readers, if there be any, can say. There has also been much harassment of Congress volunteers and other Congress workers. These are perhaps meant to scare away people from the Congress. Government servants have been ordered not to contribute to Congress funds, though European Government servants in India become members of and subscribe to the funds of European associations which have political objects also.

But in spite of all these difficulties, the Reception Committee has made good progress with the arrangements for the coming session. Details have been published in some dailies.

There is to be an exhibition also. Its grounds are being levelled, and very soon the construction of the stalls, etc., will begin.

India "Free" in the Past

One of the statements, made by Dr. Sunderland in the *Christian Register* of America and in his book on India, which has "amazed" and "shocked" *The Inquirer and Christian Life* of London is that India was a free country for a few thousand years in the past. The London paper has not paused to inquire in what sense India was free. But Dr. Sunderland is not singular in speaking of India's past freedom.

New India, edited by Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. B. Shiva Rao, writes editorially thus, criticizing an article in *The Scotsman* :

It will be noted that the paper coolly demands that "whether or not India is fit for a further instalment of responsible self-government is to be determined" largely by the report of the Simon Commission. India's opinion on the matter is ignored. Then we have to notice the cool assumption that India is to be judged by her success in the imposed foreign Local Government during a short period, not by her wealth and freedom before the foreign merchants began their career of plunder and destruction !

So, Mrs. Besant's paper, too, holds that in times past India was free and wealthy ! How amazing and shocking !

Congress and National Unity

Congress leaders want that India's struggle for freedom should be a united national struggle. This desire is praiseworthy and wise. It has, however, to be pointed out, not in a carping spirit, that Congress Committees and workers have not generally tried to enlist the co-operation of all patriotic Indians, ignoring unessential differences. There have also been intrigue and cliquism, the object

being to grasp at and monopolize power. Nevertheless, it may be admitted that the Indian National Congress offers a platform where all Indians can meet, irrespective of differences of creed and caste and race.

In order that there may be unity in our ranks, the Congress discountenances religious sectionalism, though not equally in Moslems and non-Moslems. It is more severe in its attitude towards Hindu 'communalism' than towards Moslem 'communalism', though the former is defensive and the latter aggressive and uncompromising. Moslem sectionalists it seeks to conciliate, Hindu sectionalists it wants to deal with in a different way, though the latter have been obliged to act on the defensive.

Still one may appreciate the theoretical anti-'communalism' of the Congress in the hope that it will gradually be more discriminating and impartial in the application of this attitude.

Unfortunately, religious strifes and conflicts are not the only things which make for disunion in our ranks. The country is becoming more and more industrialized in the Western sense. The number of working men and women in industrial centres has been steadily on the increase. Labourers undoubtedly have their grievances which ought to be remedied. But that they have their grievances ought not to blind us to the fact that just as there is conflict of interests between capital and labour, so there is identity of interests, too, between capital and labour. There is a tendency among some Congress leaders to take it for granted that to support class war of the Western type, imported from Europe, is the normal thing to do in dealing with labour problems. The result is, there is in Congress circles no such prejudice against a partisan of labour as there is against, say, a Hindu Mahasabhaite. At the All Parties Conference in Calcutta in last December there was actually a serious effort made to make it accept the abolition of private property !

Similarly, anti-zamindarism or anti-landlordism is in great favour with some Congresswallas, and other Congresswallas, as in Bengal, are pro-landlord.

Now, private property may be bad, capital may be bad, landed estates may be bad. It is not denied that labourers and *rayats* have real and just grievances. But as the foremost, if not the sole, object of the Con-

gress is the winning of political freedom, is it not necessary to bring capital and labour, landlord and *rayat* to a common platform, as it is to make Hindu and Moslem and Sikh and other religionists engage in a common struggle?

Just as religious beliefs may divide people, so differing economic interests (whether industrial or agricultural) may divide people. The Congress wants all Indians to make a united effort to win Swaraj, forgetting religious differences. Why should it not also want men to make a common cause in politics in spite of conflicting economic interests? The Congress sets its face against religious bias and dissensions. But it does not discourage economic class war half as much.

The writer is neither a capitalist nor a landlord. He does not own a square foot of land. He feels more for the labourer and the *rayat* than for the capitalist and the landlord, because the poor have more grievances than the rich. But he does not like class war. When however, it becomes inevitable, the Congress should not be a party to it; though Congressmen in their private capacity may side with this class or that, just as they, as private individuals may be members of the Khilafat Conference or the Hindu Mahasabha. The Congress should be the friend of all religious communities, all castes, all economic classes, all linguistic groups, the princes, and the people of the Indian States, and all sections of the inhabitants of the British-ruled provinces.

In a word, the Congress should set its face against sectionalism of all kinds, whether religious or extra-religious, concentrating its efforts on the winning of political freedom.

Passing of Child Marriage Restraint Act

The passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act is an event of the greatest importance. Rai Sahab Har Bilas Sarda deserves high praise for the tact and firmness with which he piloted it through all its stages. It is earnestly hoped that the Viceroy will not agree to exclude any sections of the people from its application and operation.

Before its passing, many of the girls sent to school could not receive much education, because they were taken away from school to be married too early. That evil will now be remedied in the case of those whose parents are willing and able to keep them at school till their fifteen year.

A new and a heartening problem now faces us. It will not do to keep girls uneducated and unmarried till they reach the fifteenth year of their age. Their minds must not be allowed to lie fallow. The problem, therefore, which has to be solved is to provide schools for all girls all over the country as rapidly as possible, and to persuade all parents to give their girls a schooling at least till their fifteenth year. The passing of this Act can in this way be turned into the prelude of a beneficent social revolution of far-reaching consequences.

Educated Indian ladies should take a leading part in the solution of this problem. They may count upon the support and co-operation of all men who are true well-wishers of the country.

What the Viceroy Will Announce

What the Viceroy will announce as to India's political destiny is said to be already in the hands of "the party leaders"—the exact connotation and denotation of that expression being left undefined. Much can be said for and against the wisdom of communicating the "announcement" to "the party leaders" before placing it before the country. But these leaders themselves will take a great risk if they pledge the country in advance to the acceptance of any scheme or plan or goal. There are large numbers of Indians who have no political conscience-keepers called leaders.

It is said that "His Majesty's Government have wired definitely to repudiate Sir Malcolm Hailey's interpretation of the declaration of August 20, 1917 and recognise India's right to Dominion Status."

As pointed out and published in our last October number, page 479, there is a definite promise of Dominion status made by His Majesty King George V in the revised Instrument of Instructions to H. E. the Governor-General of India issued under the Royal Sign Manual and given to H. E. the Governor-General at Buckingham Palace on the 15th of March, 1921.

We again print the passage in which it occurs:—

"(8) For, above all things, it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realization of Responsible Government in British India as an integral part of our Empire may come to fruition to the end that

British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions."

A dialectical victory is not a real victory. Still, use should have been repeatedly made of the above paragraph in the controversy against those who hold that the promise of responsible government was not a promise of Dominion Status.

Afghanistan

Nadir Khan as king of Afghanistan may succeed where Amanullah Khan as king failed. The former is older, more experienced and schooled in the seminary of reverses and victory. It is the hope of all friends of freedom and humanity that he may succeed in civilizing and modernizing Afghanistan by hastening slowly.

Rabindranath's Marvellous Literary Activity

Only recently Rabindranath Tagore wrote and staged a play of surpassing merit which is entirely new, though its story is reminiscent of an earlier production of his. Shortly before that he had written a path-breaking novel of a type entirely different from his previous works. It was published in *Prabasi*. Now, it is announced, he is engaged in writing a new drama, which he hopes to finish very soon and stage some time in the cold season. At his age and in his indifferent state of health, the fertility and originality of his imagination is truly marvellous.

Conviction of Satindranath Sen

Sj. Satindranath Sen of Patuakhali *satyagraha* fame and 13 others were prosecuted under section 110 C. P. Code ("being so desperate and dangerous as to render their being at large without security hazardous to the community"). All the accused have been bound down under section 110.

Sj. Satindranath Sen has been directed to execute a bond for Rs. 5000 with one surety of a like amount to be of good behaviour for three years, failing which to suffer rigorous imprisonment for that period.

This punishment is entirely undeserved. We absolutely refuse to believe that Sj. Satindranath Sen is a dangerous man, a *badmash*. His being at large has been and is a menace only to wrong-doers and to officials who want to act arbitrarily in a high-handed manner.

Two Swimming Records

The latest Indian swimming records are those of Sj. Rabindranath Chatterjee, who swam and floated for 54½ hours at a stretch and of Sj. Motilal Das who swam continually for 45 hours.

An American View of the Arab Revolt in Palestine

The New York Herald Tribune (Paris) of August 29th gives the following summary of the causes of the present Arab revolt, which seems to us a fairly impartial statement of facts:

The present Arab outbreak in Palestine against the Jews, though the most serious, is by no means the first since the war. Almost every year since 1920 there have been riots in the Holy Land, now directed against the Jews, and now against the British Administration, which is believed by the Arabs to be affording undue protection and encouragement to the Jews.

All these outbreaks have been animated by the Arab national spirit, jealous of the rapidly increasing Jewish colonization of Palestine. The fanaticism of the more intensely religious sections of Moslems and Jews in Palestine adds oil to the fire of the conflict, but the deeper cause is a clash of interests of two races with different language, culture and religion.

The Arabs of Palestine say that there will be no peace until the Balfour Declaration is withdrawn. This declaration, which was made by Lord Balfour in 1917, when he was British Foreign Secretary, is, in fact, the origin of the whole trouble.

In 1917 the British under Lord Allenby occupied Palestine. The Turks had been routed and Turkish rule in the Holy Land had collapsed. About a month before Lord Allenby entered Jerusalem, Mr. Arthur Balfour, as he then was, declared that the British Government would favour "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object."

The declaration was prompted apparently by the desire of the British Government not to appear as if it were seeking to annex the Holy Land. It was strongly welcomed by the adherents of the Zionist movement all over the world and just as strongly resented by the Arabs, who interpreted it as meaning that they would ultimately be ousted by an immigrant Jewish population having immense advantages of education and wealth over the somewhat retrograde native Arab element.

Arab suspicions were confirmed by the steady immigration of Jews from every part of the world. Just before the war the Arabs numbered 535,000 and the Jews only 85,000. A recent census shows that the Arabs are now about 520,000, while the Jews have increased to nearly 200,000. American Jewish settlers well supplied with capital, and American Jewish educational establishments helped considerably to intensify the growing animosity, and the feeling that they were being relegated to a back place in their own country gradually pervaded the entire Arab population of Palestine.

Shortly before the Palestine Mandate conferred by the League of Nations upon Great Britain

became effective in 1923. Mr. Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, defined the disputed interpretation of the Balfour Declaration by the statement that "the nationality to be acquired by all citizens of Palestine, whether Jews or non-Jews, is Palestinian and nothing else. But in order that the Jewish community should have the best prospect of free development it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance."

BRITISH DECLARATION

This definition only added fuel to Arab national feeling. From that date the Arabs have boycotted all the efforts of the British to piece together a joint body of Arabs and Jews to act as a liaison between the population and the Administration. At the same time riots became more frequent, and the attitude of the Arabs more menacing.

Religious fanaticism is freely exploited by the Arab agitators for their political ends. The Wailing Wall is just one instance. The Jews claim that the wall is part of the outer precincts of Solomon's Temple, and have prayed there from times immemorial. The Moslems regard it as part of the Mosque of Omar whence the Prophet was assumed into heaven. The Administration carefully delimited what was Solomon's from what was Mohammed's, but this notwithstanding, the Jews accused the Moslems of encroaching on their property, and vice versa. The recent incident was but the spark that inflamed national and racial rivalry and jealousy.

Self-Expression Vs. Repression in Psycho-analysis

The following from England's foremost psychologist may be commended to our up-to-date novelists and story-writers who swear by Freud and Jung and cast all our time-honoured ethical notions into the scrap-heap:

The reader may have in mind, as he has read the foregoing pages, various solemn warnings about the evils of "repression." Here, he may say, is a writer who presumes to offer advice on the conduct of life, and he seems to ignore the New Psychology and its most explicit teaching. Unfortunately, much vague acquaintance with the doctrines of Professor Freud is widely spread, and grossly false deductions from them are widely current and countenanced in not a few books.

Of all such misrepresentations that of the dangers and evil consequences of "repression" is most widely accepted, just because it seems to give license to unrestrained indulgence, to excuse us from all efforts at self-control. (Italics ours.) And so we hear much nonsense about living out our nature, and about free self-expression and about our rights, and especially women's rights, to happiness and experience and what not; and much scornful comment on old-fashioned conventions and restraints.

I would assure the reader that I have done my best to assimilate all that is sound in the Freudian teachings and have wrestled manfully with the facts and the theory of repression. [Footnote: If he thinks my views on this difficult topic may interest him, he may turn to my "Out-

line of Abnormal Psychology" where he will find a pretty full discussion.] And I would also assure him that neither Professor Freud nor any other judicious psycho-analyst countenances the popular deductions to which I refer. They recognise rather that (to put it in the epigrammatic form of one such psycho-analyst) repression is civilization. Without repression in the wide and general sense of the word, without restraint, without self-control, without deliberate choice between good and evil, between the greater and the lesser good, without laws and without conventions, there can be nothing but chaos and savagery in the worst sense, there can be none of the finer things of life, not even such as the better kind of savage attains to.

"Repression in the technical sense, the repression that undermines our self-control and threatens the integrity of our personality, is that which consists in disguising from ourselves the nature of our emotional stirrings and impulses... Repression of that kind is the opposite of frank self-criticism and honest self-control. — *Character and the Conduct of Life, Practical Psychology for Everyman*: by William McDougall, M. B. F. R. S., Professor of Psychology, Methuen & Co., 1928. London, Third Edition, pp. 39-40.

It seems to us that novelists and writers who take a peculiar delight in inventing sex problems are guilty of this particular type of Freudian repression; for they disguise from themselves the nature of their emotional stirrings and impulses, not the healthy, normally-minded folk who are disgusted by any gross perversion of the natural sex-relation.

Freudianism

Freudianism cannot be discussed in detail in a popular magazine. But it may be stated that Freud himself has ceased, to some extent, to be a Freudian and some of his most distinguished followers have revised their opinions to a great extent. As for others, many psychologists besides Prof. McDougall may be quoted to show in what little esteem Freudianism is held by savants. For instance, Dr. A. Wohlgenuth writes in "*A Critical Examination of Psycho-analysis*" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.) pp. 245-6:—

In competent scientific circles "Psycho-analysis" has fallen absolutely flat. Experimental psychologists have been trained to walk warily; they know that in their science the pitfalls are far more numerous than in any other of the natural sciences: every experiment has to be carefully scrutinized and the conditions closely watched. The greatest and most insidious enemy is "suggestion", and to eliminate this is never easy. When therefore such a doctrine as "Psycho-analysis" is put forward, it cannot even deceive a tyro. "Suggestion" is to the psychologist what bacteria are to the surgeon. The psychologist aims, as it were, at an aseptic

treatment, whilst the psycho-analyst indulges in deliberate infection.

Nowhere in the whole of Freud's writing is there a shred of a proof, only assertions, assertions of having proved something before, but which was never done, mysterious reference to inaccessible and unpublished results of psycho-analyses. Almost complete ignorance is manifested everywhere of the literature and the results of modern psychology, of experimental method and of logic.

That I have not written this criticism before has its reason in this: For psychologists, in general, psycho-analysis was still-born, and has ever been as dead as a door-nail. Only when, owing to the propaganda of psycho-analysts in the press, the general public began to take an interest in the subject, but especially when I saw that some medical men, and, worse still, educationists, appeared to be taken in by the psycho-analytic confidence trick, did I decide to warn the unwary.

Professor R. J. A. Berry, lecturer in the School of Medicine of Royal Colleges, Edinburgh, and, later, Professor of Anatomy and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Melbourne, Australia, a leading psychiatrist of Australia and author of *Brain, and Mind or the Nervous System of Man* (Macmillan), writes in *Current History* for September, p. 1043:—

On the very insecure foundation of a half-truth Freud has built up a veritable Woolworth tower of untruth, but has had the luck to strike one of the most deep-seated of all human passions—and therefore the most widely popular—sex, and sex is always popular and fascinating, especially with those lacking in the necessary brain power to check its frequent clamant calls. To preach the doctrine that an unwise repression may cause a multitude of mental and other evils, lends fuel to the flames, and Freudianism has blazed its way around the world; but what good has come of it? Has it advanced in any way our knowledge of the structure, functions or diseases of the human brain? Has it diminished in any way the number of lunatics, potential or actual, in our midst? Has it benefited the younger generation or advanced their education in anything beyond a tickling of the palate for sex? Is it true that sex is the greatest driving force of life? Certainly not; for hunger is an even greater driving force, because it means the life of the individual, whereas a repressive sex does no one any harm, and man alone, when his brain is fully developed, has been provided with the necessary machinery for that repression.

Nursing at the Mother's Breast

Professor William McDougall writes:

Consider the influence of nursing at the mother's breast. What difference can it make whether the

infant gets its milk in the old-fashioned animal way, or from a bottle prepared by the hand of one trained in all the principles of modern hygiene? If there is any difference, is it not all in favour of the bottle? Thus the modern woman is apt to argue, powerfully biased in favour of that view by considerations of convenience, of freedom to carry on her other important duties, her social obligations, her professional activities, perhaps her lectures on child hygiene and home management. [Footnote: I have known highly intelligent women grossly neglect their children in order to attend series of lectures or discussions on child management.] And, unfortunately, this prime duty of the mother, which many modern women are incapable of discharging (either because of constitutional defect or more frequently by reason of their hectic mode of life), has been made to seem something fraught with awful consequences by the now so popular Freudian doctrine and its central dogma of the Oedipus complex. This last is very obscure and problematic. I have criticized it in detail elsewhere [*Outlines of Abnormal Psychology*]. Here I must be content to point out, first that Professor Freud himself has recently recanted in this matter, and no longer makes on behalf of this dogma the extravagant claims still maintained for it by some of his disciples: secondly, that the conception of this complex as a universal factor in human life is founded on the central error of Freudianism, namely, the identification of all love with the working of the sex tendency.

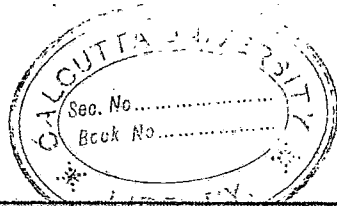
If we recognize, as we must, that the central and essential tendency of all love is, not the sex tendency, but the tender protective tendency, whose primary function is the care of the infant, then we may see that the theory of the Oedipus complex contains a profound truth in a gravely distorted form, the truth, namely, that the nursing of the infant by the mother lays the foundation of all the child's later love for her, and brings into activity, by sympathetic induction, the infant's capacity for tenderness, prepares it for all later developments of character in which the tender impulse plays a central note, all sentiments of love, pity and reverence, all gentleness and considerateness, all good manners and good morals.

I do not assert that an infant deprived of this first great gift can never develop any such sentiments or display such qualities: I insist merely that all that side of character is apt to be starved and poorly developed. I suggest that a whole nation brought up on the bottle would show a coarsening of manners, a coldness and hardness in all relations, a lack of the refining influence of tender feeling, the successful cult of which has been a chief service of Christianity to the world. I suggest that the infant's bottle might be made the object of national prohibition with more good reason than the father's. (Italics ours).—*Character and the Conduct of Life*, Third edition, 1928, by Prof. William McDougall, M. B., F. R. S. Mathuen & Co. London, pp. 50-1.



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"I Know My Days Will End, ..."

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Translated from the original Bengali by Indira Debi Chaudhurani)

I know my days will end,—ah ! yes, I know,
One day at eventide the pallid sun
Will sadly smile, and look upon my face
Its last long farewell look, I know, I know.

Beside yon leafy lane the flute will sound,
And on the river's bank the cows will graze,
And children in the homestead-yard will play,
And birds will sing. Still, still the days will end,
My days will end, I know.

Before I go, I pray thee, tell me why
This verdant earth with eyes upturned to heav'n,
Did call to me ; and why the silent night
Did speak to me the language of the stars ;
And why the light of day sent through my being
Such waves of wild delight,—ah ! tell me why.

When this my earthly course shall be complete,
May my song finish on its destined beat.
And may I fill my basket with the fruit
And flowers of all the seasons of the year.
Oh ! may I see thy face by this life's light,
And throw my garland round thy neck, beloved !

A Prayer

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Translated from the original Bengali by Indira Debi Chaudhurani.

Forgive my languor, O Lord, if
ever I lag behind upon life's way.

Forgive the anguished heart
which trembles and hesitates in its service.

Forgive my fondness that lavishes its
wealth upon an unprofitable past.

Forgive the faded flowers in my
offering that wilt in the fierce heat
of panting moments.

Cross Currents in China

By MADAME SUN YAT-SEN

[The following is an interview, exclusive in India between Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-Sen) widow of the late father of the Chinese Republic, and Mr. Tai Chi-tai, leading theoretician of the Kuomintang, as constituted to-day. Mr. Tai is also President of the Examination Yuan of the Nanking Government and one of the Chinese leaders at present in power. The interview was written by Madame Sun herself in Shanghai, and was corrected by her before she again went into exile in Europe, leaving Shanghai on September 21st because, as she said, she was so constantly spied upon by the Nanking Government that no freedom of movement was possible for her and no comrade was safe to visit her. The interview took place in Shanghai on August 10th and clearly outlines the conflict between those Chinese revolutionaries of whom Madame Sun is a loved leader and comrade, and the party in power to-day. Mr. Tai mentioned herein was accompanied by his wife.]

his most intimate friend, whom he knew even before he became acquainted with Dr. Sun) and his other friends to assist them in the reconstruction work of the country prevented him from carrying out his cherished plan. Tai added that he cared neither for money nor for position and had no other motive for joining the Government than to bear his share of the responsibilities in the difficult tasks of the "party and the country." Sensing that Tai had come on a "mission" from Chiang Kai-shek and was trying to "break the news" to me, I cut it short by remarking that it indeed was a great pity that he did not succeed in leaving the country. He became embarrassed and silent. However, his wife broke the silence by asking why I did not go to Nanking yet.

I replied, "Why should I go? The burial is over."

Politely she continued, "It is so beautiful in the Ling Yuan and there are all the comforts prepared in 'your residence' there. We all wish to see you there and then you

BEFORE some sentimental references, Tai Chi-tai stated that his health was poor and that he sought to go abroad many times and in fact, was on the point of leaving the last year, when the appeals of Chiang Kai-shek (whom he emphasized upon me was

would be on the spot to advise the Government." To which clever speech, I bluntly replied that I was not fitted for a politician's rôle. Besides, even at Shanghai I have no liberty of speech, it would be absurd to expect it in Nanking.

At this point, Tai straightened up from his seat and mumbled about having something to show me and began fumbling in his pocket. Finally, a folded paper was extracted from his purse. He was about to hand it over to me when I assured him that it looked like a copy of my telegram to the Anti-Imperialist League which Nanking had suppressed from publication.*

Tai. Then it is really from you? I could hardly believe that. It is incredible that a person of your position should assume such an attitude. This is a very serious matter indeed!

Soong. It is the only honest attitude, and the one which Dr. Sun would have taken were he in the same circumstances. It was foolish of you to spread the rumour that my telegram was a forgery of the Communists, for I have it in my power to prove that every word of it was from me.

Tai. The Communists have been responsible for all sorts of crimes. But how could you issue such a telegram attacking the Government, especially at this time when the Communists are creating havoc all over the country, murdering, pillaging and burning, all under the direction of Moscow? It is a very grave offence that cannot be overlooked by the Government, in spite of personal considerations. Even if the Government had committed a mistake, you had no right to speak openly. You must abide

by party discipline. And the worst of it is that the telegram is addressed to foreigners! It amounts to disgracing the Government and the people, your own people!

Soong. Regarding party discipline, I do not belong to your "Party", although I am indebted to you for packing my name on your Central Executive Committee. Now you have the nerve to tell me that I have no right to speak! Did you put me on your Party committee as a trade-mark then, to deceive the public? Your insinuations are insulting, but rest assured that no one considers the Nanking Government as representative of the Chinese people! I speak for the suppressed masses of China—and you know it! The world can easily distinguish whether that "foreign body" to which I addressed the telegram, is friendly or inimical to the interests of the Chinese nation and the people. The Anti-Imperialist League to which you referred with such patriotic indignation, is working for the national independence and the sovereignty of China. My telegram is a vindication of the honour of the Chinese. Your base surrender to the Japanese and foreign imperialists, your provocations against revolutionary Russia, prove that *you* are the tools and have brought shame upon the country and the people. It is disgraceful for your agent, Yang Fu, to accuse me before the French police of having installed a secret wireless. Is it not disgraceful to set foreign spies against me? *You* have brought stains upon China's revolutionary history for which the masses of China will call you to account one day!

Tai. You are too impatient, Mrs. Sun. A revolution cannot be accomplished in one day. Instead of wasting your energies in destructive causes, in attacking the Government and the leaders, it is your duty to co-operate with us. Your indignation and feelings I can quite understand. They are the result of these last years of painful experience. But Dr. Sun was not an ordinary mortal. He was far superior to all human beings. Heaven endowed him with extraordinary wisdom and talents. His ideas are centuries in advance of the times. You must surely realize that the "Three Principles"

* The telegram to which reference is made was dispatched by Madame Sun on August 1 to the League against Imperialism in Berlin. It ran:

"While oppressed nationalities to-day form solid front against imperialist war and militarism, the reactionary Nanking Government is combining forces with imperialists in brutal repression against Chinese masses striving for National independence. Never has the treacherous character of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang leaders been so shamelessly exposed to the world as to-day. Having betrayed the nationalist revolution, they have inevitably degraded into imperialist tools and attempted to provoke war with Soviet Russia. But the Chinese masses, undaunted by repressions and undeceived by lying propaganda, will fight only on the side of the revolution. Terrorism only serves to mobilize still broader masses and strengthen our determination to triumph over present bloody reaction within shortest possible period.—Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-Sen)."

* Dr. Sun Yat-sen predicted in his *Three People's Principles* that China would pass through three stages in its evolution toward assuming a place in the family of nations, worthy of its importance, *viz.*, the Period of Military Supremacy

cannot be hoped by any stretch of imagination to be accomplished in a few generations. They may require three or four hundred years. Who can tell!

Soong. Evidently you are now quoting from your *modified* "Three Principles"! Dr. Sun himself had declared that the revolution could be carried out successfully within twenty to thirty years if the members remained true to the cause. In fact, when he drew up the programme he formed them with the idea that they were to be accomplished *within his own lifetime*. Otherwise, do you suppose that "endowed with heavenly wisdom", and after suffering from the repeated betrayal of the militarists in his own party, he would have advocated the period of military dictatorship? Your remarks, Mr. Tai, are so apparently pathological. As a result of your ill health you have become very pessimistic. You are no longer the Tai Chi-tau of your youth, eager for revolution, for justice, for change. Inevitably you have become a Buddhist! *But I must warn you against interpreting Dr. Sun as an idol, as another Confucius and saint. It is insulting to Dr. Sun's memory, for he was ever a revolutionist in thought and in action! I am sorry, but your mind has degenerated.*

Tai. On the contrary, my mind has progressed with the years. To better the social conditions, to reform the livelihood of the people, is this not revolutionary?

Soong. The Kuomintang was created as a revolutionary organization. It was never meant to be a Reform Society, otherwise it would be called the "Reform Society".

Tai. May I ask what is your idea of a revolutionist? There seems to be various definitions.

Soong. One who is dissatisfied with the present system and works to create a new social order in its stead that will benefit society at large. And may I ask what are your revolutionary achievements since?

Tai. Have you failed to notice the great progress made in every department of the government—the reconstruction that is going on, new buildings that are springing up to replace the rotten structures, new railway lines proposed that will transform the communications of the country and

relieve the people's sufferings? You saw with your own eyes the grand Chung-Shan highway, for instance, at Nanking. Are these not worthy achievements amidst difficult circumstances and obstacles confronting us?

Soong. I have noticed nothing but the wanton killing of tens of thousands of revolutionary youths who would one day replace the rotten officials. Nothing, but the hopeless misery of the people, nothing but the selfish struggling of the militarists for power, nothing but extortionate taxes upon the already starving masses; in fact, nothing but counter-revolutionary activities. As regards your other achievements, the grand Chung-Shan highway—who is benefited by it? Only you and those of you who ride about in motor cars and limousines. Do you never stop to think of those tens of thousands of miserable beings whom you have forced out of their huts, their only shelter, in order to make way for your own convenience?

Tai. These are unreasonable accusations and absurd. Kindly tell me then how is one to reconstruct without tearing down rotten huts and structures?

Soong. But reconstruct for *whose* benefit? Do you suppose for *one* moment that Dr. Sun organized the Kuomintang as a tool for the rich to get still richer and suck the blood of the starving millions of China? Was it for this that he laboured persistently for forty years?

Tai. Every human being possesses a conscience, it is not the monopoly of any single individual. As you know in philosophy...

Soong. Please abstain from deep subjects. I only know facts.

Tai. Then you demand that every one should give up progress and return to the past, go on foot and give up motor cars?

Soong. I do not demand the absurd, but I do demand that you all stop raising *your* standard of living. It is already too luxurious, and a million times higher than the average person's. Militarists and officials who a few years ago I knew to be poor, are suddenly parading about in fine limousines and buying up mansions in the foreign concessions for their newly-acquired concubines. I ask you, where did their money come from? Do you think that if Dr. Sun were living, he would approve of such a state of affairs? You cannot but

admit, if you have a conscience left, that the Kuomintang has entirely lost its revolutionary significance.

Tai. Why did you not make your opinions known when you first came back?

Soong. Have not my opinions always been suppressed? But I did have the chance to express myself freely to your chairman, Chiang. If he kept my opinions to himself, the responsibility rests with him.

Tai. Chiang Kai-shek is exerting his utmost to carry out Dr. Sun's programme. He has tremendous responsibilities on his shoulders, and there are overwhelming obstacles for him to overcome. It behoves all loyal comrades to assist him. But the situation is very difficult and complicated. Indeed, even if Kai-shek were to hand over the government to you or to Wang Ching-wei, I am certain that conditions would not improve the least, if not become worse.

Soong. Rest assured that I do not aspire to substitute Mr. Chiang!

However, it is only your personal opinion that conditions could not improve except in the hands of Chiang. The welfare of the country is not the monopoly or private property of any individual. *Therein lies your fundamental mistake!* As for carrying out the programme of Dr. Sun, which part is it that Chiang and his assistants are carrying out? They have betrayed even his last injunctions to which you render lip service every day! Do you start to awaken the masses by suppressing their voices, by suppressing meetings, by suppressing publications, by suppressing organizations?

Tai. Have you forgotten what happened in Hunan and Canton when the mass-movement was on? Surely the horrors are still fresh in memory. You have seen how liberty was abused. Only disorder and disturbance result from such meetings. The Chinese are centuries behind time in

this respect. Even among the Kuomintang members, who have already had some training, sometimes there is disorder and strife in the meetings. That was why, in despair, Dr. Sun wrote the *Wai Nee Tung Tsuh*. How could you expect the ignorant and the illiterate masses to hold meetings, much less to organize themselves? They must first undergo a proper period of tutelage.

Soong. Do you know you are advancing the *very weapons against your own countrymen which the imperialists employed against us for rendition of the mixed court and the abolition of the unequal treaties!* They also claim that we are centuries behind time, and

are ignorant of law and order and therefore cannot govern ourselves and therefore must undergo a proper period of tutelage! How could you expect people to hold and organize meetings when you do not allow them the opportunity to practise the aforementioned work of Dr. Sun's W. N. T. T.? Is it possible to learn swimming without going into the water? Are you not inconsistent, Mr. Tai?

Tai. I am afraid that it is you who are inconsistent. You want to advance the cause of the people, to relieve their sufferings, yet you object to war against the enemies of



Madame Sun Yat-sen

the people, the rotten Kwangsi Gang and other militarists such as Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Shi-shan, who are the obstacles in the path of revolution!

Soong. What benefits do the people reap from wars between rival militarists, except increased taxation, oppression and loss of life?

Tai. You evidently desire peace then, and yet you begin by creating dissensions and attacking those who are working for the country and the people! Let us now listen to each other's opinions. We will listen to you, but you also must listen to the majority.

Soong. I have no illusions either as to peace which is founded only in the graveyard, nor to your persuasions which are wasted on me.

Tai. Why couldn't you come to Nanking for a while? You will have the pleasant company of your family and will be happier there in such environment. We are all

human beings and entertain goodwill and sympathy for each other.

Soong. If happiness were my object, I would not return to painful scenes to witness the burial of our hopes and sacrifices. And I prefer to sympathize with the masses then with individuals.

Tai. I hope that you will not make any more statements, Mrs. Sun.

Soong. There is only one way to silence me, Mr. Tai, and you would do it if you were in the least revolutionary,—shoot me or imprison me. If you don't, then it simply means that you admit you are not wrongly accused. If you would only dare that I would have a little more respect for you! But whatever you do, do it openly like me, don't resort to loafer tactics and again surround me with spies.

Tai. I shall call again upon my return from Nanking.

Soong. Further conversations would be useless—the gulf between us is too wide.

The Man Behind The Machine

BY D. M. SEN, PH.D.

I. FATIGUE

"IF twelve men and eighteen women can finish a piece of work in six months, working ten hours a day, how many hours a day must they work, if six women are withdrawn and the work is to be finished in the same time. A man works half as much again as a woman." For mathematicians the problem is childish and the answer is, of course, twelve hours. The answer, although mathematically correct, is in all probability actually wrong. Certainly the human factors involved in the problem are not such lifeless mechanical units that their output increases in proportion to the increase in their hours of work. This psychological fallacy has dominated the industrial world of the past; and even to-day, one should not be surprised if it still reigns undisturbed and unchallenged among some employers of labour. We need not go very far to search for an example. The British War Office (and perhaps all the

War Offices of the different fighting nations) was obsessed with this assumption up to the outbreak of the recent war, taking it as axiomatic that the output was a multiple of the number of hours worked. When a number of workers could finish two hundred shells working eight hours a day, it necessarily followed that in a twelve-hour day, they could produce three hundred, and orders to increase hours were issued accordingly. The results came only to disillusion the authorities. Instead of a rise in production, there was a definite fall in some cases. Consequently it was decided to set up in connection with the munition factories, a committee of expert men of science to carry out research into industrial efficiency from the point of view of the employer and the employed. Under the name of the Health of Munition Workers' Committee, it made investigations between 1915 and 1917 of

the effects of long hours of work upon output, upon accident incidence, and upon sickness and lost time in munition factories.* These pioneer investigations, necessarily limited to wa-time industry and the making of munitions, were productive of results sufficiently striking in themselves, but still more so in their potential application to industries generally. To take one instance, it was demonstrated that in certain processes, long hours may not only be harmful but also uneconomical; in other words, shortening of hours may actually bring about increased production.† To put the matter in a simple illustration:—"A group of five male voluntary workers was able in an eight-hour day (or seven hours free of meals) to exceed the average day's output of eight men who worked fourteen hours (or twelve hours and a half free of meals). Though it was admitted that the five men worked at a 'sprint' and could not probably have maintained this daily, nevertheless it was proved that on four days a week they could easily repeat their performance." The remarkable result was maintained that these men could produce in four days rather more than the whole week's work of an equal set of men adopting the other system of work.

No less remarkable a fact was discovered in another instance quite by chance. The factory was an old-established one, to which it was proposed to add a new shop of sufficient size to produce 5,000 articles per week—this estimate of capacity for output being based on the whole experience of the business. New hands were engaged for the new shop. They were somewhat inexperienced, yet to the amazement of everyone, after six months, while the experienced hands in the old shop were producing 5,000 articles per week, the inexperienced hands in the new shop produced 13,000 articles per week. All the mechanical conditions of work were identical, not only in this factory, but also in other similar factories, yet nowhere did older hands approach this output of the new men.‡ The experts who investigated the case

assigned the lower output by the more-experienced hands to "the effects of long-standing customary restrictions upon habits or rhythm of work from which the newer hands are free." In other words, we can say in both instances fatigue crept in among the old set of workers, while it did not affect the others so soon. Fatigue in industry may be defined for all practical purposes as "a diminution of working capacity, often accompanied by feelings of weariness, caused in the human organism by the length or intensity of some activity." It is so necessary to distinguish "Industrial fatigue" from the popular usage of the term. The popular meaning of fatigue is certainly that of experience or feeling of tiredness, sleepiness or weariness. Yet such experiences are very often an unreliable measure of productive capacity. In Dr. Rivers' words—"Distinction must be made between the sense of fatigue—the sensations which supervene during the performance of the work, and the lowered capacity for work executed. These conditions, which may be spoken of as subjective and objective fatigue respectively, do not always run parallel courses. In the performance of mental work especially, decided sensations of fatigue may be experienced when the objective record shows that increasing and not decreasing amounts of work are being done; and there may be complete absence of any sensations of fatigue when the objective record shows that the work is falling off in quantity or quality, or in both."

Fatigue in industry, then, is a fact of great economic importance, and an insight into its nature, its determining factors and the means of alleviating it, have proved vital to all employers at the present moment. Production, when fatigue creeps in, suffers in quality. It is a waste. The employer is paying full wages for it and he is obtaining less value for his money. Diminution of output may be considered as an outward expression of modification which is affecting the muscles, the nervous system and the mind of the worker.

The fatigue of the muscles is to be explained in terms of a choked ash pit rather than an empty coal bin. It is not lack of fuel which is the trouble, but rather a clogging of the wheels with dirt, the wheels in this case being the muscles. As early as 1865 Ranke demonstrated (in Munich) that fatigue is due to something

* Interim Report of the Health of Munition Workers' Committee. Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue, 1917. (Cd. 8, 335).

† First Annual Report of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board—London.

‡ Memo 7. The Health of Munition Workers' Committee.

which is generated within the muscle rather than to the absence of some factor used up by the muscular exercise. The main basis of his explanation was that when a fatigued muscle was washed by a salt solution it resumed its normal power of operation. He pointed out that since the solution could not have introduced anything necessary to invigorate the muscle, it must have removed something harmful to it.

Since then numerous experts have carried on the investigation to isolate the waste products within the muscle. Two of these 'fatigue substances' have been identified as carbon dioxide and lactic acid. The chief source of muscular energy is carbohydrates. In muscular exercise both oxygen and carbohydrates are consumed. The stored glycogen of the muscles keeps on uniting with the oxygen of the blood. During this process the glycogen is broken down into simpler chemical form producing carbon-dioxide gas and other acid wastes and releasing heat and physical energy.

The chemical changes within the organism *i. e.*, the oxidation of carbohydrates result in the production of the fatigue substances which act as poison to the tissues. When either of these products is injected into a fresh muscle, the muscle loses its sensibility and power of response without doing any exercise. The investigation carried out by Mr. Long under the supervision of Prof. A. V. Hill indicates that the oxygen intake increases as the square of the lactic acid concentration in the tissues, a relation which, taken in conjunction with other investigations carried out by physiologists elsewhere, suggest that lactic acid is the determining factor of oxidation in the body during muscular work. In the same laboratory Mr. Furusawa's research corroborates the fact that the main fuel of the muscle is carbohydrate. In a short period of exercise, therefore, the whole supply of fuel is derived from oxidation of carbohydrate, but as the exercise is prolonged, other factors enter to restore the carbohydrate which has been used up. In an operation, which involves strenuous exercise of a small group of muscles, the physiological processes are different from what follows in a situation which demands a general application of the body as a whole. Like a running stream our body purifies itself. When fatigue is limited only to a small group of muscles, the toxic impurities need not necessarily be

removed in the muscles which were active but may be eliminated by the oxygen brought by the fresh stream of blood, excreted by the kidneys, destroyed in the liver or removed from the organism through the lungs. Hence, recovery from fatigue in a sharply localized muscle may be possible in other parts of the body which are not being exercised, so that the importance of a vigorous circulation through the operating muscle is emphasized. This point must be specially borne in mind since many industrial* processes involve vigorous exertion of quite small muscle groups. In vigorous activities the glycogen is consumed faster than the rate of supply. There is hardly any time for the fresh blood stream to bring back to the tissue what it needs for its recuperation.

Are we then to regard the muscle as the chief centre of fatigue? One of Mosso's experiments points to the fact that the primary seat of fatigue is to be sought elsewhere. A person goes on lifting a weight with his middle finger in Mosso's ergograph experiment until he loses the capacity to raise it any more. If then, without waiting for fatigue to pass off, the nerves going to the finger-muscles are excited with electric shocks, a contraction of the muscle takes place which may be as great as was the case at the start of the experiment. The hypothesis ensues that the fatigue toxins produced in the blood as a result of the muscular exertion, poison the circulation which influence the central nervous system affecting its power of sending out impulses. In other words, the nervous structures are more susceptible to fatigue than the muscle itself. But there is no evidence that fatigue affects in any way the conducting nerve fibre itself. On the other hand, nerve fibres themselves appear to be almost indefatigable. In fact, it is not possible to demonstrate any phenomena of fatigue in the nerve trunk.†

Again it has been proved that in fatigue direct stimulation of a muscle will cause contraction after the synapse between nerve and muscle has lost its excitability. Considerable evidence has been offered for locating fatigue mainly in the synapse between or the meeting point of nerve fibres with muscles. "The lines of junction of nerves with other parts seem to be more readily fatigued. Nerve cells or

* Sixth Annual Report, I. F. R. B.

† E. Sterling : Physiology, p. 259.

the field of conjunction in the central nervous system seem to be markedly susceptible to fatigue." Hence the conclusion follows "that the seat of fatigue is to be sought either in the central nerve-cells or in the nerve net-work, synapses, in relation to them." * Some physiologists still emphasize on the end-plates or synapses as the most important factor in fatigue.

When the exertion continues, wherever the primary seat of fatigue may be, originating in one tissue, it spreads through the blood circulation to other tissues and gradually affects the whole system of the body. Mosso and, later, Dr. Hayhurst have demonstrated that fatigue substances become a part of the general circulation by the experiment that the injection of the blood of a fatigued animal into the circulation of a normal one is accompanied by all the symptoms of fatigue in the latter. To take an extreme case, for instance, that of a hunted animal driven to a "standstill" it has been noticed that, its blood becomes clogged with chemical products of violent exertion, for the removal of which no chance is given, ending in the poisoning of muscles with every other organ of the body.

What expresses itself outwardly as a diminution of output manifests itself within the organism as a diminution of physiological functioning of all the organs. Fatigued glands secrete less than the normal, and it is suspected that efficiency of the digestive juices is diminished. The heart beat may be slower or in severe cases quicker but irregular. The kidneys may be deranged and stop the passage of albumen from the blood to the urine. The blood vessels of the skin may be dilated and arrest an undue quantity of blood from other parts of the system. Since the intimate relation between the mental and physical has long been recognized, no apology therefore is necessary for our reference to the physical aspect of fatigue first. The neuro-muscular aspect, however, by no means exhausts the problem of industrial fatigue. If the industrial worker could be considered in terms of neuro-muscular mechanism, it would be all very simple. The degree of fatigue would be directly proportioned to the amount of work done, and thus the capacity of any worker to do any amount of work with a

proper degree of success could be readily calculated. Had it been so, it would have greatly simplified the calculation of output in the factories. But this is far from being the case. The mind of the worker appears, to a very considerable degree, to influence his physical capacity. Two people with equal muscular strength may differ considerably in their daily output simply owing to the fact that one likes his job, while the other does not. A man with no interest is rapidly fagged. Prisoners are well nourished and cared for, but they cannot perform the task of an ill-fed and ill-housed labourer. Whenever they are forced to do more than their normal small amount, they show all the symptoms of being over-taxed and sicken. An army in retreat suffers in every way, while one in the advance, being full of hope, may perform prodigious feats.* A man can produce almost a superhuman amount of work when the stimulus, money, honour, love of one's country, or merely the desire to get some piece of work done, is great enough, and yet the same man, physically as sound as before, can at times be fatigued by an amount of work which could almost be done by a child. The "will to work" is as real a factor in determining the output of individual as are his muscles and nervous system.

In normal circumstances, *i. e.*, when extraneous stimulus is wanting, this "will to work" largely depends on the mental make-up of the individual and the nature of the work he is required to do. An excellent illustration of this fact is to be had in a recent laboratory experiment where four unemployed working girls were engaged in the daily repetitive work of cross-stitching throughout two months. Of these four girls, two had been rated by an intelligence test as highly intelligent, the third showed average intelligence, and the fourth was distinctly below average in intelligence. Each of the first two girls showed distinct signs of boredom in the work; the one was restless and yawned, seizing every opportunity for change of posture and engaging far more often than others in conversation, while the other confessed that she found the work 'very tedious and would not like to do it regularly.' These two most intelligent girls, although capable of reaching a high

* W. Stirling : *Outlines of Practical Physiology*, pp. 300, 303.

* *Inquiries into Human Faculties*: Galton, p. 58.

level of output from time to time, proved unable to maintain it. The worker who was rated third in intelligence did by far the best work, 12 per cent. and 16 per cent. more than the two girls who were rated highest in intelligence. She declared at the end of the experiment that so far from suffering from monotony in consequence of the repetitive work, she had rather liked it. Her regularity of output was far greater than that of any of the other girls, 15 per cent. and 25 per cent. greater than the two most intelligent and 22 per cent. greater than the least intelligent. The least intelligent girl showed considerable improvement with practice but made a very bad start, and appeared to be hampered by clumsiness, holding the needle with difficulty, and picking it up with difficulty from the floor on to which she frequently dropped it. She offered no objection to the repetitive work, but complained of the occasional conversation of the other girls.*

The experiment proves that the mind determines the onset of fatigue to an appreciable degree. What appears monotonous to an individual with one level of intelligence may be suitable to another with a different level of intelligence. The "will to work" or interest—whether immediate or remote, innate or acquired—is essential that there may not be an unnecessary overdraft on the mental energy of the worker. Fatigue sets in unusually quickly even where operations have become habitual and where no mental effort is needed, if all interest is lacking, whatever its direction, whether it is connected with the work or not. When the work is monotonous or uninteresting, the attention flags and the output suffers in quality. In an investigation conducted by Miss May Smith, it was found that the errors of a laundress when doing work she did not like were about double those when doing work that pleased her. With a few exceptions the work she disliked was monotonous; the work she liked was that which repaid her labour by looking pretty when finished. As far as one could judge, during the monotonous period she sank into a state of acquiescence in existence and mental energy, which was reflected in the 'dotting' (the test applied) by a characteristic inability to focus attention: when her mind had been occupied, she was

mentally alert and better able to concentrate. These variations would effectually mask any fatigue which might have been present.* Monotony, then, is to be attributed not so much to the nature of the work itself as to the difference of the mental make-up of the individual.

As the degree of intelligence of an individual is a governing factor of industrial fatigue, so is his emotional life. An unhealthy emotional life or ill-adjustment to his environment may restrict the output of the individual to a very considerable extent. People suffering from repressed emotions are unfit for any kind of employment—least of all an industrial one. When the disease is of physical origin it can be detected and proper treatment can be meted as required. But when the ailment is of mental origin the danger is not quite so apparent and in many cases escapes detection. Disorders of mind, such as *psychoasthenia*, *neurasthenia* etc., are by no means, as they are prone to be regarded, the monopoly of those engaged in intellectual or artistic work or no work in particular (i. e., of the leisured classes). The unconscious conflict and unsuccessful repression of thwarted instincts and unexpressed emotions in industry deserve close study. For, we realize that the worker's repressed feelings tend to re-appear through the agency of *inversion*, as when cowardice manifests itself as foolhardiness; or through '*projection*' they may become attached, e. g., as accusations, to some other individual, instead of being applied, as originally, to one's own self. When such defence mechanisms fail or are inadequate, the worker becomes beset with worry, distracted with discontent. Under these conditions, not only is he incapable of doing his best, but he is liable to a far wider range of disorders than is generally accredited to mental causes. Evidence is accumulating that the occupational *neuroses*, e. g., *telegraphist's cramp* and miners' *nystagmus*, are by no means ascribable solely to such factors, as posture or illumination: the mental factors play an important part, perhaps the essential rôle in their causation. So also many disturbances of the circulatory, respiratory and digestive system are of mental origin.† Privation and

* An Experimental Investigation into Repetitive Work. I. F. R. B. Report No. 30.

* Some Studies in the Laundry Trade: May Smith, I. F. R. B. Report 22.

† Myers' Industrial Psychology in Great Britain, pp. 33-34.

domestic conflicts constitute the most frequent cause of the decline in the quantity and quality of the worker's output. As in his personal life, so in his working life, the worker must be in harmony in his relation to others around him. It often happens when some conflicting emotional element has crept in, where for example, the worker feels a grievance either against the nature of the work that he has been set to, or against one of his fellows who has a 'softer' job to do, or against the foreman who set him to it. Owing to mental repression it is difficult for him to get on with his work and there may be steady decline in output if the situation is unchanged. The onset of fatigue quickens its pace as the emotion troubles the mind.

Why is it so? When we want to get on with a piece of work, all disturbing thoughts and feelings must be suppressed in so far as they are incompatible with the 'job' in hand. Studies in Psycho-analysis reveal to us how *active* a process this *suppression* or *inhibition* is in the suppression of *conflicting complexes* in functional or mental disorders. Work is done not less in suppressing one process than in inhibiting another; mental energy is expended in both. Hence "this inhibition of incompatible attitudes, though it may last a long time, cannot continue for ever. It becomes more difficult, partly perhaps through inhibitory nervous blocking, partly because of the hitherto inhibited or repressed attitudes and acts gain in strength and finally insist on

manifesting themselves by bursting through the restraint imposed upon them, like the waves in an incoming tide that beat before a barricade on the seashore." As a result worry, anxiety or fantastic fears overpower the mind, and in one case, one is said to have lost heart. Such seems to be the relation between fatigue and the condition of the mind. "Worry and anxiety are not only encouraged by, but themselves encourage fatigue and inefficiency."*

Though for the sake of clearness, mental and physical fatigue have been dealt with separately, yet in reality, it is to be realized, they are the two aspects of one and the same phenomenon, industrial fatigue. How precisely the one is related to the other, we cannot, in the present state of knowledge, definitely lay down. But it is within everybody's experience that the two are intimately connected. The mentally conditioned fatigue is by no means without its influence on the working capacity of the individual and in the long run is certain to produce an unfavourable general disposition which eventually must find a physical expression. For instance, "a man's driving power is apparently influenced unfavourably by the tedium of his work and (at the start) by the consciousness of a long day's work before him.† Industrial fatigue is then rather a complex phenomenon which invades the nervous system, the muscles and the mind of the worker.

* Myers: *ibid.*

† Max Weber—"Zur Psychophysik der industriellen Arbeit."

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(36)

DHIREN was coming up the drive. He carried a yellow envelope in his hand.

One of the maids was sweeping the drawing-room. "Please go and call your young mistress", said Dhiren.

The maid went and called Mukti. Then, before leaving them together, she cast a sharp glance at them and went off. Even the servants were scenting something wrong in the situation and were indulging in a bit of amateur spying.

As soon as Mukti saw the envelope in

Dhiren's hand, she cried out eagerly, "Is that from father? When does he arrive?"

Dhiren pushed the telegram towards her, saying, "This evening. Your chauffeur has gone home. Shall I act for him temporarily?"

"Do you know how to drive?" asked Mukti.

Dhiren smiled slightly and said: "I tried my hand at it sometime ago. But I don't want to experiment with your father. Besides I have no licence. I shall bring him in a taxi. What do you say?"

"All right," said Mukti with a laugh.

"Though father hates any one to go to the station for him, he must suffer it this once."

Dhiren went out again. For the first time in many days, Mukti felt a bit of relief and mounted to her bedroom, singing cheerily. After her thrilling escape from Shibpur with Dhiren, time had not been kind to her. She had not smiled and she had talked only when obliged to do so. Now she seemed her old self again.

It was still two or three hours before Shiveswar could be here. Mukti called the servants, opened his rooms and ordered them to dust and sweep them thoroughly. Mukti always liked cleaning up. When Mokshada had been here, grandmother and granddaughter would fall out very often on this subject. The old lady objected to these constant upheavals. She wanted everything to remain in the same position for years. A home was not a shop window, she would say, that you must re-arrange and re-decorate it every day.

But though Mokshada was not here, Mukti had not indulged in this favourite pastime of hers up to this time. She had been too heavy of heart, too anxious. But all her care seemed to have vanished with the arrival of the telegram. She began sweeping, dusting and washing with a vengeance.

But she was surprised to find this work less congenial than she used to. Her mind wandered constantly and various thoughts encroached on her mind. What would her father say, when he came? She had always been petted and spoilt by her father. So she had no reason to anticipate storming and raging from him. She had been compelled to do what she had done, and she did not think she had done wrong. Possibly, Shiveswar too would see eye to eye with her. But Mukti had begun to understand very clearly that she had violated social conventions. The old gentleman who had called on Shiveswar that day, and found the young people alone in the house, could not restrain himself from broadcasting the news. So society was busy with Mukti and Dhiren. The ladies are everywhere the leaders of society and they lay down the laws. Here too the ladies used their tongues most. One rather weak-minded lady tried to make a stand for Mukti. The girl was very young, she said, and should not be judged too harshly. The thing she had done was undoubtedly wrong; still they ought not to let her remain like that.

Some of Shiveswar's friends ought to go and bring over Mukti to their own house and keep her there till her father arrived. Chapala's mother thought that the lady was hinting at her. She became furious and gave a very sharp reply. Everybody knew her own duty best, she said, and one could not teach another. If she had not gone and brought over Mukti to her home, she had her own reasons for that. She had grown-up children of her own and she could not bring in Mukti, until she was satisfied that the girl was fit to be amongst innocent children. Her duty as a mother must come first of all.

The good lady had heard that Dr. Naresh Dutt was moving heaven and earth to marry Mukti. This had made her especially sour against the girl.

Mukti was kept informed about all these discussions concerning her, through her friends' letters. As they could not come to see her, they wrote regularly and voluminously. Poor Mukti had to suffer everything in silence. Sometimes tears would start to her eyes, but she wiped them off quickly for fear of being detected by Dhiren. Still Dhiren understood and guessed much of her suffering, but he too could do nothing to prevent it. He knew their position had become rather complex, and any attempt at forcible solution would but make matters worse. He felt relieved at first, when the wire announcing Shiveswar's return arrived. But very soon the feeling of relief was submerged under another feeling which he readily recognized as that of disappointment. He did not really want to be relieved of his responsibility as Mukti's guardian. Perhaps he should have stayed away from a treasure, he could never hope to win. But he was tired of this eternal struggle between reason and feeling. He could arrive at no solution. So for the present, he wanted to grasp whatever lay within his reach.

Mukti had nearly finished doing her father's rooms, when the sound of carriage wheels were heard below. She ran down excitedly. Shiveswar and Dhiren had already got down and the porter was taking down the luggage. Shiveswar appeared very much improved in health, considering what he had been when he started for Simla. "If I had not got into this fix," thought Mukti sorrowfully, "he would have returned completely cured."

Dhiren moved aside as soon as he saw Mukti. He had felt like a criminal sitting before his judge, all this while, in the company of Shiveswar. This noble-hearted man had welcomed him into his family as cordially as any relative could have done. But Dhiren had repaid this kindness by placing his only child in a humiliating and dangerous position. Of course, neither Shiveswar nor Mukti knew him to be the author of this trouble, yet Dhiren felt ashamed of himself whenever he met the grateful look in Mukti's eyes. If he could have kept his desire to himself, neither Mokshada nor her orthodox cousin would have dared to weave this shameful plot against Mukti. And the poor girl was actually worshipping him as her saviour! Dhiren felt his conscience pricking him uncomfortably hard. "You cheat, this offering of gratitude is not for you," he would tell himself. "Don't steal what does not belong to you." He could not stand there when Mukti ran to greet her father. Let them judge him in his absence.

"What's all this, little mother?" asked Shiveswar, as soon as he saw Mukti. "Why have you become so thin? You nearly frightened me to death with your urgent call. I thought you must be seriously ill. Though Dhiren had relieved me somewhat by saying that you were not ill, yet I am far from seeing light as yet. I have been away only a few days. In this little while, how have you built up such a mystery as even an old lawyer like myself cannot see through?"

Mukti took him by the hand, saying, "Come in first, father, I shall tell you everything."

It took Shiveswar nearly two hours to get everything out of Mukti. He did not tell Mukti how deeply this conduct of his own mother, hurt him. Two persons only he loved, in this world, one his mother, the other his daughter. Only through them, could the world touch him. But when of these two, one struck at the other, he felt his heart bursting with anguish.

He remained silent for a long while. Then he asked, "Do you know with whom they were going to marry you?"

"No father," said Mukti. "I had no time to ascertain."

Shiveswar became silent again. Mukti could not bear the suspense any longer.

"Father", she asked, "was I wrong in coming away with Dhiren Babu?"

Shiveswar looked up at his daughter's face. "No my darling", he said. "You were right. To submit to force, would have been wrong."

"But father, you don't know what I have suffered these few days", said Mukti. "Even if I had committed murder, I could not have been more strongly condemned."

"My little mother", said Shiveswar, "it is very hard to be true in word and deed. Social laws are not always reasonable or fair, but you cannot violate them with impunity. If you want peace, you have got to bow down to them. But that is slavery. Freedom is a great treasure for which you have to pay a big price. Never hanker after things that are easily obtainable. This suffering is the price you pay for your independence."

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Shiveswar was in a hurry to finish his morning tea. Mukti looked enquiringly at him. "My dear," he said, "I must go and have a look at my office. Time enough for tea, later on."

As Shiveswar went out, Dhiren too rose from his chair. "I too must be getting along," he said. "I think I shall need a lorry to carry all my bundles to the mess."

"What's the hurry?" asked Mukti rather pettishly; "cannot you stop and have a proper breakfast? If you want a lorry, one of the servants will fetch it for you. I made these sweets myself; so you must stop and taste them. Why, where are you off too?" Dhiren turned round at the door and said, "I have taxed your patience long enough. I don't think you need me any more. So I must go now."

Mukti could not say anything in reply to this. She had known Dhiren long enough. He had come and gone, times without number, but this time his departure took on a special significance. Seeing that the boy had come to clear away the table, she rose and went up to her room.

The morning light streamed in through the open window. A person entering would meet a large-framed photograph of Jyoti, which hung in the most conspicuous place. To-day Mukti stared at it rather strangely. The glass had become dim with dust and the garland of jasmine with which she had adorned it months ago, still hung there withered and dry. In a corner of

the big frame a small spider's web could be seen. An air of neglect pervaded the whole picture.

This very thing had once been the most cherished object in the room. The young mistress was unfailing in her care and attention. But Mukti seemed to have forgotten it quite this time, since her return from the village. She upbraided herself severely as she stood before the neglected picture. How long would she go on deceiving herself? She had run away from her impending marriage, because she did not want to give to another what rightfully belonged to Jyoti. But had she kept Jyoti's memory inviolate in her heart? She could not deny to herself now, that it had not been Jyoti of whom she had been thinking day and night for the last few months.

Mukti took off the garland of withered flowers and began to clean up the picture with the end of her saree. As the glass became free from dust and dirt, Jyoti seemed to look out straight at her and say: "Mukti, you have forgotten me; then why this show any more?"

Mukti's room had a small balcony in front, where she kept flowering plants in China pots. There were jasmines, roses and belas. She gathered the sweet-scented white blossoms and began to weave them into a chain. Tears dropped unchecked on the flowers. She seemed to beg forgiveness of Jyoti, with these tears.

Suddenly, the noise of carriage-wheels were heard on the drive below. Mukti ran out in the balcony and looked down. A hackney carriage stood below, and Dhiren was standing there superintending the loading of his luggage.

Mukti left her garland unfinished and went and stood near the head of the stairs. She ought to have gone down to bid farewell to her guest, but she hesitated for reasons known to herself alone. She was quite accustomed to welcoming and bidding good-bye to guests, as she was virtually the mistress of the house. So this hesitation seemed rather strange in her.

Dhiren came in after seeing to his luggage, and bowed to her with folded hands. "I am going", he said.

Mukti began to descend the stairs. "Are you going to your mess?" she asked.

"For the present", replied Dhiren. "But I am trying to get away from Calcutta in a short while."

Mukti came to a stop in the middle of the stairs and asked, "Indeed? Where do you want to go?"

"I have not decided yet", said Dhiren. "I shall come and tell you, when everything is fixed. You will be here for the present, won't you?"

Mukti nodded assent. Dhiren bowed again and went out. The carriage started with a grinding noise.

When Dhiren reached the mess, his curious friends attacked him in a body. They had heard strange and varied accounts about his sojourn in Bhowanipur, and they wanted him to tell them the real facts.

But they were surprised to find Dhiren strangely changed. The boyish Dhiren, who would become furious at a slight insinuation, was there no longer. Here was a silent and mature man, who put them off with curt remarks, and walked off to his own room.

Mukti went back to her unfinished work. But the blazing sun had reached the frail blossoms by that time and withered them up.

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Shiveswar did not have to inform his friends about his arrival. They had kept a sharp look-out for him. They could not suffer the transgression of Mukti to go unpunished. They were only waiting for Shiveswar's arrival to descend in a body upon father and daughter.

The sun was just setting, casting its last rays on the face of Mother Earth. Shiveswar sat on the terrace in a big arm-chair, with an evening paper in his hand. Mukti stood at a little distance, leaning against the balustrade. She stared at the darkening landscape of the garden below.

A servant came up announcing the arrival of Abinash Babu and two other gentlemen. Shiveswar threw away the paper and got up, saying, "You stay here a bit, little mother, I shall go and see what they want."

Any other time, Mukti too would have accompanied her father downstairs, to meet the guests. But Shiveswar knew that their call was not one of courtesy but one of duty. They had come as judges. So he went alone, to face their accusations and to present his defence.

But Mukti too had understood correctly what this visit meant. In her time of trouble all her father's friends had kept aloof; now

they had arrived in a body to condemn. Her heart overflowed with anger and sorrow. After a while she too walked down quietly.

As she neared the drawing-room, the sound of excited conversation reached her ears. Mokshada used to look at her son's guests, through the opening of Venetian shutters. Mukti too had to take recourse to it now.

Abinash was speaking in a raised voice. "Your daughter has really done wrong", he was saying, "don't try to deny it. If you try to save her now from the punishment which is her due, you will drive her to greater wrongs, hereafter."

"Certainly I shall deny it," Shiveswar said. "I don't think she has done wrong at all. And you will please allow me to be the judge of what is good for my child. My way of thinking may not be the same as yours, but I am the best friend she has."

Two of the gentlemen got up. "But sir", one of them said, "your daughter is not only your daughter, but a member of our society too. As such, we have a right to judge of her conduct." They left the room as if in rage.

Abinash drew up his chair nearer to Shiveswar's and said, "Let them go, they are fools. They want to start a quarrel, as they are envious of you. You believe, don't you, that I am a sincere well-wisher of your child? Through lack of discretion or understanding, she has unfortunately placed herself in a position where every dog can yelp at her. We must see now, how to get her out of this scrape. I called for the very purpose of discussing that, when those fools started arguing. What I say is this. The boy Dhiren seems to be a very nice sort, why don't you give your daughter in marriage to him? The way, he had worked to save your daughter, proves that he thinks much of her. Mukti too would give her consent, circumstances being as they are. Do this, and everything will be satisfactorily settled."

"I cannot say, I find them so very satisfactory", said Shiveswar. "Two people, who would not have married each other in ordinary circumstances, should not be forced to do so, because they happen to be in a particular position."

"But why don't you try to learn what they have to say about this, first of all?" asked Abinash. "I am not saying that you

must force your daughter to marry Dhiren. Then, special circumstances sometimes call for special measures. Lay your proposal before Dhiren, and explain the case fully to Mukti. I think the plan will work out admirably."

Shiveswar remained silent. He was very much displeased. His friend thought his argument had struck home, so he went off leaving Shiveswar to ponder on his words. Behind the shutters Mukti sat in the darkness alone. She seemed to have become frozen and her face looked desolate.

Abinash had walked straight out and Shiveswar had been too pre-occupied to turn on the lights. Had there been light, Abinash would have seen a young man, standing before the office-room with a pale set face. He had been about to enter, when the conversation within reached his ears. This arrested his progress very effectively.

Shiveswar was startled out of his reverie by the noise of footsteps in the room. "Who's that?" he cried out.

"It is I, Dhiren", said the boy, switching on the lights. "I have been standing outside for a long time. I did not enter, as the other gentlemen were here. Some words reached my ears, which perhaps were not intended for me. But I was not eavesdropping intentionally. Perhaps it is well that I heard those words."

Shiveswar smiled. "Sit down," he said. "As you have heard so much you may as well hear the rest."

"I think I can guess the whole trend of their conversation", said Dhiren. "I nearly laughed outright, thinking what fools they were. This plan of theirs, for settling everything, is not original. It had occurred to others, but it failed miserably, when put to the test."

"What do you mean?" asked Shiveswar in surprise.

But what the wise old father could not understand, a young girl sitting in darkness behind them understood at once. The ground beneath her feet seemed to tremble; yet she remained on that spot, bound there by some strange fascination and stared at the room in front.

"I ought to explain, clearly," said Dhiren. "This plan, which your friends now want you to adopt, for getting out of an awkward situation, is the very thing that brought about the situation. I don't want to hide anything from you. I know I am guilty and I don't

want to pose as innocent. Your mother and uncle arranged to get Mukti married. The bridegroom chosen, was myself."

Shiveswar sprang up from his chair. "Why did not you tell Mukti that? Perhaps, this situation would not have arisen at all then."

"I had hoped for that," said Dhiren. "It was for that that I consented to your mother's plan. But afterwards I came to know, that Mukti was engaged to Jyoti."

Shiveswar seemed more and more surprised. "She never told me that", he said. "Who told you?"

"Mukti herself," said Dhiren. "Up to the time of her escape from Shibpur, I had entertained the hope that she would not object if she knew that I was the chosen bridegroom. But when I tried to ascertain whether my guess was correct, I knew the truth."

Shiveswar sank back into his chair heavily. Dhiren stood silent, while Mukti dragged herself slowly out of her hiding place and tottered to her bedroom upstairs. The world looked strange and cruel to her eyes. Everybody seemed unknown and cruel. She floated alone in a strange sea, of which the shore could not be seen.

The bearer entered with a card on a tray. "A Sahib to see you, sir," he said.

"Wait a bit Dhiren", said Shiveswar. "I shall be back in a minute."

As Shiveswar went out, Dhiren too left the drawing-room and walked towards the inner apartments. He met only servants there. He hesitated a bit, then began to climb the stairs.

Mukti came out of her room, hearing footsteps on the stairs. Seeing her, Dhiren smiled with evident effort, and said, "I have decided upon going, so I came to bid good-bye. I have secured a job in Madras."

Mukti passed her hand over an aching brow and asked, "When do you start?"

"To-morrow," said Dhiren. "You seem very unwell. I am afraid I disturbed you."

Mukti felt her legs trembling, yet she let go of the door, and stood up straight before Dhiren. "No, I am all right," she said. "Won't you go to the village once, before you start for Madras?"

"What for?" asked Dhiren. "I don't think anybody there is waiting to see me."

Mukti could not say anything more. Dhiren too stood silent. Then he said, "I could have gone away without saying anything more. But I don't want to leave a memory which is based on falsehood. So I have come ready to confess."

Mukti lifted a pale face and said, "You need not say anything. I have heard everything that passed between you and father. I was sitting behind the shutters on the verandah."

"It saves much trouble," said Dhiren. "Fate has done me this little bit of kindness. Then I must bid you good-bye. I don't expect you to forgive me, so I won't ask for it."

He had begun to descend, when Mukti rushed forward, crying, "Please stop."

Dhiren turned round. "I know what you want to say", he said. "I am a cheat who obtained your gratitude under false pretences. But do you know why I did it? A man who is starving does not mind stealing. You need not reproach me. My conscience is doing that far better than you can ever do. I leave now with your beautiful face engraved in my heart. I don't think you will forget me; for one never forgets an enemy. But this much comfort I can give you, you won't see me again." He hurried down without further delay.

Mukti returned to her room. The moonlight streamed in through the open window. The picture of Jyoti seemed to look down with sorrowing eyes upon his old playmate.

The night grew deeper and the toil and turmoil of day were merged into peaceful slumber.

Only one heart knew no rest. Two eyes stared in the night and the dying footsteps of love seemed to ring in her ears.

Suddenly, deep dark clouds rushed upon the moon and the light went out.

It was nearly midnight when a servant tapped at Mukti's door. "A foreign telegram, Miss," he said. "And the peon insists upon backsheesh. He says, it is good news."

THE END

Modern Italian Poetry

By PROMATHANATH ROY, M. A.

BORN in the twilight of the thirteenth century and rocked in the cradle of the Latin civilization, Italian poetry was from the first, like the Greek god Hermes, born young and beautiful. Every other literature of the world has had a period of infancy, adolescence and maturity. Italians were late in recognizing the literary possibility of their language, but when once they did recognize that, they at once produced a literature which excelled the older ones not only in dignity of form and perfection of style but also in profundity of thought and feeling. Of course, the fact cannot be gainsaid that primitive compositions of Italian literature were in the dialects of that "soft bastard Latin" and evinced a certain amount of rudeness and barbarity. But the period of rusticity was very short. With the advent of Guinizelli and Cavalcanti, Dante and Petrarch, a perfection of form was reached and a literary model set which for ever freed it from all crudity and inelegance.

This unflinching devotion to form and style, to symmetry and harmony in composition has been the chief distinguishing characteristic of Italian writers ever since. Not that attempts have not been made to overthrow this ideal. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a general revolt against the principle of authority in the spheres of politics, philosophy, art and life. At that time some ardent and daring spirits arose in Italy who would fight ancient and traditional canons of taste, wipe out all renaissance vestiges from life and literature and import wholesale foreign ideals that would cut men adrift from their wonted moorings. Again, in the beginning of the nineteenth century efforts were made by Giovanni Berchet and others to acclimatize on Italian soil, the romantic poetry which had triumphed in England and Germany. The distressing political conditions then existing in the country made the acceptance of the romantic ideals easier for Italians. The spirit of liberalism which actuated the new poetry, the return to the past, the predomi-

nance of emotional element, made a strong appeal to the nation, labouring for centuries under the yoke of foreign subjugation. The serene atmosphere of classical poetry proved itself entirely alien to the troubled, agitated and agonizing condition of the mind of the people. But the tender plant of romantic poetry requires the presence of the northern mists to burst into blooms and as De Sanctis remarks, it could not flourish vigorously under the azure, sunlit southern sky for more than fifteen years.

In the eighteenth century Alfieri, Parini, Monti, and Foscolo stemmed the rising tide of disintegrating influences from abroad. In the nineteenth century the clarion of anti-romantic revolt was sounded by Carducci.

Carducci's appearance in the field of literature was well-timed. It synchronized with a new order of things in the world of politics. After a long series of fruitless attempts at winning freedom, thanks to the unceasing activity of men like Gioberti, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour, the age of liberty and political unity had, at last, arrived and it was only in the fitness of things that the rejuvenated nation should, in its haughtiness and pride, discard the romantic mood of resignation which suited an age of slavery and demand a newer art, broad-based upon the traditions of the country, more virile and combative, more joyous and in closer touch with the realities of life, adequately expressive of the hopes and aspirations of the new generation.

Carducci (1835-1907) was just the man capable of supplying this demand. He was endowed by nature with all those qualities which the age most needed. He was an honest man, a whole-hearted patriot, bellicose in spirit and strong in his likes and dislikes. In his poem "Traversando la Maremma Toscana" he says :—

Dolce paese, onde portai conforme
l'abito fiero e lo sdegnoso canto
e il petto ove odio e amor mai non s'addorme.

(Sweet country whence I brought like to
thyself the fiery habit and the scornful song

and the breast where hatred and love are never asleep.)

This sleepless love in him led him to the glorification of Italian nationalism which also necessarily meant the glorification of the classical tradition while the equally sleepless hatred found vent in his powerful invectives against the romanticists. Romanticism to Carducci was synonymous with foreign, *i.e.* Teutonic domination. It meant the enslavement of the national intellect to the country which had already enslaved the nation itself. It seemed an evil to him from which Italy must be saved at all costs and he set himself to the task with all his energy and strength. His patriotic feelings were also at work to make him anti-clerical in sympathy. He "identified romanticism with religion, and religion with the clergy and the Papacy" and the Papacy at that time sided with the national enemy. The temporal authority of the Pope was also disgusting to him and a thorough pagan as he was, he came to look upon the Church as the enemy of all progress, freedom, and unhindered, healthy enjoyment of life and nature. In opposition to the Christian Trinity, he, therefore, paid his homage to Satan (*Inno a Satana*, 1865) in whom he saw embodied the spirit of revolt against social and ecclesiastical tyranny.

"Who is Satan?" he one day explained in his class-room at Bologna. "Who is Satan? To the theocracy Satan is the thought that soars, the science that experiments, Satan is the heart that is aflame, and Satanic are the European revolutions to emerge from the middle ages, which is the terrestrial paradise of that class. The Italian commune with Arnaldo, with Rienzi, with Burianacchi; the Reformation which preaches Freedom and writes Freedom; Holland that is the incarnation of Freedom; England that is its champion and avenger; France that broadens it out to all ranks and to all peoples and makes it the law of the New age; all that is Satanic, with freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship, with the freedom of the press and with universal suffrage be it understood. It is true or is it not true that Gregory XVI called steam an invention of the devil? Will you have it then, that all that is Satanic? Satanic be it!"

But from what has been said, it must not be supposed that Carducci suffered from any lack of cosmopolitanism. He was an arch-enemy of the Church but there are aspects of Christianity which appealed to him strongly as may be evidenced by poems like "Santa Maria degli Angeli" and "La Chiesa di Polinta", and steadily though he followed the classic ideal, he learned much

from Hugo and Heine and has enriched Italian literature with new metrical forms adapted from foreign literatures.

Carducci's verse is cast in bronze. It bears the stamp of his personality which was rugged and forceful. D'Annunzio with his plastic imagination, hits upon the appropriate form with an instinctive facility. But Carducci had to wrestle a long while with his idea before he could embody it in proper form, and the form is generally statuesque. Generally, because there are a good number of lyrics such as, "A Dream in Summer" which flow with greater spontaneity and are more simple, though well-knit in texture.

One of the most beautiful specimens of his art is to be found in the sonnet "The Ox", a poem instinct with deep humanity and a consummate example of its kind.

I love thee, pious ox; a gentle feeling
of vigour and peace thou giv'st my heart.
How solemn, like a monument, thou art!
Over wide fertile fields thy calm gaze stealing!
Unto the yoke with grave contentment kneeling,
To man's quick work thou dost thy strength impart!

He shouts and goads and, answering thy smart,
Thou turn'st on him thy patient eyes appealing.
From thy broad nostrils, black and wet, arise
Thy breath's soft fumes; and on the still air
swells
Like happy hymn, thy lowing's mellow strain,
In the grave sweetness of thy tranquil eyes
of emerald, broad and still reflected, dwells
All the divine green silence of the plain.

(Tr. by F. Sewall)

Carducci has rendered a priceless service to his country by his prose and verse. He is rightly regarded as the father of modern Italian literature. From him originated all those forces which, in a more or less modified form, were at play up until the recent past. Though a classicist he is essentially a modern man. Even his classicism is not the classicism of Alfieri, Parini or Foscolo. He has imbued it with his own personality and removed the stigma of inanity which is a general complaint against Italian poetry. But his greatness is not merely historical. Benedetto Croce has forcefully argued his claim to a permanent and honourable position among the immortals of the world and no one would, probably, dispute his claim.

Carducci's example inspired many lesser spirits who gathered and moved round him like satellites round the sun. Many of them wrote excellent poetry, but the two chief disciples are D'Annunzio and Pascoli, both

of whom have struck new paths for themselves.

D'Annunzio has exerted an enormous influence upon the mind of his generation. He is equally a poet, a novelist and a dramatist but his chief title to fame lies in his poetry which has kept Italian readers spell-bound by its beauty of expression and magic of music. He is essentially a poet of art carrying on the traditions of Lucretius, Horace and Catullus. His sole aim is to create beauty, not of course the pure beauty of a "Schöne Seele" palpitating with the breath of a spirit-life, but a beauty expressive of the fulness of joy of all the senses alert to catch every evanescent cause of pleasure. Croce most aptly describes him as "the dilettante of sensations." Albertazzi describes him as a poet "in whom all the senses have an extraordinary activity and susceptibility, dominating the mind with their desires. They receive countless impressions from the outside world and are for ever searching for pleasant impressions i.e. for enjoyment." The nearest in kin to him among English poets is Swinburne and his exuberance of fancy, witchery of words, brilliancy of descriptions and harmonious flow of verse often recall to our mind the poetry of the earlier Rabindranath. But there is a force in him, wild in its outbursts and almost Satanic in its effect, which is utterly lacking in the Indian poet. As Prof. Herford remarks, "his wonderful instinct for beauty, his inexhaustible resources of style are employed in creating orgies of superhuman valour, lust and cruelty..... and hymns intoxicated with the passion for power, like the splendid ode in which the City of the Seven Hills is prophetically seen once more as the mistress of the world, losing the knot of all the problems of humanity." This tremendous force in him was disengaged by the philosophy of that mighty, solitary Northern, Nietzsche, the apostle of "super-man." Nietzsche's influence upon modern poetry is very great. It is to be found in the poetry of Charles Péguy and Paul Claudel in France and in that of Richard Dehmel in Germany. But D'Annunzio is undoubtedly the greatest bard that this philosophy has ever found.

As a poet D'Annunzio betrays an extraordinarily static state of mind. The vision of life with which he began his poetic career with "Primo Vere" in 1879 has neither been broadened nor altered or if there has been

any change at all, it has been the substitution of his former ebullience by the worst kind of pessimism, born of mere satiety. He has ripened in years but the years have not brought with them that mellow autumnal beauty of an experienced soul which we find in Shakespeare and Goethe. This fact militates against his winning away permanent glory, and gives an advantage over him to Pascoli, who is full of tender sympathy for human sorrow and ministers to the spiritual needs of men.

Giovanni Pascoli was born in 1855 and died in 1912. He was senior in years to D'Annunzio and his genius also developed more slowly, when his first volume "Myricæ" saw the light of day he had already attained the age of forty. His other volumes also did not make their appearance in rapid succession. Lacking the energy and sensuousness of the younger poet his poetry comes nearer to that of Virgil both by his economy of speech and the mournful melody of his verse. No one, among the moderns, has penetrated more deeply into the soul of sorrow, none has felt more keenly her sublime and purifying influence, while the poet was still a child, his father, while returning home was killed by some brigands among lonely hills. The memory of this event and the death of some of his sisters and brothers early tinged his mind with melancholy which lingers throughout his works. It inspires one of the most beautiful of his poems "Il giorno dei Morti." (The Day of the Dead.) But sorrow in Pascoli is never self-absorbing. It strikes the monochord of his soul and draws out the purest music but it never leads him to blasphemy, vituperation and didacticism. It liberates him from his own self, draws him to the outer world and puts him in sympathy with men, animals and inanimate things. A deep pathos underlies his tender but brilliant word-pictures. He reads tragedies as deep and as mournful as that of any human being in the sight of an old, tottering tree, or of a bird lying in death-agony beside a silent, solitary country-road. Nowhere is this sense of tragedy more exquisitely expressed than in his little poem, "The Tenth of August."

I know why so many stars are glowing and falling down through the calm air, -I know why so many tears are glistening in the heavenly vault. A swallow was coming back to her nest; they killed her; she fell among thorns; she had in her bill an insect, the supper for the little ones.

Now she lies there, as crucified, holding up that insect to the remote heaven, and her nestlings in the shadow are waiting and puling lower and lower.

A man too was coming back to his nest; they killed him; he said—I forgive; and a cry remained in his staring eyes;—he had two dolls for his little ones.—Now, there, in the lonely house, they are awaiting for him,—in vain; he, motionless, bewildered, points out the dolls to the remote heavens.—And thou, infinite, everlasting, oh, thou art flooding with stars, as with tears, this murky atom of evil! (Tr. by Prof. Olivers.)

Pascoli is a singer of rural beauty. As we read his poems we feel as it were the breath of the open air on our warm forehead and a deep peace settles down in our mind. The perfume of flowers, the chirp of birds and insects, the babbling sound of the cool water of a thin stream gliding over little black pebbles, the mystery of an autumn twilight, the serene beauty of a summer sunset are the inexhaustible sources of his poetry. "Poetry," he once declared "lives by detail". His own little poems are like miniature Dutch paintings. Pieces like "Ai Compi" and "Per Casa" show an accurate knowledge of farm-life in Italy. "Fiume" and "Bosco" are instinct with an intimate union with nature and a primitive freshness of feeling. D'Annunzio with his extraordinarily keen perceptive faculties, looks upon nature as a man looks upon his mistress, delighting in light and sound and colour and giving us wonderful pictures of her beauty as in that little poem "O Falce di luna Calante". Pascoli's view-point is more like that of Wordsworth. He regards her as the spiritual benefactress of man and runs up to her bosom, not for sensuous joy but in order to get rid of the troubles of the human world and to listen to the mysterious voices of the other world. Like the great sage of Rydal Mount he seeks shady spots and quiet scenes and invests an humble thing, an ordinary scenery with the glory of a high, poetic beauty. Here is a common thing rendered uncommon by his imagination.

They had ended their work of tying up faggots in the vineyard, and all, old and young, stayed a while in the sunset light; and white heads and fair and black heads gleamed under the clouds of fire. They were listening to the cuckoo; to the two limpid echoing notes of the spring evening, notes so remote that they seemed unreal, so near that they seemed to sound in their hearts. (Tr. by Prof. Olivers.)

Pascoli is profoundly personal. Even in his most objective moments he cannot com-

pletely dissociate himself from nature. As in Tennyson, there is always an instreaming of human sentiment behind his delicate natural descriptions. A sweet or sad memory, a painful or joyous experience is mingled with and adds a subtle charm to his poetry.

Pascoli's mind has undergone a gradual process of evolution. His earlier poems reveal a calm, melancholy, contemplative spirit travelling on the border-land of mystery and reality. In his later life he took an active interest in the affairs of the Italian people and this brought about a change in his subject-matter and manner. The spirit of nationalism which animated Carducci and thrilled D'Annunzio, generated fervent emotions in his quiet mind and dragged him into the whirlpool of contemporary events. His later poems also reveal a loss of the former serenity. Doubt and hesitation, the sense of man's annihilation and nature's perennial youth begins to perplex his mind. In his poem "The Book" he says:—

We exist for an instant, we are never the same, we are singing, moaning billows—we are waves...coming . going...

But in the poems of the last period of his life the perplexing mood vanishes and the words of "La buona novella" or "The good message" bring back consolation and peace to his mind.

Himself a disciple of Carducci, Pascoli gathered round him a following to which also belong Giovanni Cena and Francesco Pastonchi. These two poets share in common with their master a love of rural beauty and peace and a pensive cast of mind. Giovanni Cena, like Pascoli, had early to learn a hard lesson, the death of his mother. The wound that he had thus received ceased in course of time to bleed, but the scar it left behind never disappeared. His first book "Madre" or "Mother" is the outcome of this private sorrow. The poem is a piercing cry of pain wrung from a soul feeling the first rude touch of stern reality. It has all the intensity, hopelessness and disquietude of fresh grief. But his sad experience was not altogether in vain. It ennobled him in spirit; broadened his sympathies with suffering humanity, and gave him a third eye to see what hides below the troubled surface of life. "In umbra" or "In shade" is the fruit of this widened outlook and a deeper comprehension of the problem of sorrow. The volume may be regarded as a study in human distress, but

the eager yearning for spiritual beauty is everywhere present.

Francesco Pastonchi's art presents a contrast to that of Cena. He is also a lover of nature but his character is more gentle and his art is also tenderer than that of Cena. Without being a great poet, he has approached nature with all the enthusiasm of a Wordsworth or the lyrical self-oblivious rapture of a Shelley. Here is a beautiful specimen of his apprehension of life in nature :—

When July was glowing,—in the calm shade of the orchard the fruits were smiling golden red through the luxuriant foliage until they were gathered by the countrymen. Now in the serene autumnal weather, one of them is still glistening on the bough, forgotten by the reaping hook :—the tree has instilled its sweetest sap into its late, last child. The fair fruit, as yet untouched, on the top of the slim bare tree, inspires with love the whole dying valley,—and it appears as if, intangible, it enclosed within its crimson beauty the last flames of the nostalgic soul of autumn. (The Last Fruit—Belfonte.—Tr. by Prof. Olivers.)

Closely akin to these poets in their exaltation of nature and a spiritual outlook on life but different in art and literary pedigree is Antonio Fogazzaro, the novelist, who with a natural leaning towards vague meditation and a religious temperament, is a direct descendant of the romanticists. Careless of form and expression, and lacking a strong grasp of reality, he paints dreams and seems to detect the reflection of eternity on the ordinary things of the world. He walks like a wandering child along a solitary mountain path, breathes the fresh fragrant air, listens to the sound of water lapping the shores of a quiet tarn, and the sense of an invisible presence gradually comes upon him.

I do not know what unearthly being dwells in the swinging waves, in forests, in pensive mountain-tops ; yet I know that it lives and loves me.

The symphony of the country-side made by the mingled music of crickets and the rustle of green corn-fields, or the murmuring melody of lake-waters rising slowly and filling the silence of the evening-sky seems to him like a prayer to God.

Dense vapours are spreading over the lake ; it rains ;—far, far away, a wave of mingled voices, sweet, calm, grave swings in the deep mists. Looking intently, I only see dusky, desolate waters.—The mystic melody goes on without pause, approaching slowly, sweet, calm, grave, as though some mariners, on a boundless ocean, far from their native shore, at nightfall, were raising a simple prayer to God." (Il ritorno del lavoro: Tr. by Prof. Olivers.)

Besides lyrics, Fogazzaro, like Browning, tried to write psychological poems like "Miranda," a tragical idyll of thwarted love. But he was too fanciful a man to apply the surgeon's knife as skilfully as Browning did and though full of many delicate touches, his "Miranda" is more a figure of imagination, than a portrait from the real world.

In his poetry and novels Fogazzaro has attempted to give expression to the conflict between science and religion and his purpose is always moral. Of him a recent critic wrote :

Antonio Fogazzaro, a mind argutely Venetian and profoundly Italian, felt, as perhaps no one else among his contemporaries did, the educative mission of art in life. He infused in his novels, pure and serene in conception, even when complicated with psychology and mysticism, the energetic sentiment of duty, as he learnt to understand and practise it in his limpid and laborious existence.

In sharp contrast to the robust religious faith of Fogazzaro is the gloomy and disgusting view of life presented by the poems of Arturo Graf. His morbidity was inborn, but it was fostered by the influence of Leopardi and Baudelaire. But even in the midst of his pessimism there is sometimes a longing for the Infinite and a re-discovery of the old, dead faith.

I hear in the boundless peace of everlasting space the splashing and ringing of the fountains of life, and I remember my ancient hopes and I find again in my heart the dead faith.

Side by side with this poetry of romantic decadence and idealistic reaction, there appeared in Italy another force from the trans-alpine countries which for a time seemed to vie with the other forces at play. Realism is not a new thing in literature, but in the third quarter of the nineteenth century things had so shapen themselves that it was impossible for men to live on mere empty dreams and the realistic movement received a new lease of life. National life of Italy had been expanding in all directions and brought the social conditions of the people into more prominence than ever before. The champion of the realistic school of poetry, was Olindo Guerrini who looked to France for his inspiration. He was an audacious man and shocked the refined taste of Italian readers by his outspoken immorality. His first volume "Postuma" was published under the pseudonym of Lorenzo Stecchetti and exerted a strong influence upon D'Annunzio. Guerrini

has also celebra'ed the political circumstances of his country in a number of poems, full of energy and perfect expression. Mario Rapisardi of Catania was the enemy of Carducci and voiced the social revolution of the country. But the chief singer of the hard lot of the poorer classes is Ada Negri, a school-mistress by profession and an out and out antagonist of the aristocrat and the "bourgeois". Her own struggle with poverty in youth enabled her to paint vivid pictures of the dreamy life of the working people, but her marriage brought sweetness and light in her life and the sterner features of her earlier poetry gradually assumed a softer, and softer hue.

The poets whom we have reviewed thus far represent the generation which matured during the years preceding the world war. But the literature of the present century, especially that produced during 1910-25 represent a new movement which is generally known as futurism. It was at first an art movement but its contagion very soon spread to literature, where it produced a violent re-action against whatever was old, traditional, stagnant, and stereotyped. The spirit of the futurist is that of an adventure, full of energy, curiosity, and love for novel experiments and experiences. The futurist looks upon discipline as tyranny and scoffs at religion and law. He glorifies the machine, describes the beauty of speed, seems to hear a divine music in the bustle of a busy life, and expresses himself in a language free from the rigid rules of syntax and orderly composition. As, Prezolini says—"Futurism is the art of free verse, free prose construction and the free use of words; it even hints at doing away with words altogether, to be replaced by a system of touch and sound." The futuristic principles

were first enunciated by Marinetti in his book "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature" published in 1912. His cardinal points are (1) words at liberty, (2) wireless imagination, (3) semaphoric adjectivation, (4) free and expressive orthography. It is necessary to explain these points at some length and for this, nothing better can be done than to quote Marinetti's own words.

Casting aside all foolish definitions and theories of the professors I declare to you that lyricism is simply the exceptional faculty of intoxicating and of being intoxicated with life; the power of changing into wine the muddy water of the life which surrounds and crosses us; the power of painting the world with the wondrous colours of our mutable ego.

Now suppose, for instance, that a friend of yours endowed with this lyrical faculty, finds himself in a zone of intense life (revolution, war, shipwreck, earthquake) and immediately afterwards comes and relates his impressions to you, disregarding syntax, chucking adjectives and punctuations overboard, he will despise all mannerism and preciousness of style, and will seek to stir you by hurling a confused medley of sensations and impressions at your head. Following the irregular impulse of hesitancy, he will spread broadcast, handfuls of essential words—the poet's imagination must connect distant objects without connecting wires, and by means of essential words, and these absolutely at liberty.

By wireless imagination I mean entire freedom of images and analogies, expressed by disjointed words and without the connecting wires of syntax one must consider adjectives as railway or semaphoric signals of style, which serve to regulate the speed of the race of analogies.

The movement had at first many sympathizers but soon some of its warmest and most gifted supporters stood aside from it, and the latest tendencies detectable in the writings of men like Suckert, Soffici and Gentile show that the days of the futurists are numbered, and that the noble classical tradition, though eclipsed for the time being, shall again be triumphant in Italian literature.

Memories of the Punjab

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

.COMMUNAL BITTERNESS

TO understand the bitter communal feelings in the Punjab we have to recall the history of the province during Mahomedan and Sikh rules. The cruel persecution of the Sikhs under the Moslem rule led ultimately to the formation of the

Khalsa under Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru. Originally, the Sikhs were a peaceful, inoffensive religious community following the tenets of Guru Nanak Shah, but a long memory of wrongs suffered during several generations led to the founding of the formidable church militant under the last Guru. The five distinctive signs

of the Khalsa were the *Kesh*, *Kirpan*, *Kangha*, *Karha* and *Kach*. Under the genius and leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, the Khalsa organization became a disciplined and invincible army and the Mahomedan power disappeared from the Punjab. The day of reckoning and retribution came when the name of Hari Singh Nalwa was dreaded from Multan to Peshawar and from Peshawar to Kabul. Compared with the Sikhs the Mussalmans in the Punjab were in a large numerical majority but the Khalsa army was irresistible and the Sikh supremacy became absolute. But Maharaja Ranjit Singh was no bigot and some of his high officers were Mussalmans.

The Sikh rule passed away in its turn, but the aftermath of bitterness has always persisted as between the Mussalmans on one side and Hindus and Sikhs on the other. In 1897 Pandit Lekh Ram, a preacher of the Arya Samaj, was assassinated by a Mussalman fanatic who was never apprehended or brought to justice. The murder of Swami Shraddhanand is an outrage of recent occurrence, and Rajpal was assassinated still later. Matters have proceeded from bad to worse in the Punjab and the fusion of political thought in that province seems to have become almost impossible. One community is always anxious to safeguard its interests against another and it is forgotten that all communities may have common interests. More than anywhere else it is difficult for people in the Punjab to think in terms of national well-being. Until communal differences are forgotten national solidarity cannot be achieved in India.

ARROGANCE AND SUBMISSION

One hears a great deal about the Punjab being the sword-arm of India and the Punjabis a martial people. The truth is that the Jats in the villages have a fine physique and make splendid soldiers. But the townspeople, the traders, and others are the same as in other parts of India. In the last decade of the last century official arrogance and high-handedness were more noticeable in the Punjab than anywhere else, but people rarely complained of ill-treatment. There was a Deputy Commissioner, a man named Silcock who considered himself a lineal descendant and representative of the Great Mogul. His standing orders were that any one passing in front of his house or office on horseback

should alight and lead his horse on foot until these imperial precincts were passed and these orders were always enforced. Any one carrying an umbrella had to fold it because the umbrella was an imperial emblem. Passers-by ignorant of this *ukase* had their umbrellas confiscated. These were collected in the Government *toshakhana* and afterwards sold by auction. So spiritless were the people that no complaints were heard and no claims were made for umbrellas forcibly seized. The practice ceased only after its exposure in the *Tribune*.

On the roads I noticed Indian pedestrians leaving the entire width of the road to Europeans and making themselves as small as possible. An Indian Divisional Judge, who had himself served in the Army, had his kit pitched out of a first class railway compartment by a European passenger and he meekly went to a second class compartment. An Indian civilian, who is now a Commissioner, was brutally assaulted in a railway carriage by some ruffianly military officers not five miles from Lahore and the affair was hushed up. Lord William Beresford, Military Secretary to successive Viceroy of India, assaulted an Indian Extra Assistant Commissioner of the Punjab on a railway platform. A complaint was filed but the assailant, who had then retired and came to India only during the racing season successfully evaded a trial. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, then a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab, refused to see an Assistant Commissioner, a Statutory civilian, because he had come into the presence with his shoes on, but that Indian officer refused to be browbeaten and walked away saying that he would not take his shoes off to see any one.

BOLD PUNJABIS

All classes of Punjabis are not equally submissive. An inferior European military officer, somewhat under the influence of liquor, once entered the walled city of Lahore, which is out of bounds for troops, and made himself disagreeable to persons passing along the streets. He was hustled and shoved out of the city and no one could be identified or arrested. When there was a rumour of plague regulations being introduced in Lahore there was great excitement and a European official, who was going out for a drive one evening gave a cut with his whip to a man in front of his trap. The

result was his hat was knocked off his head and the lanterns of his carriage were smashed and the assailants were never detected. I was an eye-witness to a remarkable bout of wrestling *versus* boxing. One afternoon I had gone to a hotel near the railway station to see someone staying at the hotel. I left my carriage and had to walk a short distance to enter the hotel. There was a hackney carriage standing a little way off the entrance. Two European soldiers in white ducks came up and wanted to get into the carriage. They might have taken a few glasses of beer, but they were certainly not drunk. The driver told them that the carriage was engaged and his fare might come out any moment and the carriage was not available. The soldiers made a rush for the cabby with raised fists and the man jumped from the coach-box and ran away. Thereupon one of the soldiers struck a heavy blow upon the nose of one of the horses and the poor animal began bleeding freely at the nose. It was a most cruel and cowardly thing to do. A young water-carrier, a *maski*, was sprinkling the road with water from his leather bag and he saw the ill-treatment of the horse. He laid down his bag on the road and going up to the soldiers remonstrated with them in very emphatic language for their attack on the unoffending horse. He was a very young man, not over twenty-five and I could at once make out that he was a wrestler, a *puttha* as they are called in the Punjab before they become *pahalwans*. The two soldiers of course rushed at him with doubled fists, but the young lad was quite ready for them. The first soldier was neatly tripped up and fell sprawling in the dust and the second fared no better. Covered with dust the two soldiers picked themselves up and made a simultaneous rush at the *blasti*, who was coolly waiting for them. With a single movement he floored one of the men and lifting the other from the ground threw him heavily. This time the soldiers did not repeat their attack but began shouting lustily for the police. The waterman picked up his water bag and leisurely disappeared down a lane. No boxer can hold his own against a trained Indian wrestler and the heavy weight champion of the world would have no chance against a big *pahalwan* because before he could land a single blow he would find himself prostrate on the ground with his face up-turned to the sky.

SIR DENNIS FITZPATRICK

During my time the only Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab who won public confidence was Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick. He was altogether different from the type of civilians one meets in the Punjab. He was a Punjab civilian but he had varied experience in different parts of the country. He had been a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, Secretary to the Governor-General's Legislative Council, Chief Commissioner of Assam and Resident at Hyderabad, Deccan. He was judicial-minded and would never allow an injustice to pass unrectified. He did not concern himself with larger questions of policy, but he followed closely the details of the administration from day to day and refused to sacrifice justice to prestige. One case that attracted a good deal of attention at the time was that of a civilian. A young civilian named Harrison with barely three or four years' experience was officiating as Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery in 1893. He was a wild, thoughtless, irresponsible young man who used to amuse himself by shooting stray dogs in the streets. There was a Forest officer of the name of Rossiter who was a great chum of Mr. Harrison. It appears that this Forest officer was annoyed with a Mahomedan *lambardar*, a man with an official status and a landowner, and spoke about him to the Deputy Commissioner. Mr. Harrison sent for the *lambardar* and in open court had his beard clipped by a peon. He thought it was a rag, a lark or an amusing stunt, whereas it was the grossest indignity that can be offered to a Mussalman. Not content with this insult Mr. Harrison put the clippings in a cover and addressed it to Mr. Rossiter, writing in the corner "The peace-offering of—" (here he wrote the name of the *lambardar*) and initialled it. It never occurred to this foolish young man that he was thereby creating damning evidence against himself. Anonymous complaints were probably sent to Government, but the torn cover itself, which must have been tossed into the waste paper basket by the Forest officer, with Mr. Harrison's handwriting upon it was brought to me not by a Mahomedan but a Sikh employed in the Forest office, which meant that the outrage was resented by all classes. I put in a note in the *Tribune* to the effect that I had in my possession important evidence against an official and was prepared to hand it over

to the Government on certain conditions. On reading this paragraph Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick at once directed the Commissioner of the Lahore Division to take up the matter with me. I saw the Commissioner by invitation and showed him the cover. He said the handwriting was undoubtedly Mr. Harrison's and the Government were anxious to get at the truth of the matter. I told him that if the Government gave me an assurance that no enquiries would be made as to how the cover had come into my hands and that no punishment would be meted out to my informant even if his identity were accidentally discovered, I would be glad to hand over the cover. The Commissioner agreed that my conditions were reasonable and honourable and he had been authorized to accept them on behalf of Government. I then passed the cover to the Commissioner. Mr. Harrison was at that time in England on leave and he flatly denied the charge, but was dumb-founded when confronted with the cover with the clippings of beard in it. For this deliberate falsehood he was dismissed from the Civil Service by the Secretary of State for India and I received a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government acknowledging the help I had given in this case. On account of exposures in the *Tribune* some other officers were pulled up and made to feel uncomfortable. The Punjab civilians were very angry with the Lieutenant-Governor and one of them actually wrote in the *Pioneer* that Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick was governing the Punjab with the help of the *Tribune* instead of his secretaries. Sir Dennis used to discuss my views in the paper with Sir P. C. Chatterjee and others with the intention that his own opinions should be communicated to me, but I never met Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick or called upon him as personal relations are not conducive to outspoken criticism and the free expression of opinion on public affairs.

RASAD AND SETTLEMENT

District and other officers are in the habit of touring round the area under their jurisdiction in the winter. These tours are dreaded by the village people who have to furnish all sorts of supplies either without any payment or for very inadequate payment. The underlings of these officers mercilessly fleece the poor village people. Let me illustrate how this is done. Suppose a

Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab is on tour, the Tahsildar or Naib Tahsildar through whose jurisdiction the officer passes, has to arrange for all supplies. He asks the Saheb's *Khansama* about his requirements and the man will mention quantities much larger than actually needed. The surplus is sold by the *Khansama* and becomes his perquisite. The villagers who are compelled to bring in the supplies, are rarely paid. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick issued a circular that these improper exactions must cease, that every district officer on tour must have a Bania in the camp and all requisitions should be made by chits and the bills of the Bania should be paid when the camp shifts to another place. He also directed that the practice of paying tips to the underlings and peons of officers must be discontinued and any peon demanding such a gratuity would be summarily dismissed. These orders were of course resented and were quietly shelved and ignored as soon as Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick left the Punjab.

The periodical revision of settlements and the inevitable enhancement of the demand for land revenue is a terrible hardship of which the incidence falls mainly upon the peasant and the small landholder. This is not possible in areas under a Permanent Settlement and that is why there is so much gnashing of teeth against the land revenue system in Bengal, Oudh and part of the Madras Presidency. Plausible pretexts to set aside the arrangement made by Lord Cornwallis have been sought for in vain for it cannot be done without a broad and gross breach of faith. But everywhere else in India the settlement is subject to revision after periods which vary from ten to thirty years, though a thirty years' settlement is rare. The revision is made nominally for ascertaining whether the productive capacity of the land has improved or deteriorated and whether the land-tax should be raised or reduced. In theory it looks quite all right but in practice it is a farce which really spells a tragedy for every revision means a fresh turn of the screw and another pound of flesh from the tiller of land. A revision of settlement is merely another name for an enhancement of the land-tax, and there have been occasions when even a Settlement Officer has been moved by sympathy for the peasants. Shortly after the appointment of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab the

settlement of the Jullundur district was revised and the term of the new settlement was fixed for thirty years. Every revised settlement has to be confirmed by the Government of India and that Government strongly demurred to the period of the new settlement. Thirty years made much too long a period and the Government of India wanted it to be reduced to twenty years. They made no secret of the reason of their objection. They wrote that if the term of the new settlement were extended to thirty years it would mean a material surrender of revenue implying that a twenty years' settlement would mean another increase in the revenue after that period. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's reply was a memorable one. He contended that there were two aspects of the question: there was the demand of the Government but there was also the position of the taxpayer to be considered. The revenue demanded from the people living on the land should leave them a margin on which they could not merely live but live with some degree of comfort. In other words, the implication was that the Government demand should not assume the form of a rackrent. Besides, a settlement for thirty years had been announced in anticipation of the approval of the Government of India and the Punjab Government should not be called upon to go back on their word. The Government of India gave in but they did so with a very bad grace and stipulated that in future no announcement regarding the term of a revised settlement should be made without the previous sanction of the Government of India.

"BARDAFAROSHI"

This is a Persian word which means the traffic in women and girls. It is still in existence in several parts of northern India, but at the time of which I am writing it was most rife in Sind and the Punjab. It was more frequent among the Mussalmans than among the Hindus. Attractive girls and young women were lured from their homes, taken to distant places and sold to men who wanted them as wives or mistresses. In most cases the innocent women and girls were quite unsuspecting. The men and women engaged in the nefarious trade were known as Bardafaroshis. Sometimes very poor parents parted with their daughters for a consideration but more often the girls were spirited away upon false pretences. When they could not be sold to men who wanted them as wives they were condemned to a life of shame. The evil never assumed such large proportions as the White Slave Traffic of Europe and America, but it did exist and the offenders against society and law mostly went undetected and unpunished. In the eighties of the last century the late Mr. W. T. Stead launched a vigorous campaign in the columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette* against the extensive corruption of girls with the immediate effect of the age of consent being raised by an Act of Parliament, but "the Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" is being paid all the same and Modern Babylon includes the United States and the whole of the Continent of Europe. In India the traffic is declining, though it is not yet extinct.

The Mediaeval Art of South-Western Bengal*

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

YEARS ago when I accompanied a party of the members of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to certain places in South-western Bengal it struck me that the art and architecture of South-western Bengal was of a different type from that of Bihar and Bengal in the early Mediaeval period.

* I am indebted to Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S. for almost all the photographs published with this article and for his kind permission to use them.

So far as I remember, my companions were Pandit Basanta Ranjan Ray, now of the Calcutta University. S. Ram Kamal Simha of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and also S. Manindra Mohan Basu, M.A. now of the Calcutta University. At that time we visited Chhatna and Susunia in the Bankura district and Chhatra near Purulia in the Manbhum district. The temples and images that we saw in these places were altogether

different in style from those with which we are familiar in Bihar or Bengal. In 1925 when Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S. was the Collector of Bankura I had the opportunity of travelling



Image of Siva as Lakulisa from near Jaypur (Bankura)

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.

ing over distant and inaccessible places in the Bankura district and I was able to realize the vast difference that existed between the Bengal school of sculpture and that of South-western Bengal.

It must be remembered that Bankura is a modern name and the district came into existence in the nineteenth century. Early in the fifteenth century this part of the country was conquered by the Hindu kings of Orissa and the local chiefs rendered a loose allegiance to the Gajapati king of Orissa. In 1692 when the Mughals had finally conquered Orissa this tract was included within Orissa. The zamindari of Vishnupur included Mahishadal, Tamluk, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Raipur. The date of this subordination of Bankura to Orissa can be deduced from the mention of Divya Simha I. as the Rajah of Khurda and Sarvesvara Bhanja as the chief of Mayurbhanja. But this subordination to Orissa up to the end of the seventeenth century is now apparent in the form of temple architecture only but not in its plastic art. Manbhum and Singhbhum was directly under the Rajah of Vishnupur and had no separate

existence up to that time, the aboriginal tribes being subordinate to the Rajah. Consequently in treating of the sculpture of Bankura, we have to include both Manbhum and Singhbhum.

It is now generally recognized that over this area a more vigorous and cultured people ruled and lived in the last centuries of the first millennium A.D., who were dispossessed by the modern aboriginal tribes. The principal religion favoured in this area from the first to twelfth century A.D. was Jainism and therefore we find more Jain images than Hindu or Buddhist in Bankura, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Western Medinipur and the Northern portion of the Mayurbhanja State. The sculpture of this area can be divided into two distinct classes; (A) The Artistic or proper early mediaeval and (B) The Barbaric or Modern. In order to understand the difference between these two classes it will be necessary to discuss the Barbaric sculpture of Bankura before the Mediaeval or Artistic. There is a very rude image of Siva as Lakulisa under a tree near the village of Jaypur in the Bankura district



Stone Lion from Sonamukhi (Bankura)

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S.

which must belong to the early centuries of the modern age (1600-1800) because the worship of Lakulisa was very rare in North-eastern India and died out or rather cannot be proved to have existed beyond the twelfth century. The distinctive symbol of Lakulisa



Inscribed Lion from Biharinath (Bankura)

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.

is very clear under the proper left arm-pit. There is very little of art in the modelling of the human figure in this specimen and therefore there cannot be any doubt about its barbaric nature or late date. To the same category belongs a figure of a lion now placed on a brick platform in the well-known village of Sonamukhi. The lion is gracefully poised but it is degenerate. Along with this may be compared a bas-relief in the village of Chhatna, a few miles from Bankura town, which is undoubtedly a Hero-stone, which a Cananese or a Tamil would at once pronounce to be a *Virak-kalu*. The end of the series of class (B) can be found in a very modern image of Devi or Parvati in the village of Narayanpur. This image is early mediaeval in *technique*. The back-slab of the image is of the Bengal school type, being fashioned as a trefoil arch supported on two pilasters each of which has on its side a *Gaja-simha*, i.e., a prancing lion on an elephant couchant. The goddess stands on a lotus and has four hands, in the upper ones of which she holds a rosary and the branch of a tree. The lower left hand holds a vase or *ghata* while the right is in the *Varada-mudra*. Only the modelling of the torso and the face indicates its modern origin. When shown to me for the first time by its discoverer, Mr. J. C. French, I took it to be an ancient image but on maturer

reflection I find that it will be more proper to place it late in the sixteenth century.

We can go back now to the first group (A) in which can be seen the best specimen of the early mediaeval art of South-western Bengal. Its possibilities have never been separately considered by any other writer on Indian art or archaeology. We begin from the oldest architectural motif, a motif more common in the Gupta period than in subsequent centuries. It is a medallion, containing a human figure; such medallions were used in Orissa up to the thirteenth century A. D.* The earliest form of such medallions is to be found in the Chaitya windows used in architectural decoration in the Kushan school

of Mathura and the Gupta schools of different places of India, such as Sarnath, Bhumra, and Deogarh.† The extensive use of this decorative motif can be judged by its employment in the early sixth century in the Vaishnava cave No. II at Badami in the Bijapur district of Bombay.§ A fine specimen of such a medallion was discovered by Mr. J. C. French at Kantor or Danteswar in the Patrasayer police station in which we find the *Tandava* dance of Siva, which is the same as that in the Badami medallion mentioned above. Though badly damaged the modelling of the figure is beautiful and the image cannot be later in date than the ninth century A. D. It is certainly earlier than the two forms of images of Nataraja collected by me through Pandit Vinoda Vihari Vidyavinoda in 1911 from the Kedar-Gauri temple at Bhuvanesvara.

In the treatment of the human figure the artists of the South-western school of Bengal certainly differed from that of Bengal proper. Unfortunately, I do not possess a photograph of any Buddhist image discovered

* William Cohn—*Die Kunst des Ostens, Indische Plastik*, Pl. 72.

† *Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India, The Temple of Siva at Bhumara*, No. 16, Pls. XII-XIV.

§ *Ibid.*, *The bas-reliefs of Badami*, No. 25, Pl. VIII. 1.

in Bankura or Manbhum and therefore we have to rely on Jain images which are far more plentiful in this area. For the purpose of comparison I would place before the reader a Jain image collected by me and some other members of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad at Mangalkot in the northern part of the Burdwan district. Several Jain images were discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit of the Archaeological Department in the Bankura district, of which one of Parsvanatha, discovered at Bahutara in the Bankura district, is the finest. Though both images are of the same period and in the same *Kausagga*, i. e., *Kayotsarga*, there is a radical difference between the two in the treatment of the torso and the depiction of the expression on the face. These different styles of moulding show the differentia between the art of Bengal and South-western Bengal. These are not the only instances of such Jain images in Bankura and Manbhum. A rude vigour and certain anatomical difference of the facial muscles is to be seen in the majority of specimens from South-western Bengal. Compare the fine figure of Durga at Boram in the Manbhum district which Mr. French assigns to the eighth century A. D.* The same characteristics are to be found to a very large extent, in a female image lying outside the larger temple at Barakar, on the banks of the Barakar river, at the western extremity of the modern district of Burdwan. It is evident in a larger degree in another complete female image, perhaps of the Jaina *Sasana-devi*, Chakresvari, at the same place.† Through Mr. French's favour I was able to visit the village of Sarengadh in the extreme South-west of the Bankura district. The village of Sarengadh stands on the river Kumari and at present consists of a few wretched huts. But at one time it must have been a place of great importance as along the river Kumari there were five or six temples, all of them in ruins. The biggest of these temples was Jaina, the colossal Parsvanatha, once enshrined in it and the big stone plinth being the only vestiges of its former greatness. This image could not be photographed as our camera went out of order. It is to be compared with the fine image of Parsvanatha discovered by our party at Chhatra, near Purulia. The

second image at Sarengadh was dedicated to the Sun God. This image may be compared to some of the best discovered by Mr. French in the



Hero-stone from Chhatra (Bankura)

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.

Bankura district, such as the Ganesh from the temple of Ektesvar near Bankura town.*

In the third temple at Sarengadh there is a *Linga* with the broken image of Durga. There was another temple on the bank of the Kumari at Sarengadh which also seems to have contained a *Linga*. Sarengadh, Mr. French thinks to be derived from Sonthali *Saruna*—a god and *gadha* a fort. In order to reach it from Bankura one has to cross a

* *The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal*, London, 1928. Pl. V.

† *Ibid.*, Pls. VII-VIII.

* *Ibid.* Pl. XIX.

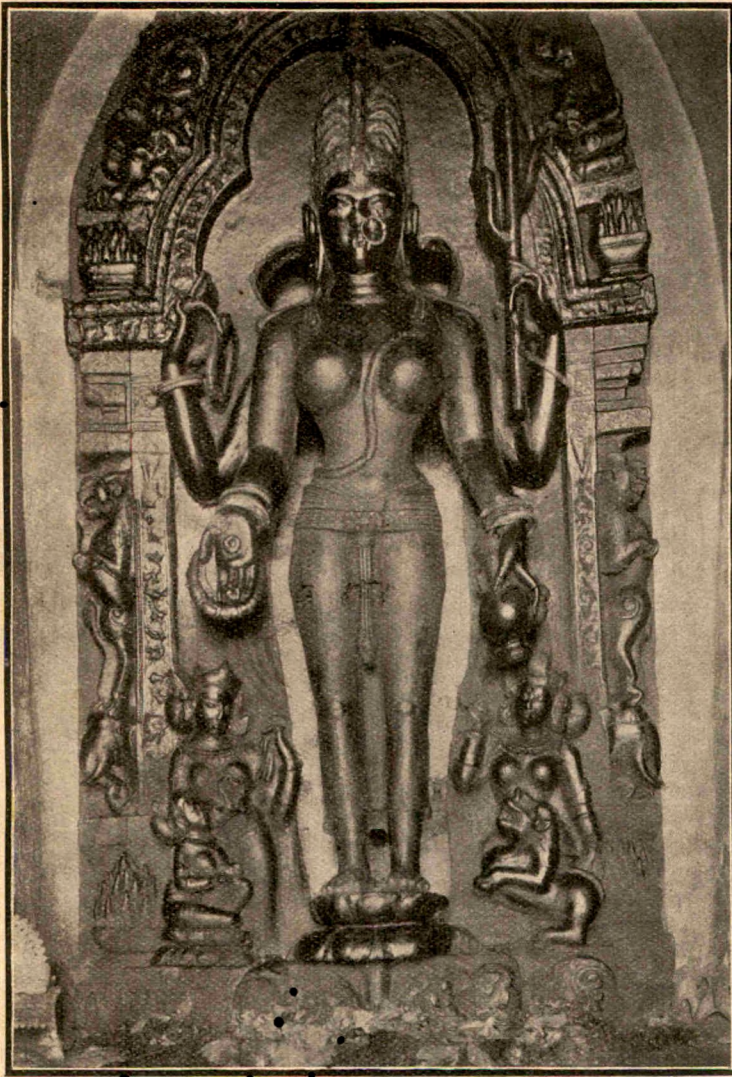


Image of Parvati in a temple at Narayanpur (Bankura)

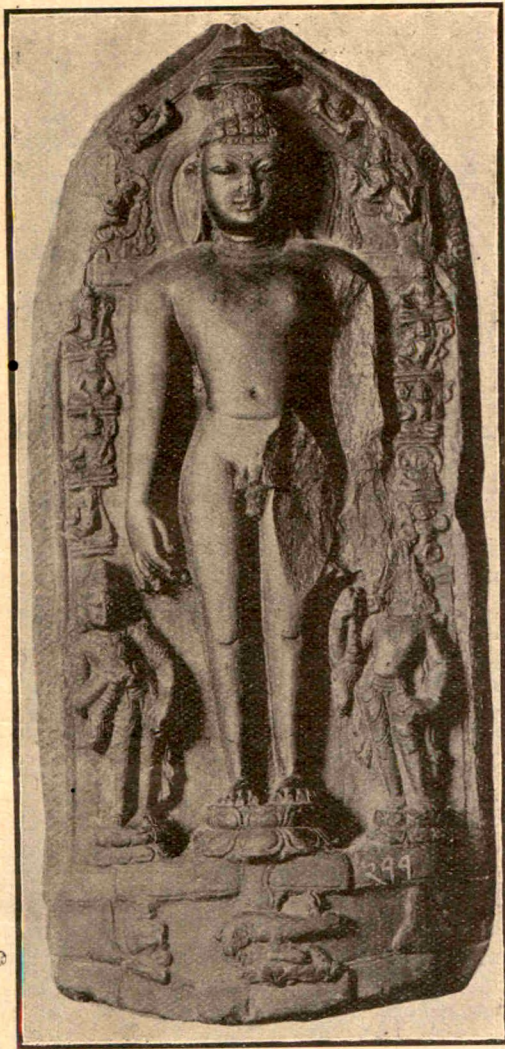
By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.

slice of Manbhum district near Manpur and the Sarengadh sculpture can therefore be grouped along with Chhatra and other sculptures of Manbhum.

Among one of the best products of South-western Bengal may be placed a colossal figure of a Jaina *Sasana-devi* from Kichanda in the Khatra police station of the Bankura district. The figure is approximately eight feet in height and there are five *Jina* or *Tirthankara* figures on the top of the back-slab. Over the head of the main figure can be seen the branches of a mangoe tree laden

with fruit and the sides of the back-slab are covered with bas-reliefs in thirteen rows depicting some story of Jaina canonical literature. Below the lotus on which the goddess stands is a seated lion. It appears that the degeneration of art in South-western Bengal began after the twelfth century as evident from an inscribed lion from Biharinath. The inscription on the pedestal is faint and I can read *Sri Jagapalasya* in the beginning of the second line. The characters belong to the twelfth century A. D. The art of South-western Bengal is very little known even now, though earlier explorers like Cunningham have gone through the country. Now, when a separate school of sculpture has been discerned in Bengal and Bihar it is necessary that some one should take up the study of this separate plastic movement in South-western Bengal. Their origin seems to be identical in the North-eastern provinces of India as the earlier sculptures and bas-reliefs are almost of the same ideal and quality. We should compare the fine image of Anantasayin Narayana inside the temple of Vishnupad at Gaya with the very fine image discovered by Mr. J. C.

French, I. C. S. outside a temple near Jaypur in the Bankura district. It must be said to the credit of Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda that he has recognized the Northern strain in the frontier sculpture of Orissa. In dealing with sculptures from Khiching, Chanda says "But in the bigger decorative sculptures of the temple of Khiching, in the figures of the *nagas* and *nagis*, in a few female figures, and in the images of gods and goddesses, we recognize certain features not Orissan. Examples of such are a *naga* figure in plate XIV (a), a fragmentary female figure and fragments



Jain Image from Mangalpur



Parsvanatha from Bahulara (Bankura)

of an image of dancing Siva in plate XV. It will be seen in plate XV that the figures of the musicians on the base are the works of a sculptor of the Orissan school but the main image, particularly the head, must have been carved by an artist of another school.* It seems to me that Khiching sculptures must be divided into two different groups: (A) An earlier group which is distinctly

related to the art of South-western Bengal such as those mentioned by Chanda and (B) a later group which is distinctly Orissan.* The co-relation between the art of Orissa and that of South-western Bengal is also evident from temple architecture. The Barakar temples are distinctly Orissan in the outline of the *Sikhara*. Though the *Sikhara* is damaged and incomplete in the case of the Siddhesvara temple at Bahulara, the beginnings

* *Khiching*—published by P. Acharya, B. Sc., Archaeological Department, Mayurbhanja, 1929 pp. 20-21, Pls. XIV (a) & XV.

* *Ibid.*, Pls. VII & XII.

of the outline in this case also are the same. Similar characteristic is also to be found in the temple of Ichhaighosh at Gaurangapur in the Burdwan district. There is great

The subject is one of surpassing interest and requires careful investigation.



Jaina Goddess from Kichanda (Bankura)

By courtesy of Mr. F. C. French, I.C.S.

similarity between the large stylized Chaitya-windows on each facade of the temple of Siddhesvara at Bahulara in the Bankura district and those on the *Sikhara*s of the *Vimanas* of the temples of Lingaraja and Krittivasa and Brahmesvara at Bhuvanesvara.

In addition to the distinction of possessing a separate school of sculpture, South-western Bengal possessed a school of painting even in the modern age. Twenty-three years ago when an exhibition was held in connection with the Indian National Congress in 1906 in the southern part of Calcutta the late Byomkes Mustauji collected specimens of Bengali art and literature for the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and opened a stall in that exhibition. The contents of this stall formed the nucleus of the present museum of that society now housed in the *Romesh-bhavan*. It was in this little stall that I made my first acquaintance with the early indigenous paintings of my own country. These paintings on stiff paper came from Vishnupur but I do not know where they are at present. Eighteen years later I saw three photographs of similar paintings in the possession of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S. at Bankura. They are of the same character as those I saw in 1906. The subject of only one of them can be partly recognized. In it a devotee is sitting in a grove before his *Guru* while children are playing near them. Overhead can be seen the lord Vishnu flying on *Garuda*. The compartment below contains another scene. A king is worshipping gods placed on an altar while a female is sitting behind holding two lotus flowers with long stalks. The group is surrounded with utensils of worship. In the second painting we see a rocky defile full of wild elephants, peacocks, owls and deer. A male carrying something in his hand is passing through the defile. In the third we are presented with the frontage of a double storeyed palace inside which a king is sitting with his queen holding a *Sitar* or *Vina*. I have not seen any description or criticism of the Bankura school of painting either from the pen of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore or of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and I do not think our own great art connoisseur, Mr. O. C. Ganguly has written anything about it. After 1906 I have seen plenty of early miniature paintings on palm-leaf manuscripts from Bengal which have found sanctuary in Nepal but except in 1906 and 1924 I have never seen any specimen of the Bankura school of painting.



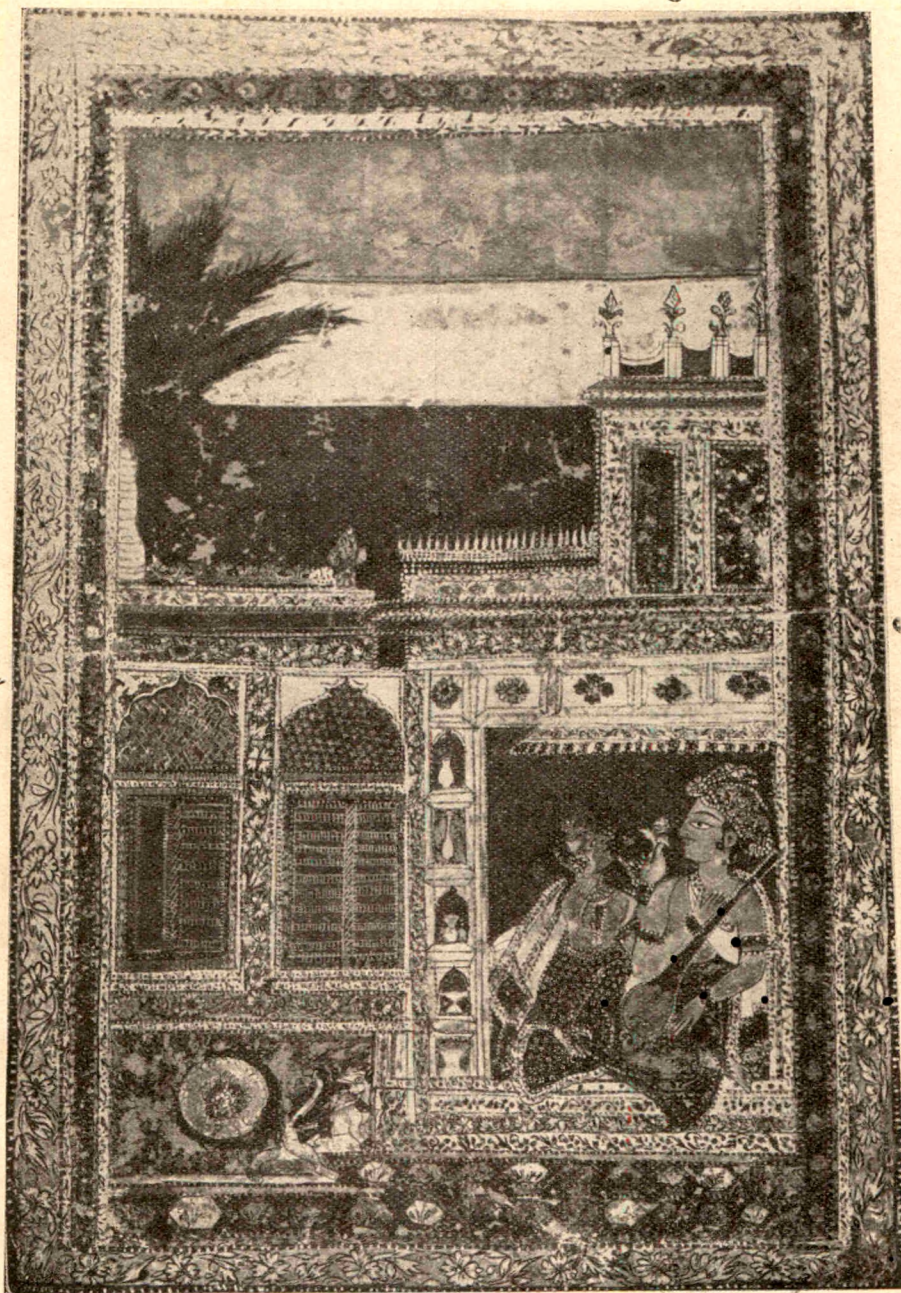
Wall-painting No 1 from Bankura

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S.



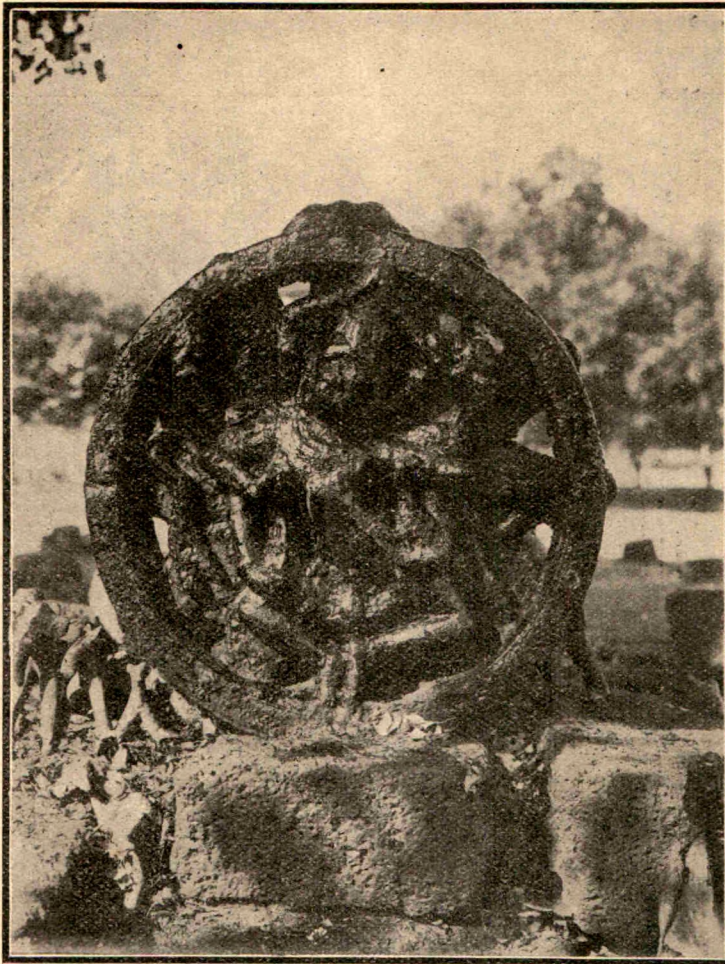
Wall-painting No II from Bankura

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, . C. S.



Wall-painting No. III from Vishnupur

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S.



Medallion with Siva Nataraja from Kantor

By courtesy of Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S.

The Indian Issue

THE CRUX OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN CEYLON *

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I F I understand the Governor of Ceylon aright, the enfranchisement of the Ceylon Indians forms the crux of the constitutional problem. He does not say

* This article must not be reproduced nor translated *outside* India without first securing the written consent of the author.

exactly that all other issues relating to the reform of the constitution are subsidiary to the question as to what percentage, if any, of the Indian labourers concentrated in certain parts of the Island is to have the vote. He appears, however, to be confident that if a solution of the Indian problem is offered that the Sinhalese—the majority community in the Island—regard as satis-

factory, their representatives in the legislature—the largest single group in the Chamber—will shut their eyes to all, even the Donoughmore Commission proposals that they condemned in the Council last year, in my presence, as retrograde and prejudicial to Ceylonese future, and, with the support of certain minority members, the scheme will be accepted as a whole.

The implications are so unfair to the Councillors that I have rubbed my eyes as I have read the passages penned (or dictated?) by the Governor in respect of these matters. The statements occur in a despatch submitted by him on June 2, 1929, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Writing of the determined opposition offered by the unofficial members to the "committee system," of which more later, His Excellency states that he does not think "that the objections to it which were ventilated in the Legislative Council would now be pressed to the extent of causing the rejection of an offer of the Commissioners' scheme as a whole, if the franchise proposals were made acceptable to a majority of the unofficial members."

The Governor makes another statement to much the same effect in the concluding portion of the despatch. To quote him:

I am anxious that, if the new Constitution is accepted, it should be accepted in the spirit in which I know His Majesty's Government would offer it, as a token of mutual trust and goodwill, given and received generously and freely. I believe, though I cannot be certain, that its acceptance is desired by a large majority of the people of the Island, and that a majority of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council will be ready to accept it, though not without some misgivings, if only the franchise question can be settled to their reasonable satisfaction.

Elsewhere in the Despatch the Governor makes it clear as to what he means by the franchise question. The Sinhalese oppose, he writes, the "wholesale territorial enfranchisement of Indian labourers": but of no one else, certainly not "the Europeans," by which term, I assume, he means persons of British birth. Having decided, for his own reasons, to throw his weight on the side of the Sinhalese, he states that the opponents of Indian enfranchisement are not anti-Indian. They refuse the vote to Indians

...not because they are Indians, but because they are not regarded as Ceylonese, and because their numbers—great now and probably greater still in future—and their concentration in certain

areas are such as to constitute a potential menace to the local predominance of the Ceylonese vote.

Finding that the term "non-Ceylonese" comprehends the people among whom he was born and whose faith (Anglicanism) he professes, His Excellency deems it judicious to add:

The Europeans also are not regarded as Ceylonese but in respect of them apprehensions based on numbers and concentration do not arise. There is the obvious further point that Indian labourers for the most part have not enjoyed opportunities for the acquisition of education or of political experience comparable to those enjoyed by Europeans. The general circumstances of their lives are less conducive to the formation of an independent judgment, and not more conducive to the formation of a specifically Ceylonese outlook, on public affairs. It is feared in some quarters that the votes of a very large number of the Indians here (Ceylon) would be at the disposal of high caste personages from beyond the Palk Strait who if they thought it worth while might manipulate them for purposes and interests not necessarily appertaining to Ceylon nor unaffected by tendencies which neither Ceylonese nor Europeans would wish to see introduced.

I refrain, for the moment, from making any comment upon these statements or the source from which they originated and the purposes that the Governor, at least in my opinion, meant them to serve. I wish merely to point out here that these extracts warrant the conclusions that Sir Herbert Stanley cherishes the hope that the political suppression of the majority of our people in Ceylon would placate the Sinhalese to the point of their accepting proposals to which they, till now, have offered determined opposition.

II

I hold no brief for the unofficial members of the Ceylon Legislative Council, particularly after the reactionary moves that some of them made last year to discriminate against Ceylon Indians. The resolution on franchise, as they finally passed it, added a literacy test, obviously unfair to Indians, to the double residential qualification proposed by the Donoughmore Commission. It worked hardship on their own as well as our people. I was, therefore, sorry to see several of the members for whom I have respect and even affection casting their votes in favour of so reactionary a motion.

In fairness, however, I must say that the general conduct of the majority during the debate on the Donoughmore Commission report did not show that they were either

unintelligent or weak-kneed self-seekers. Quite the contrary, in fact.

In the prolonged discussion over that report which dragged over some three months, many of the members displayed remarkably acute judgment. They picked out from a mass of high-sounding verbiage provisions that, despite professions of a benevolent character, were in reality designed to strengthen the grip of British bureaucracy and British capital over the Sinhalese.

Considerations of personal gain would have impelled the unofficials to shut their eyes to these discoveries. Seven ministries—each with a salary of Rs. 27,000 a year attached to it—and other offices carrying both prestige and pelf were offered, and offered for the first time.

By following the policy of least resistance the unofficials could, moreover, ingratiate themselves with the officials and especially curry favour with the Governor—who had patronage and titles of honour in his gift. They could, at the same time, make themselves solid with those Ceylonese who did not care what sacrifices were made in respect of powers so long as franchise was granted on terms that would enable them to enter the future legislature and possibly become ministers.

Undeterred by considerations of personal gain and immediate political advantage, the majority of the unofficials did their duty intelligently and courageously. They resisted to the utmost most of the proposals to abridge legislative authority by subtle means, and to increase, by even subtler means, the powers and privileges of officialdom and especially of the Governor.

While the Councillors were in the midst of discharging these obligations for the permanent good of their people the Kiplingese imperialist who then presided over the Colonial Office—Colonel L.A.S. Amery—forgot considerations of dignity and expediency alike to the point of attempting to cow them down. They, however, held their ground. Ignoring the Amery cablegram they proceeded with their task of rejecting reactionary recommendations in the Donoughmore Commission scheme.

The Governor believes, nevertheless, that the majority of the unofficial M.L.C.'s will drop their opposition to all these retrograde and prejudicial proposals if only he yields to the Sinhalese in the matter of Indian

franchise. What an opinion he must have of them !

Some of the unofficials, at any rate, will, I am sure, resent the Governor's assurance in this matter. I cannot, however, speak for the majority.

Instead of indulging in prophesy it would be better for me to :

(1) examine the franchise proposals made by the Governor and the reasons he has adduced in support of them ; and

(2) take a bird's-eye view of the retrograde recommendations that His Excellency expects the Councillors to agree to as a sort of *quid pro quo* for meeting their wishes in respect of the Indian question.

III

A word about the Governor of Ceylon may assist the reader to understand his recommendations. Sir Herbert Stanley, as he now is, was born fifty-seven years ago. His parents, I understand, were of Hebrew extraction. Whether they professed the Jewish faith or not I do not know ; but, as already stated, His Excellency is an Anglican. After education at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he entered the Diplomatic Service and filled minor appointments in British legations on the European Continent. Subsequently he served for some years, on the staff of one or another Minister in Britain itself. In 1910 he accompanied Lord Gladstone to South Africa as his Private Secretary. Thence he went to Rhodesia. Further details are not necessary. Suffice it for me to add that prior to Sir Herbert Stanley's arrival in Ceylon his colonial experience was acquired in Africa. I use the word colonial in its widest connotation.

In envisaging the Indian problem in Ceylon, the Governor has, I fear, been unable to divest himself of his African experience. He, in fact, appears to be afraid that if he does not exert himself the Indian issue in Ceylon may assume the proportions of "the 'Indian questions' in certain parts of Africa." He, therefore, urges that this issue "be faced and, if possible, settled before it becomes acute."

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the suggestion by which, in His Excellency's opinion, the danger might be forestalled and averted has not been made solely with that end in view. As I have

already shown by quoting extracts from the Governor's despatch, he has offered it in the effort to induce the Sinhalese—the largest single group in the Ceylon Legislative Council—to withdraw their opposition to certain proposals which they have condemned as retrograde.

It remains to be seen whether the Councillors will surrender to the Governor on those terms. I can, however, assure him that he will not be able to settle the Indian issue on the basis he has proposed. He does not recommend a single standard of franchise for every one in Ceylon owing allegiance to His Britannic Majesty. He, on the contrary, introduces dual qualifications which, in operation, will undoubtedly largely follow the racial line, whatever effort is made to mask their real character.

Sir Herbert Stanley, with his African experience, should have known better than to recommend such action. Does he not know that Indians in East Africa have for years been complaining against duality of treatment in respect of franchise against separate electoral registers?

Surely His Excellency cannot plead lack of knowledge. What else, then, is responsible for this action? To find an answer to this question all that is necessary is to discover who will specially benefit from this double device.

The Governor's suggestion, stated in his own own words, is:

Subject to special provision for the undomiciled, domicile should be made the standard test. I postulate as of universal application to domiciled and undomiciled alike, the preliminary requirements of British nationality, a minimum age qualification of 21 years for persons of either sex, the absence of mental disability or criminal antecedents, and the condition of residence, for six months, of the eighteen immediately preceding the preparation of the register, in the electoral district to which the register relates.

I shall first examine the "special provision for the undomiciled." Except in two essentials the test is the same as the existing one. The exceptions are:

(1) The bar against women has been removed; and

(2) Whereas to-day the test is as much applicable to the Sinhalese and other Ceylonese as it is to Indians and Britons, under Sir Herbert Stanley's dispensation it is to apply to Indians and Britons only.

The qualifications laid down are such that they will keep 90 per cent of Indians off the electoral registers. Even persons highly

educated in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Sindhi, Gujarati and other Indian languages (Tamil alone excepted) will be classed as unlettered and not permitted to get on the register. Indian pleas to wipe out this palpable injustice have been dismissed.

Adult Britons, on the other hand, will remain voteless only if they do not take the trouble to register. Every man or woman among them will be able to satisfy the property (or income) qualification. Since literacy in their own mother-tongue is recognized the literacy test will mean no test at all so far as they are concerned. Nor will residence act as a serious bar, for the existing qualification has been revised at their behest and for their benefit. Nearly every British adult in Ceylon, therefore, will be eligible to vote.

The inequality with which this "special provision for the undomiciled" will press upon the Indian and the Briton in Ceylon will give an inkling as to why the Governor has insisted upon duality of treatment. In this matter, it must be added, he has gone over the head of the legislature, which defeated all proposals to discriminate between Ceylon Indians and Ceylon Britons.

The passage relating to the enfranchisement of "Europeans" (persons of British birth?), quoted from the despatch in the first part of this article, is nothing more than a bit of special pleading. As such it deserves to be dismissed with the remark that in this matter the Governor has fallen far short of the standard laid down by the Donoughmore Commission, which refused to prescribe dual qualifications or urge pleas for preferential treatment for Ceylon Britons.

IV.

Now I shall examine the alternative device which has been avowedly introduced to prevent the "wholesale enfranchisement of Indian labourers." To succeed in this object, His Excellency evidently relies partly upon the conditions prescribed regarding domicile and partly upon the machinery for registering the voters.

To satisfy the requirements an Indian must:

(1) "furnish satisfactory evidence of five years' residence as contemplated and defined by the Commissioners";

(2) make "before the appointed officer a duly attested declaration to the effect that he or she is 'permanently settled in the

Island" or is "residing within the Island with intent to settle therein"; and

(3) agree that "while registered as a voter he or she" will "renounce any claim to special protection by any Government other than that of Ceylon or to any statutory rights, privileges or exemptions to which residents of all races and communities" are "not entitled."

No secret is made of the fact that the sacrifice of citizenship rights is to be required from Indians alone. Sir Herbert Stanley writes that "this device of certificates of permanent settlement" will affect "few but Indian labourers. When any British adult can, through the process of 'the special provision' already examined, obtain franchise in Ceylon, he would be a fool if he went out of his way to surrender his British citizenship rights.

Judging by statements that certain Sinhalese from whom the Governor has, in fact, borrowed his arguments, have been making, there will be endless disputation as to the period and places of residence of Indian labourers in Ceylon. No secret is being made of the fact that this instrument will be utilized effectively to prevent large numbers of Indians from obtaining the certificate, even if they are willing to waive such rights as they may enjoy through their Indian citizenship, of which more in another article.

Many of those who succeed in securing the certificate may not actually obtain the vote, because officials are not to go from door to door, as in England, registering voters, but persons desirous of voting will have to go to an appointed place and apply for registration. In this matter, too, the Governor has overruled the unofficial members of the Legislative Council.

The reasons that Sir Herbert Stanley puts forward to justify the exclusion of large numbers of Indians from the electoral registers have already been stated in his own words in the first part of this article. He does not hesitate, it may be recalled, to use as an argument against Indians, their restricted "opportunities for the acquisition of education or of political experience." Nor does he refrain from alluding to the "general circumstances of their lives" in the attempt to prove that they are unfit for the vote.

Sir Herbert Stanley's language in this connection is nowhere so plain as that of

the persons whose statements he has paraphrased. According to them Indian labourers were "semi-slaves," and read statements in the Legislative Council authoritative and otherwise to drive home that point.

Is the conscience of the Ceylon Government clear in regard to such enslavement? I should have thought that the head of that Government would have hesitated to use the disabilities from which something like three-quarters of a million Indians suffer—through no fault of their own, as an excuse for denying them the vote—a weapon that might prove most powerful in their hands for securing their freedom. The issues pertaining to Indian semi-slavery are much too important, however, to be discussed in a few words in this article.

The Governor's avowed purpose being to prevent the wholesale enfranchisement of Indian workers, it is not to be wondered at that he studiously refrains from offering to make any arrangements that would facilitate the securing by Indians of certificates of domicile and their registration as voters. I see not the slightest disposition upon his part to make Indian labourers and Ceylon plantations accessible to candidates and their election agents.

The Governor's African experience may incline him to believe the yarn spun by some imaginative Sinhalese concerning "high caste personages" travelling "from beyond the Palk Strait" in order to manipulate Indian voting in Ceylon for "purposes and interests not necessarily appertaining to Ceylon nor unaffected by tendencies which neither Ceylonese nor Europeans would wish to see introduced." Every Indian with any intelligence will know that he repeats it because he is afraid of making any breach in the system of semi-slavery in which Indians are being kept, as stated over and over again in the Ceylon Legislative Council. India, I may remind His Excellency, will have something to say in this matter, probably even sooner than he expects.

V

Certain Sinhalese profess to be satisfied with the proposals made by the Governor to limit Indian franchise. Others, finding that he has given in to them so far, insist upon the imposition of further restrictions. They are no fools. They know that the bases upon which he has raised the bulwarks of

restriction are laid on shifting sands. Nothing but apathy prevents India from enforcing wholesale changes in the system by which planters are able to concentrate Indian labourers in certain parts of Ceylon.

That system is unjust to those Indians because of the conditions of semi-slavery in which they are admittedly compelled to live. It is also unfair to the stay-at-home Indians because year by year broken-down Indians whom these planters can no longer use are being dumped back upon India without pension, gratuity or compensation. Adjustments that would make that system fair to every one concerned would, in a minute, tear into tatters the fabric of restriction designed by Sir Herbert Stanley.

In the long run there are only two ways in which the objects that the Sinhalese have in view can be attained, namely—

(1) that the present system of obtaining labourers from India be discontinued so that in course of time the Indian population in the "Sinhalese districts"—to use Sir Herbert Stanley's expression—may automatically dwindle; and

(2) that provisions excluding Indians in Ceylon, and they alone, from exercising electoral rights be laid down definitely and explicitly.

The Governor is not prepared to recommend either of these courses, because, in the first instance, he is afraid of the planters, and in the second of the Government of India. He betrays fears in both these respects in the course of his despatch, as any one who takes the trouble to read it can see for himself. Assuming, however, that in this respect the Governor has made the scheme acceptable to the anti-Indian Sinhalese, let us see what sacrifices he requires from the Ceylonese.

VI

First I shall consider the proposals for abridging legislative control over the superior services.

The Governor is not quite sure that the Donoughmore Commission had gone the right way about "safeguarding" the interests of the superior services. There was, at any rate, no need for them to recommend the sending out of a "Salaries Commission" from Great Britain. "On grounds of principle," he writes, "it seems to me preferable that any general re-assessment of salaries and other conditions of

service should be undertaken locally on the advice of a local committee or commission, partly because the task would be one of such intricacy that it could hardly be performed satisfactorily without a very full knowledge of local circumstances, and partly because the recommendations of external body would encounter much greater opposition here than the recommendations of a *judiciously constituted* local body." (The Italics are mine).

This statement sounds liberal. From its author one had a right to expect support for the resolutions in which the unofficials sought to preserve legislative control over public servants. The proposals were not arbitrary, certainly not unknown to the British constitutional system. They, in fact, ask for no greater control over public servants than that exercised by the legislatures in Britain and the British Dominions. It may, indeed, be added that the British Parliament is becoming increasingly alive to the dangers of permitting bureaucracy to be supreme in Britain.

Sir Herbert Stanley is, however, headed in the opposite direction. He insists that legislation passed by the Ceylon legislature affecting the "salaries and emoluments, pensions and gratuities, prospects and conditions of service" of superior public servants, "or the pensions and gratuities of widows and orphans, should be subject to confirmation or disallowance by the Secretary of State, and that his decision thereon should be final." He even asks the Secretary of State to revive a suggestion rejected by the Donoughmore Commission for passing "a Public Servants Ordinance" which, at least in my opinion, would convert the superior Services into a state within a state.

This ordinance was to guarantee "a definite scale of salaries, allowances and pensions to public servants." The Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues dismissed it because they felt that "an ordinance of such a nature would prove to be a clumsy and unwieldy instrument." While it would be necessary or desirable to secure frequent amendments, it would not be an easy matter to persuade the Council to pass the necessary amending bills. The Council might even decide to amend such an ordinance on its own initiative unless some sort of constitutional mechanism were designed which would debar it from doing so. The creation of such mechanism would, whatever its merits, "be inconsistent with the ideas underlying"

the proposal. The only safeguard that they could think of was to rely upon the Governor's powers of veto and certification, which, they admitted, "it might not always be found expedient to employ."

The Commission also took the view that "the framing of a comprehensive schedule of salaries, allowances, pension rights and other privileges which could be regarded without undue controversy as the desideratum", would involve heavy and complicated work; and regardless of how the matter might be approached, considerable delay would be involved before such an ordinance could be passed because the salaries were already under review by a committee specially appointed by the Legislature to go on to the question—a committee which, I may add, Sir Herbert Stanley has seen fit to praise.

The Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues further felt that the suggestion of passing an ordinance would be certain to rouse great resentment in the Council, since the members would look upon it as a threat and, therefore, it would produce circumstances "unfavourable for the introduction of a new constitution."

The Commissioners were, furthermore, sure that such a device would have the effect of making the public services "the centre of political controversy," a contingency which should above all things be avoided. They had no doubt that "the Services themselves would strongly deprecate any measure of this nature."

Probably the Earl of Donoughmore and his fellow-Commissioners did not realize that the suggestion for the framing of this ordinance had emanated from or at least was favoured by the Governor. Otherwise they would have dealt more gently with it.

Schooled in diplomatic usage though His Excellency is, he does not forbear from flinging a shaft at the Commission. He writes in his despatch:

"I have not overlooked the arguments advanced against the Public Service Ordinance by the Commissioners, but with great deference I must frankly avow that they do not impress me as conclusive."

Sir Herbert Stanley takes great care to point out in another place that the ordinance, once passed, would be treated as a class of legislation which no one in Ceylon—including even the Governor—could touch without authority from Britain. The legislature might introduce or even pass a bill modify-

ing or even repealing it, but the Governor would lack the competence to assent to it.

I do not know what might have happened had Colonel Amery, for whose special benefit this plea was advanced, remained at the Colonial Office. His successor, Lord Passfield (better known as Mr. Sydney Webb) began his own career as a civil servant in Britain and may be trusted to be tender towards public servants in Ceylon. He makes it plain that "the rights of public servants" are to constitute one of the "reserved subjects." In other words, the Superior Services must be, in fact, if not in name, outside the control of the future legislature. The existing Council, which has already refused to assent to any such proposal, is now asked to swallow the scheme of which it forms an integral part.

VII

Sir Herbert Stanley is equally determined to compel the unofficials to withdraw their opposition to the proposals that the Donoughmore Commission had put forward to restrict the powers of the future legislature in regard to legislation. I may recall to the mind of the reader that the Councillors took a very serious view, for instance, of the recommendation made to expand the classes of bills to which the Governor would be prevented, by Royal Instructions, from giving his assent in His Majesty's name. The provisions recommended were of so comprehensive a character and so worded, that legislation relating to financial and economic matters, public services, defence, Imperial affairs and justice would, in effect, have been placed in the "reserved" category. The Governor was, moreover, to be empowered to hold up or to refer back to the Council or to veto bills of all descriptions; and in certain circumstances was to be empowered to pass legislation of his own motion. All these recommendations encountered stubborn opposition in the Council and resolutions were passed rejecting them in specific or general terms.

His Excellency dismisses, with profuse and polite explanations, all the resolutions that the unofficial members passed in their dual effort to preserve the existing legislative rights and to prevent the Governor from being invested with powers that would make him virtually a dictator, both in respect of legislation and executive administration.

tion. Their opposition, he tells them, has originated through their inability to grasp the meaning of the Commissioners' proposals. After pointing out certain errors, he has, however, to admit that it is proposed to confer "additional powers" upon him and his successors in office.

These "additional powers," Sir Herbert states in his most persuasive manner, "are intended rather to serve the purposes of precaution and reassurance than to be used as an ordinary incident in the business of administration and legislation." In his view "the proper conception of the Governor's position under the new constitution would seem to be that of a steadying, not a meddling or thwarting factor." He "would not seem to be expected," he adds, "to bring his reserve powers into action if he merely thought that a particular course which was being adopted was not the most expedient or most judicious of all possible courses." He even goes so far as to say that in his opinion it would be fatal "to the success of the commissioners' scheme as an advance in self-government, if the Governor used his powers or allowed an impression to grow up that they might be used, in such a way as to relieve the Ministers or the State Council of responsibility for the consequences of their acts, or—in other words—if he came to be looked upon as responsible for all the acts of Ministers and the Council which he had not prevented by the use of his special powers."

This dissertation would have some meaning, if Sir Herbert Stanley showed any desire for renunciation. He is by no means willing to pin his faith either to the common sense of the Ceylonese who may come into power or his own (and his successors') powers of persuasion. He, on the contrary, insists that the "recommendations made in respect of the Governor's additional powers," by the Commissioners cannot "be substantially modified without dislocating the whole balance of" their "scheme, and, in any event, having regard to all the circumstances, it would not seem to" him "wise to make such an amendment."

If the scheme goes through I have not the slightest doubt that the gubernatorial residence will become the real centre of gravity in Ceylon. Even if the Governor hides the "big stick" in the darkest corner he can find, the mere knowledge that it is there—that he can take it out whenever he

likes—will turn into cravens even the Ceylonese who may be called upon to assume Ministerial responsibility. The temptation to flourish the club and to use it would at times prove irresistible.

Within a few months of writing the sermon that I have summarized Sir Herbert Stanley actually employed his comparatively restricted "reserve powers" in so unjustifiable a manner that even one of his Ceylonese colleagues in the Executive Council felt it his duty publicly to criticize his action.

VIII

Nor is the Governor disposed to listen to the unofficial members to permit the Ceylonese to travel by the road which led the Dominions to their present status of undivided control over their own affairs—led even to the virtual (though not the nominal) extinction of the British veto over their legislation. They spoke in no uncertain voice regarding the Donoughmore Commission proposals to split the State Council into a series of seven committees presided over by Ministers who would be at the mercy of their respective committees. They plainly stated that the application to the Central Government of that device, however successful it might be in municipal government, would prevent the development of parties and would, in fact, arrest constitutional growth that would inevitably lead Ceylon towards Dominion status. They also declared that when the system failed, as it inevitably must, the blame for the failure was likely to be fastened upon the Ceylonese, who, on the strength of it, would be adjudged incapable of managing their own affairs. For these, among other reasons, they refused to be thus experimented upon.

The Governor does not appear to be in love with this system; but he thinks it could be made to work. He is, however, under no illusion as to its acceptability to the Ceylonese. He cannot "honestly say that it has found any large measure of favour on its own merits, though it has some ardent supporters." He nevertheless counsels the Colonial Office to go on with the experiment and even lays emphasis upon the fact that the committees must hold the Ministers in the leash, and be not merely advisory bodies.

To sum up, the sacrifice that the Governor demands of the unofficial members is

not light. He asks the custodians of popular rights, in plain English, to surrender cherished powers and privileges of legislative control over the executive—to concede to the executive and especially the Governor

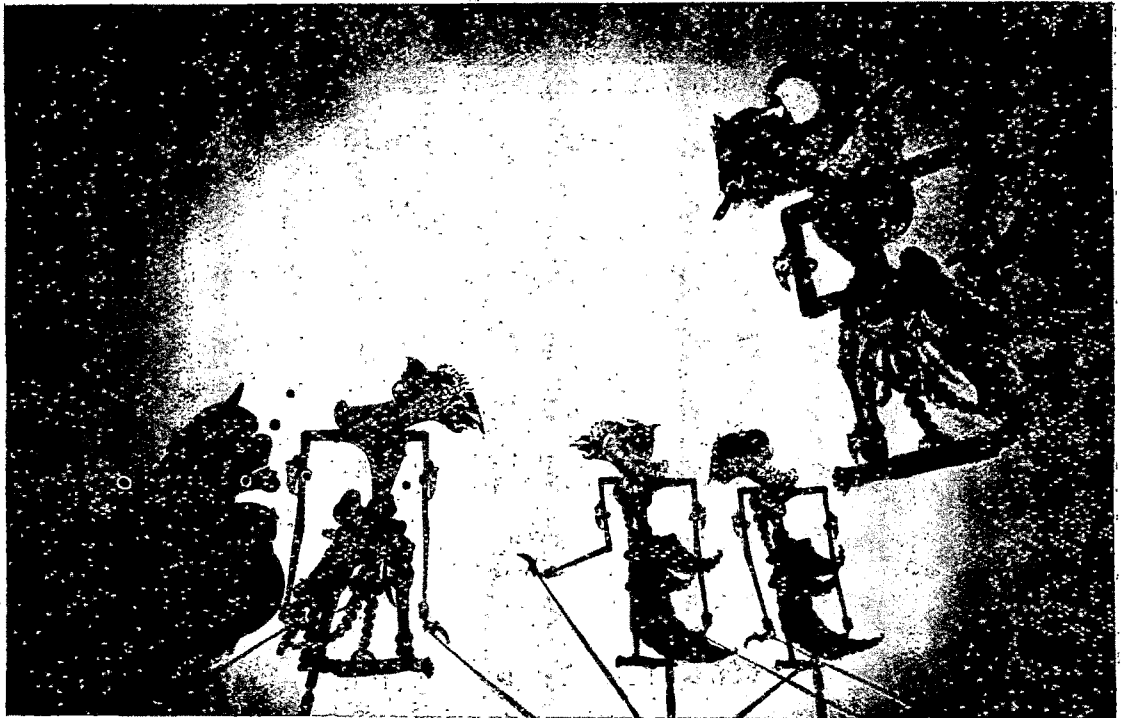
fresh powers and privileges of a formidable character, to loosen such hold as they have over financial and economic affairs. In return the Sinhalese are to be allowed to keep down the number of Indian voters.

The Mahabharata and the Wayang in Java*

BY DR. B. R. CHATTERJI, Ph.D., D. Litt.

THE Javanese puppet shows, known as the 'wayang,' have preserved the old Hindu traditions even now, when Java has been a Muhammadan country for more than five centuries. The performer, who is

performance is accompanied by the Javanese orchestra which is known by the name of the 'gamelan.' The puppets represent the figures of the heroes and the heroines of the Indian epics. Convention has fixed the size,



A Scene from the Mahabharata from the Javanese Puppet Shows

called the 'dalang,' manipulates by means of strings the movements of the puppets and makes their shadows fall on a screen. The

the appearance, the colour and the ornaments of each of the figures.

Already about 1000 A.D. the wayang was so popular in Java that poets borrowed their similes from these shadow-plays and spec-

* This paper is based on Kats' *Jawaansche Toonel*.

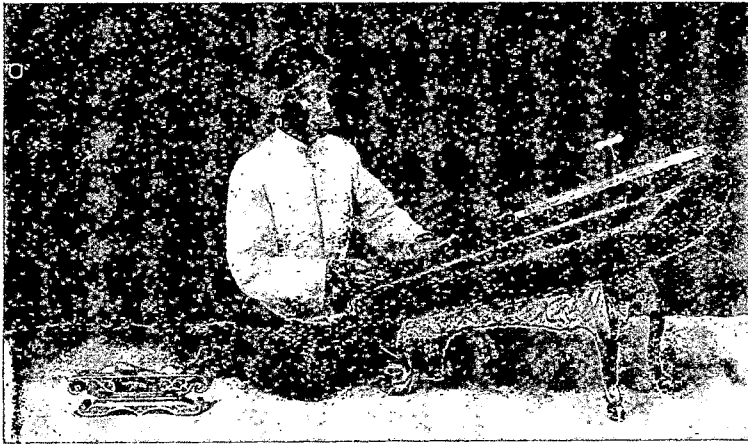
tators followed the representations with the liveliest interest. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Sir Stamford Raffles speaks thus of the wayang:—"The interest excited by such spectacles, connected with national recollections, is almost inconceivable. The eager multitude will sit listening with rapturous delight and profound attention for whole nights to these dramas."

And to-day too the wayang is indis-

reign of Jayabaya of Kediri by his court poet Penoolooh. This work is known as the Bharata Yuddha (Brata Yuda in modern Javanese). Persons and places referred to in the epic became so familiar to the Javanese that in the course of time the episodes of the Mahabharata were supposed to have taken place in Java itself and Javanese princes claimed lineal descent from the Pandava and the Yadava heroes.

From the very beginning however old Malay-Polynesian myths mingled with the Indian traditions. And during the period 1500 to 1758, when the Muhammadan conquest was followed by devastating wars, the old Hindu associations receded into the background. When therefore, about the middle of the eighteenth century there was a Javanese renaissance, interest in the old times revived and energetic attempts were made to recover the Hindu literature. But the Kavi or old Javanese language could be read but imperfectly at

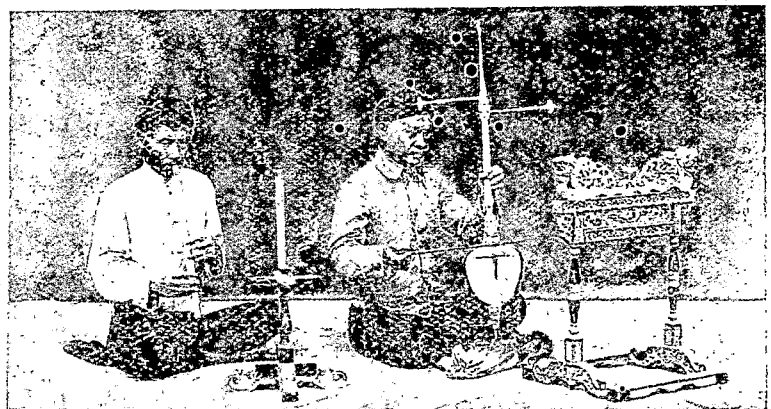
this time. Thus strange mistakes crept into the texts which were written in this period though they were based on the old Javanese texts which were



A Musical Instrument of Java

pensable on important occasions in the household—so highly is it esteemed both by the rich and the poor, the old and the young.

When the Hindus came to Java they brought their sacred texts along with them. Of these the Mahabharata soon became the most popular among the Javanese. Its eighteen cantos were rapidly dramatized. Some of these renderings, which were composed in prose during the reign of the great Erlangga in the eleventh century A.D., have been recently re-discovered and published by the Dutch scholars. In the Malay literature these adaptations from the great epic are known as the *Hikayat Pandawa lima*. Portions of the Mahabharata were also rendered into old Javanese or Kavi poetry during the



Flute and Guitar Players

still available in the eighteenth century. Lastly the dalang (the performer of the shadow-plays) himself introduced changes.

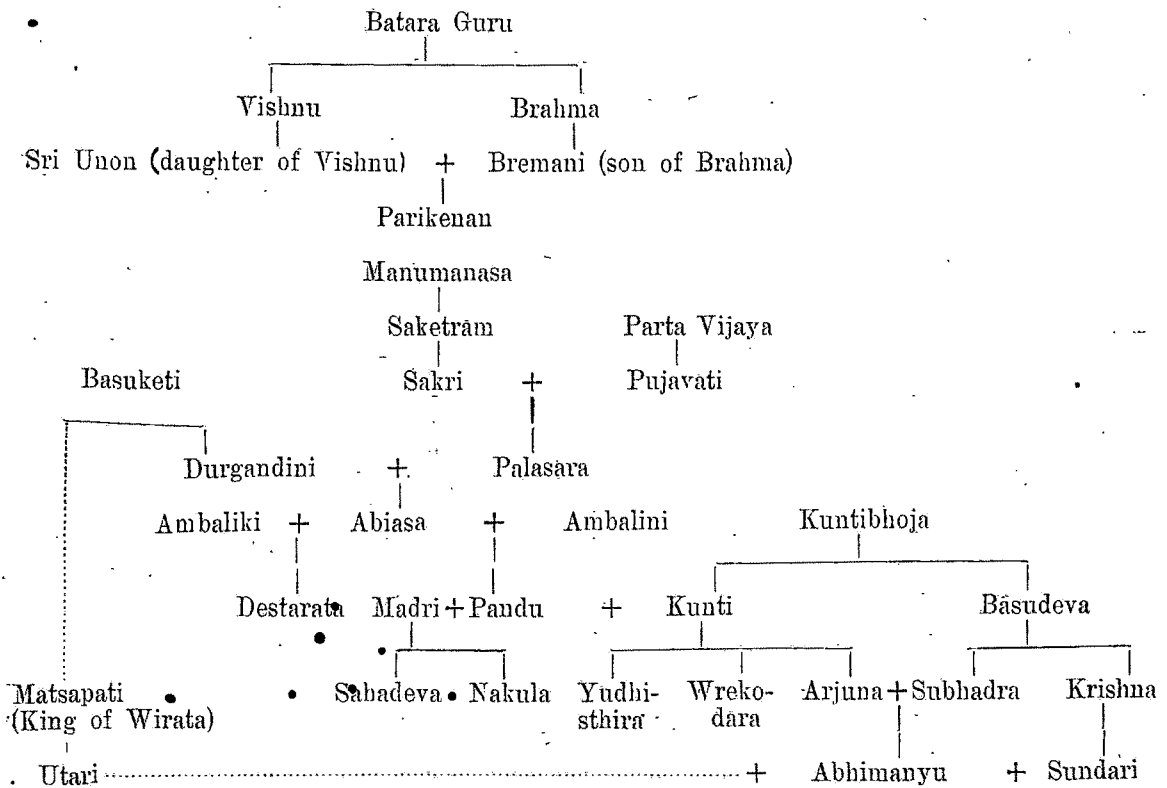
as he was continuously adapting the old stories to the environments of the day in order to make his representations more popular.

The dalang, while performing the show, generally looks to 'lakons' or short dramatic sketches to refresh his memory. He also improvises on the spur of the moment to suit the taste of the audience. There are some larger texts besides these lakons.

These short dramas are divided by M. Kats into four groups : (1) Stories of gods, giants and the origin of heroes generally taken from the *Adiparva* of the

Mahabharata. In these stories there is mingled a considerable element of Malay-Polynesian legends. (2) The Arjuna Sahana Bahu group. (3) The lakons based on the Ramayana. (4) The last and the most important group deals with adventures of the Pandavas and the Yadavas.

About 150 lakons are based on the Mahabharata. Eight of them, the Vishnu Krama, Bambang Kalinga, Palasara Rabi, etc., describe the ancestors of the Pandavas. From these may be summed up the following genealogical outline :—



In the Mahabharata the wanderings of the Pandavas begin after the Jatugriha adventure. Then Yudhisthira is crowned king at Indraprastha. After that comes the game of dice followed by further wanderings and then the Pandavas live in disguise at the court of king Virata. Hostilities commence at Kurukshetra with the reappearance of the Pandavas in public.

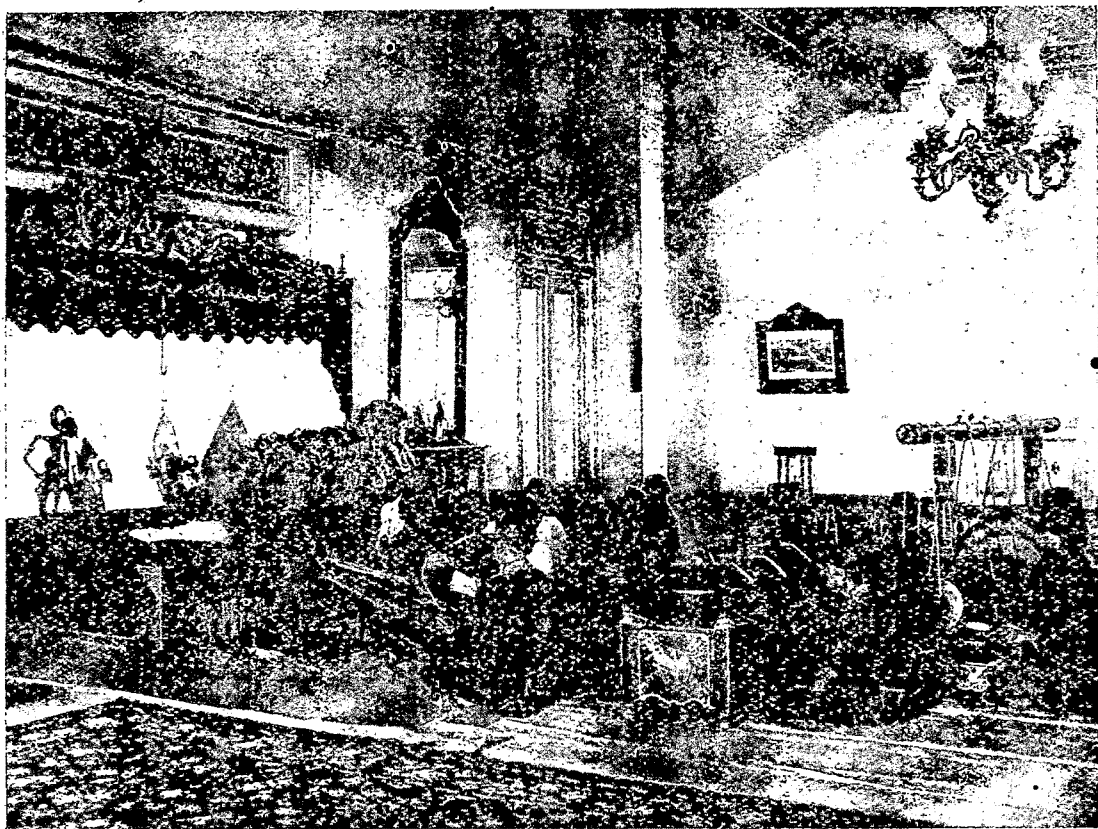
The Javanese lakons do not always follow the original. According to their version—a game of chess is played in the

Jatugriha itself, and during the game the Pandava brothers are given poisoned drinks. Bhima (Brata Sena in Javanese) alone retains his senses and removes his brothers from the burning house. Then after long wanderings the brothers reach the country called Wirata. When they make themselves known at last to king Matsapati of Wirata—they receive as a present from their host the realm of Ngamarta (Indraprastha). Draupadi's *svayamvara* takes place at this period.

Meanwhile, Sujudana (Duryodhana) becomes



An Exploit of Bhima in Javanese Shadow Play, According to Javanese Mahabharata Stories



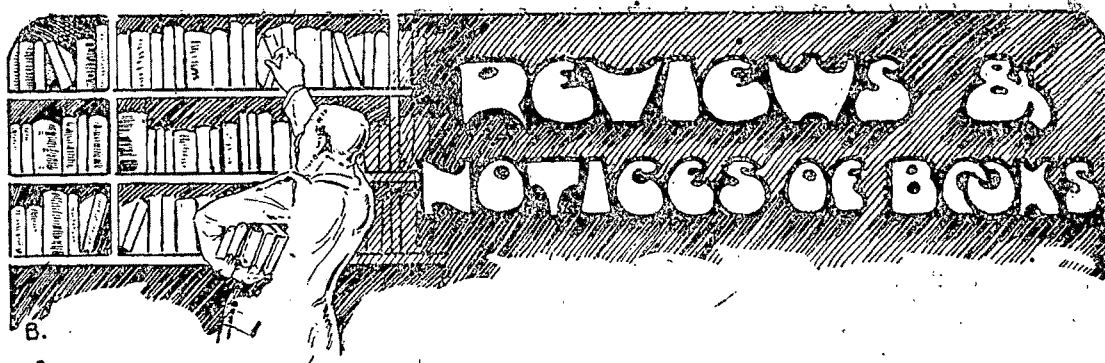
View of the Auditorium

very powerful at Ngastina (Hastina). The Pandavas are driven out of their capital by him. They seek refuge at the court of King Matsyapati of Wirata. Even Krishna has to abandon his capital Dwaravati. Then follows the Brata Yuda (Bharata Yuddha).

Arjuna is the greatest favourite of the Javanese audience. He plays the leading role in at least fifty lakons. At the outset of his career, however, by a disreputable trick he gets rid of his rival Palgu Nadi—who is also a brilliant pupil of Drona. His wooing of Subhadra and his combats with other aspirants to her hand are narrated in several lakons. Numerous are his other adventures and love affairs. His Javanese names are also numerous: Permade, Endralaya,

Parta Kusuma, Chakra Nagara, etc. In some lakons Sikandi is represented as one of the wives of Arjuna. Two of his sons are married to two daughters of Krishna. On the other hand, Arjuna's daughter Sugatavati is given in marriage to Krishna's son Samba. These (and other) descendants of Krishna and Arjuna are supposed to have founded some of the princely houses of Java.

Punta-deva Yudhisthira, Wrekodara or Brata Sena, Dewi Arimbi and her son Gatotkacha, Sujudana (Duryodhana—an incarnation of Dasamukha) are all familiar names in Muslim Java. Indeed, custom prescribes that such and such a lakon of the Mahabharata should be played on such and such an occasion in the family.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE INTELLIGIBLE WORLD: METAPHYSICS AND VALUE. By Wilbur Marshall Urban, Ph. D., Stone Professor of Philosophy in Dartmouth College. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. Pp. 479. Price 16s.

This book belongs to the well-known "Library of Philosophy" edited by Professor Muirhead.

Dr. Urban wrote in 1909 another book belonging to the same series, viz. *Valuation: its Nature and Laws*. The principles enunciated and expounded in that book have been further developed and executed in the book under review.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part there are four chapters, viz. (i) The Great Tradition and Modernism in Philosophy; (ii) The Prejudice of the Philosopher; (iii) "Genuine Knowledge" and "Bona fide Logic": What is Logic; and (iv) Metaphysics and Value Theory. In the second part there are nine chapters in which the author deals with the following subjects: (v) The Return to Perennial Philosophy; The conditions of Philosophic Intelligibility; (vi) The Form of Philosophical Intelligibility; (vii) Space, Time and Value: Axiological interpretation of Space and Time; (viii) Origin and Value; Potentiality,—Matter and Spirit; (ix) Intelligible Evolution; (x) Intelligible Finality and the Problem of Destiny; (xi) Intelligible Progress; (xii) The New Gotter dammerung; Degradation and Value and (xiii) Headlining the Universe: The System, of Philosophy.

In this book the author re-states and re-interprets what he calls the Great Tradition. "To this tradition the Platos, the Aristotles, the St. Augustines and the St. Thomases, the Fichtes and the Hegels have belonged." The author believes that "that which is central in perennial philosophy from Plato to Hegel is the logical priority in human experience, theoretical, moral, æsthetic, and religious, of an Idea, of an order of perfection, which goes beyond and supplements the frag-

mentariness of our time experiences, under whatever name this may be known—the Good, Reason, God, as in ancient philosophy, or the infinite, the *causa sui* the absolute in modern philosophy." (p. 13)

"The Great Tradition," says our author, "is represented in present-day philosophy largely, if not wholly, by Idealism. In so far—as fundamental issues are concerned, the present work is dominantly idealistic in tendency. This does not mean, however, that it is idealistic in any sectarian sense; in fact, it is one of the contentions of the book that traditional philosophy has been "beyond realism and idealism" in the modern meaning of these terms (p. 2). Our author thinks that "to modern Idealism chiefly belongs the glory of keeping alive both the spirit and the insights of this tradition." He believes it to be of the utmost importance to recognize that the modern opposition between realism and idealism is not—and has never been—the fundamental issue in philosophy and also that the very truths for which Idealism has stood are not bound up with particular epistemological theories. At certain points he has found it necessary to take issue with positions often identified with Idealism. But "this does not mean" says our author "any serious disagreement with its fundamental intentions." (pp. 2-3).

The key to the understanding of the book is to be found in the sub-title "*Metaphysics and Value*" and it is in connection with the working out of the relations of "value" to "reality" that the more original features of the book are to be found. In the philosophy of our author, the "problems of value" have become the central problems of philosophy. According to him "reality and value are ultimately one or at least inseparable" (p. 130).

Our author has accepted the traditional interpretation of Time and Space. "Space and Time are phenomenal of a non-spatial and non-temporal order of meanings and values. This presupposes a super-sensible intention of a non-temporal and

non-spatial order" (p. 268). "The characteristic of the traditional solution of the space-time problem is that reality is *both in and out of space, both in and out of time*. "The Great Tradition", says our author, "is the magnanimous tradition and it is characteristic of the magnanimous philosophers of all time that to the *'either, or'* of the downright mind they have wanted to say *'both, and'*. Reality is both in and out of space and time; space and time are both real and unreal. However inadequate his formula, it was this that led Kant to say: 'Emperically real, transcendently ideal'" (p. 270).

In the chapter on "Intelligible Evolution", our author says—"Evolution, devolution, progress, decay,—all such terms apply only to the part and never to the whole. In so far as they are temporal and not logical conceptions, they are necessarily local in significance.

"When we speak of the world evolving, it can never be the world in the sense of identity with the universe, but only in the sense of some individualized totality necessary for intelligible discourse. Philosophy has always a name for that totality. It has called it the phenomenal world.

"The religious consciousness, no less than the metaphysical, has always struggled with this problem. If God is perfect in the beginning, then development, progress, can consist simply in the manifestations of His being, and progress simply in the betterment and enlightenment of human beings and of races in the universe" (p. 323).

In the last chapter, Dr. Urban writes—"From Aristotle, on through Leibnitz and Hegel, the same idea has found expression in varying terms:" for all, the essence of reality has been activity, movement—for all, the more immanent this activity, the higher the life, the more developed the reality. The key value, in other words, is the immanent activity of the Spirit—that intrinsic intelligibility of intellect directed towards the good or value. The lower levels are determined by defect or negation. From 'lifeless' matter, through the plant and animal life, the practical intelligence of man, to the level of spirit itself, we have a progression from external motion to immanent activity, from potentiality to actuality" (p. 443).

These are some of the conclusions of our author. For other points, the reader is referred to the book itself. The book is a scholarly production and is a valuable contribution to the philosophy of value. It is meant for serious students of philosophy and should be studied carefully. It contains not only an exposition of the idealistic philosophy in modern terms but also criticisms of modern Realists, Pragmatists and Humanists, Behaviourists and other Modernists. All his criticisms may not be faultless, but they are worth considering.

A PREFACE TO MORALS: By Walter Lippmann published by George Allen and Unwin, London. Pp. viii + 348. Price 10s.

The book is divided into three parts. The subject of the first part is "The Dissolution of the Ancestral Order." In the second part the author describes "The Foundation of Humanism", and the third part deals with "The Genius of Modernity."

The book is written from the standpoint of modernism, and is packed with facts and startling

conclusions. By analysing religious beliefs and practices, the author has shown that men project upon the universe an imaginary picture which reflect their own daily experience of government among men (p. 55). "These pictures of how the universe is governed change with men's political experience. Thus it would not have been easy for an Asiatic people to imagine the divine government in any other way but as a despotism, and Yahveh, as he appears in many famous portraits in the Old Testament, is very evidently an Oriental monarch inclined to be somewhat moody and very vain. He governs as he chooses, constrained by no law, and often without mercy, justice or righteousness. The God of mediaeval Christianity, on the other hand, is more like a great feudal lord, supreme and yet bound by covenants to treat his vassals on earth according to a well-established system of reciprocal rights and duties. The God of the "Enlightenment" in the eighteenth century is a constitutional monarch who reigns but does not govern. And the God of Modernism, who is variously pictured as the *elan vital* within the evolutionary process, or as the sum total of the laws of nature, is really a kind of constitutionalism deified" (p. 55).

Quoting the language of Dean Inge, our author says that "a religion succeeds, not because it is true, but because it suits the worshippers" (p. 46).

"Modernity" says our author, destroys the disposition to believe that behind the visible world of physical objects and human institutions there is a supernatural kingdom from which ultimately all laws, all judgments, all rewards, all punishments and all compensations are derived. To those who believe that this kingdom exists the modern spirit is nothing less than treason to God.

"The popular religion rests on the belief that the kingdom is an objective fact, as certain, as definite, and as real, in spite of its invisibility, as the British Empire; it holds that this faith is justified by overwhelming evidence supplied by revelation, unimpeachable testimony, and incontrovertible signs. To the modern spirit, on the other hand, the belief in this kingdom must necessarily seem a grandiose fiction projected by human needs and desires. The humanistic view is that the popular faith does not prove the existence of its objects, but only the presence of a desire that such objects should exist." (p. 143.)

Ethical codes are not, according to the modernist, divine commandments; but are the products of human needs. "A human morality has no such sanction as a divine, (p. 49). The sanction of a divine morality is the certainty of the believer that it originated with God. But if he has once come to think that the rule of conduct has a purely human local, and temporal origin, its sanction is gone. Her obedience is transformed, as ours has been by knowledge of that sort, from conviction to conformity or calculated expediency (p. 50).

"Morality," complains our author, "has become so stereotyped, so thin and verbal, so encrusted with pious fraud, it has been so much monopolized by the tender-minded and the sentimental, and made so odious by the outcries of foolish men and sordid women, that our generation has almost forgotten that virtue was not invented in Sunday schools but derives originally from a profound realization of the character of human life" (p. 227).

"This sense of unreality is" our author believes

due directly to the widespread loss of genuine belief in the premises of popular religion. Virtue is a product of human experience: men acquired their knowledge of the value of courage, honour, temperance, veracity, faithfulness, and love, because these qualities were necessary to the survival and to the attainment of happiness. But this human justification of virtue does not carry conviction to the immature and would not of itself break up the inertia of their naive impulses. Therefore, virtue which derives from human insight has to be imposed on the immature by authority, what was obtained on Sinai was not the revelation of the moral law but divine authority to teach it.

"Now the very thing which made moral wisdom convincing to our ancestors, makes it unconvincing to modern men. We do not live in a patriarchal society. We do not live in a world which disposes us to a belief in a theocratic government. And therefore in so far as moral wisdom is entangled with the premises of theocracy it is unreal to us (p. 227)...A thoroughly modernized young man to-day mistrusts moral wisdom precisely because it is commanded."

"This distrust.....is due not to a rebellion against authority but to an unbelief in it. This unbelief is the result of that dissolution of the ancient order out of which modern civilization is emerging and unless we understand the radical character of this unbelief we shall never understand the moral confusion of the age" (p. 228).

"We may be quite certain, therefore, that we shall not succeed in making the traditional morality convincingly authentic to modern men. The effort to impose it merely deepens the confusion by converting the discussion of morals from an examination of experience into a dispute over its metaphysical sanctions. The consequence of this dispute is to derive men, especially the most sensitive and courageous, further away from insight into virtue and deeper and deeper into mere negation and rebellion (p. 228).

"For that reason the recovery of moral insight depends upon disentangling virtue from its traditional sanctions and the metaphysical framework which has hitherto supported it. It will be said that this would rob virtue of its popular prestige. My answer is", says our author, "that in those communities which are deeply under modern influence the loss of belief in this very fundamental notions and this very metaphysical framework has robbed virtue of its relevance. I should," continues our author, "readily grant that for communities and for individuals which are outside the orbit of modernity, it is neither necessary nor desirable to disentangle morality from its ancient associations. It is also impossible to do so, for then the ancestral order is genuinely alive, there is no problem of unbelief. But where the problem exists, when the ancient premises of morality have faded into mere verbal acknowledgments, then these ancient premises obscure vision. They have ceased to be the sanctions of virtue and have become obstructions to moral insight. Only by deliberately thinking their way past these obstructions can modern men recover that innocence of the eye, that fresh authentic sense of the good in human relations on which morality depends" (p. 229).

Our author believes that "that insight of high religion into the value of disinterestedness will, if

pursued resolutely, untangle the moral confusion of the age and make plain, as it is not now plain, what we are really driving at in our manifold activity, what we are compelled to want, what, rather dimly now, we do want, and how to proceed about achieving it" (p. 230).

"The realization of this is plainly a process of education in the most inclusive sense of that term" (p. 230).

According to the author the goal of moral effort is maturity (p. 175).

"The problems of education are at bottom problems in how to lead the child from one stage of development to another until at last he becomes an harmonious and autonomous personality: the functional disorders of the character are problems in the fixations and repressions on the path to maturity: the art of living is to pass gracefully from youth to old age and at last, as Montaigne said, to learn to die." (p. 175).

The philosophy of the author is more practical than theoretical. But he does not ignore the use of 'hypothesis' (p. 230) and 'concepts' (p. 231). "By the use of the concept," says he, "psychologists and educators may, if the concept is correct and if they are properly encouraged, thread their way by dialectic and by experiment to practical knowledge which is actually usable as a method of education and as a personal discipline" (p. 231).

It may be noticed that even this use of the concept is pragmatic; it serves a practical purpose.

The author has discussed many practical sides of human life, for example, the business of the great society, government, love in the great society (sexual conduct, birth control, etc) and some of his remarks are worth considering.

The book is non-theistic and atheistic and will, therefore, be anathematised by many orthodox and illiberal members of religious communities. The philosophy of the author is, it is true, defective and one-sided; it does not do justice to the ideal nature of man as we understand by it. But that should not deter us from acknowledging his contributions. He is a humanist and his moral ideals are more altruistic and more conducive to the development of our moral nature than the 'other-worldly' and commercial morality, and the dehumanising spiritual Epicurianism of many popular and prominent religions.

The book is powerfully written and is thought-provoking. It should be read by all orthodox and heterodox. The orthodox will find in the book much food for thought and will be able to revise their antiquated idea of God and religion; and those who take an interest in the welfare of humanity will, with its aid, be able to diagnose the disease of the present age and may try to find a better means for bettering the world.

Mahesh Ch. Ghosh

CHRISTIANITY & THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—
Arthur Mayhew, C. I. E. Faber & Gwyer Ltd.,
London.

There is a school of thought in both the Old and the New World which holds and preaches that although India is ruled by a Christian nation there is nothing "Christian" in that rule. Mr. Arthur Mayhew seeks to show in this book that in governing India the British are doing a

Christian thing in a Christian way and that the Christian spirit has in an increasing measure animated the administration of India.

The book, however, does not bear out its author's contention, for he has not been able to give illustrations of how the spirit of the Gospels, the cardinal precept of Christian charity, ever influenced the administration of India. Suttee (first prohibited by Albuquerque within Portuguese India in 1510), infanticide, Thuggee, enforced widowhood and slavery have, no doubt, been suppressed, but which of these humanitarian measures were solely due to our Christian government and which were the outcome of an upward ethical tendency in us is a point on which opinion may legitimately differ. Such dubiously Christian achievements as the long retention of the opium and liquor trades, the treatment of Indians in the British colonies, indentured labour etc. are not discussed by our author because these smack of politics. He has no space for emphasizing the importance of non-Christian workers who have expounded the nobler elements of Hinduism and Islam and thereby done much in the uplifting of their countrymen, but he has space enough for having flings at the Ali brothers for their orthodoxy, the Mahomedans for their characteristic tendency to convert any war or uprising into a Jihad or holy war, Mahatma Gandhi for his intellectual "sloppiness," Hinduism for its adaptability to "the demands of selfishness and lust," and to eulogize Miss Mayo on her impartiality, moral fervour and desire to ascertain the truth.

This book nevertheless contains an engrossing chronicle of the struggles of Christian missionaries to establish themselves in our country. The tiresome devotion of the Hindus and Mahomedans to their religions restricted painfully the sale of broadcloth and hardware, and it was feared that if the natives were taught a better religion it might inspire them with a passion for political change and make trade more difficult (p. 27). The Directors at home also were convinced that with more than half the population of London gin-sodden and illiterate, England had nothing to give India (p. 45). From the time of Sir Thomas Roe till the middle of the 18th century the general depravity of the Feringhees remained such that the Indian estimate of Christianity and the Christians continued to be "Christian religion devil religion: Christians much drink, much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others" (p. 47). The E. I. Co.'s agents in India resented most bitterly any priestly intrusion on their preserves and their work and lives in the East. However, some missionaries succeeded in coming to India at the risk of being treated as outlaws and they retrieved to some extent the character of the Europeans from the imputation of depravity. The servants of the Company also discovered the potential usefulness of missionaries as political agents, translators, interpreters and information bureaux, and as some of them lent money to the Company's servants, they began to be tolerated, and their right of entry into India was established in 1812 (p. 101). But they could not influence or Christianize the administration of India. Gradually such practices as the firing of deferential salutes at great Hindu festivals, compelling men of all religions to drag the idol's car, dedicating

Government records to Ganesh and superintending temples and mosques were discontinued, and "traders" became "trustees" and "exploitation" became "administration", but Mr. Mayhew nowhere shows exactly when commercial and prudential motives ceased to inspire the rulers and spiritual and ethical motives took their place.

In the course of his long survey the author takes much for granted and some of his conclusions are inconsequent. He ranges over the defects of the Hindus and Mahomedans—he seems to have met none of their best specimens at close quarters, and then concludes (p. 242) that India's moral elevation is impossible without the universal acceptance of Christ! It is only the Christian impetus that can ensure "the recognition of the rights of women and the depressed classes" and such recognition would, according to Mr. Mayhew, be postponed and slackened in pace by "a bolder development of self-government in India, or a further surrender of power to bodies and persons not animated by definitely Christian principles", i. e. the Hindus and Mahomedans (p. 243).

The reader will make his own comment on such views, according to his own observation of India and method of reasoning.

A. N. SARKAR

THE INDIAN COLONY OF SIAM:—*Phanindranath Bose. (The Punjab Oriental Sanskrit Series, No. 13.) Motilal Banarsi Dass, Proprietors the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot. Lahore 1927.*

This is a welcome sequel to the author's previous contributions to our knowledge of "Greater India," viz., "The Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities," 1923, "The Indian Teachers in China," 1923, "The Indian Colony of Champa," 1926. The first half of the book is devoted to the political history, the second to the cultural history of Siam. The King of Siam is the "Defender of Buddhism," the head of the Church, but he seldom interferes with the internal management of the Church, which is under the control of a Sangharat, nominated by the King, and who is generally the brother of the King. The Kings of Siam were all pious Buddhists. King Rama Raja or Ram Khamhen, who came to the throne in 1283 A.D. is described as an ideal king. He was famous for his justice, and could be approached by all his subjects. He had a bell hung up, thus the story goes, which was to be rung by anybody who had any grievance, and as soon as the King heard the call, he had investigation made, and settled the case according to right. Similar stories of a bell of justice are related of various Kings. Kalhana tells of the Kashmirian King Harsha that he "hung up great bells in all four directions, to be informed by the sound of those who had come with the desire of making representations, and when he had once heard their plaintive speech, he fulfilled their desire as quickly as the cloud in the rainy season fulfils that of the Chataka bird" (*Rajatarangini* 7. 874). The *Mahavamsa* (21, 15 ff.) tells of King Elara of Ceylon who had a bell hung up near his bed which was to be rung by anyone who had been wronged, and which was once rung by a cow whose calf had been killed by the carriage of King's son, whereupon the king had his own son

killed by the wheels of the same carriage. The same story is told of the mythical Chola king Manu in the Tamil *Periyapurana* (see E. Hultsch in JRAS 1913, p. 529 ff.) The Jain Merutunga in his *Prabandhachintamani* tells similar story of king Govardhana. A German folk saga ascribes such a "bell of justice" to the Emperor Charlemagne.

Though Buddhism is the state religion of Siam and has been so for centuries, it is certain that it was preceded by Brahmanism, traces of which are left in Siam in the images of Siva, Visnu, Laksmi and Ganesa. Many festivals also betray their Brahmanic origin. Brahmins also occupy a prominent place in the royal Court of Siam. In appendix I an interesting description is given of an Indian swing (*andolana*) festival, from the pen of Phya Priya Nusasana of the Chulalongkorn University Library in Bangkok. Brahmin priests also play an important rôle in the coronation ceremonies of the kings of Siam. Appendix II contains a detailed description, from the pen of an eye-witness of these ceremonies as they took place at the coronation of the present king Prajadhupok on February 26, 1926.

Professor Bose's book is mainly a compilation from French sources, but it will be found useful and interesting both by the general reader, and by the scholars who cannot consult the French authorities.

SILPA-SASTRAM : Edited with introduction, notes and English translation by Prof. Phanindranath Bose (The Punjab Oriental Series No. 17) The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore 1928.

This is another very useful contribution to our knowledge of the *Silpasastra*, by the author of the *Principles of Indian Silpasastra*, to which attention has been drawn in M.R. June 1927, p. 699. The short treatise which is here published for the first time, is not exactly a *Silpasastra*, but a *vastusastra*. For it treats only of house-building, not of any other arts or crafts. In a chapter of his valuable introduction Prof. Bose discusses the meaning of the terms *silpa*, *vastu*, and *kala*. *Silpasastra* is the more general term including all fine arts, while *Vastusastra* is only the Science of architecture. Other scholars take *Silpasastra* to be part of *Vastusastra*. The fact is that these terms are interchangeable, because a complete *Vastusastra* treats not only of architecture, as the name implies, but includes also the construction of all articles of furniture, ornaments, and sculptures. (See P.K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, preface; and *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, preface, and pp. 543, 548, 594.) *Silpa* means "arts and crafts", while *Kala* means "fine arts." But as the latter includes not only music, singing, drawing, games etc., but also some arts and crafts, these terms also are interchangeable. The text which is here given with useful notes and an English translation, is restored from three MSS., hailing from Orissa. It is one of the books which are still studied and consulted by the *silpis* of Orissa. It is to be hoped that Prof. Bose will continue his researches in a field, in which there are not too many workers.

M. WINTERNITZ

COLLECTED GEOMETRICAL PAPERS of Syamadas Mukhopadhyaya, M. A.; Ph. D., Professor of Pure

Mathematics, Calcutta University. Part I. Price Rs. 4. Calcutta University Press.

Professor Syamadas Mukhopadhyaya, as a teacher of Mathematics and original researcher, holds a high and unique place in India. His new methods in geometry have been well received by European mathematicians. "They have opened a most important road to mathematical science," so says Professor J. Hadamard, with the concurrence of all his colleagues at the University of Paris. This is high praise indeed. Letters of congratulation on his work have come from distinguished mathematicians of Japan, America and specially Germany, where his latest papers are being published.

We warmly congratulate him and the Calcutta University on the publication of the first part of his *Collected Geometrical Papers*. The printing does credit to the staff of the Calcutta University Press.

This part contains seventeen papers, including notes, collected from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, certain mathematical publications of the Calcutta University, *Rendiconti di Circolo Matematico di Palermo* of Italy and the *Mathematische Zeitschrift* of Germany.

Six of the papers are connected more or less intimately with his new methods in Geometry, four are on Hyperbolic Geometry in which the names of two of his research students are associated, three on Osculating Conics and three are notes on the Fourth Dimension.

In all the papers, with the exception of four, purely geometrical methods have been employed. Problems which before his time were thought to be only approachable by the difficult methods of modern analysis have been attempted and solved by elementary geometry. The geometrical acumen of the author is of a rare order. His success, however, has come more from the new order of ideas with which he has revived old geometry than from the mere skilful handling of the old geometry itself.

Modern mathematicians generally eschew the old geometry of the Greeks as something dead and effete. Scientific thought moves in recurring cycles. First came Euclid and Apollonius, and there was undisputed sway of Pure Geometry for centuries. Then came Descartes and Leibnitz, and analysis began to prevail. Then came Poncelet and Chasles, and geometry had a modernized revival. Next came analysts like Cantor and Weierstrass, who introduced a degree of rigour in analysis which transcended that which was claimed by Greek geometry previously. Then came Peano and Hilbert, who rebuilt the foundations of geometry on surer basis. Now comes a class of men, like C. Juel of Copenhagen, who re-study the problems of analysis from the point of view of pure geometry and give them extensions beyond the limits of analysis. Professor Syamadas belongs to this class. His methods are more promising than those of C. Juel, although his work is as yet less extensive.

Every mathematical library of India should have a copy of the *Collected Geometrical Papers* of Professor Syamadas, of which the first part has been just published. The price is quite moderate for a mathematical publication. We shall eagerly

await the early publication of the next part, which is in the press.

Gurudas Bhar

WOMEN IN MODERN INDIA: Edited by Evelyn C. Gedge & Mithan Choksi, M. A. Foreword by Sarojini Naidu. Taraporevala, Bombay. Price Rs. 4. Pp. 161.

This is a very interesting and useful book, though the name is misleading. For it is concerned almost entirely with the women of the Bombay Presidency and to some extent with those of the Madras Presidency. The price is rather high for such a small book.

In a book dealing with the women of modern India, the account of the literary achievements of Indian women is devoted mostly to the work of women of past ages. This should not have been the case.

Mrs. Mithan Choksi, M. A., a Parsi lady, writes in her article on "Some Impressions of Indian Women's Colleges." "The best and the most thoughtful of the students were now critical of, if not distinctly antagonistic to, the wholesale adoption of things foreign. Most people, European and Indian, will agree that, even if often aggressive and intolerant, this was a much healthier frame of mind than in the days when, it is said, the fascination of Western civilization was so great that prominent Bengalis prided themselves on even dreaming in English instead of Bengali." This defect of some Anglicized Bengalis, even if true, ought not to have found place in an article by a person belonging to another province. Inter-provincial fault-finding, even of a mild description, is apt to be misconstrued and made a wrong use of by foreigners. And surely Anglicization is not a monopoly of some Bengalis. Moreover, of all persons the sarcasm comes with the least grace from a member of the Parsi community.

Dr. Hilda Lazarus exposes one of the lies and half-truths of Miss Mayo without mentioning her name in the following passage:

"The Victoria Caste and Gosha Hospital, Madras, which was founded by Dame Mary Scharlieb and was endowed by the Ruling Chiefs of the South had during the years 1921 to 1927, 9670 labour cases. Of these 8309 were normal and 1361 abnormal. This hospital is for high caste Hindu and Mahomedan women. The number of first-mothers (*primiparae*) among those confined was 2208, of whom 1865 were Hindus and 343 Mahomedan. Of these first-mothers there were only three Hindus who were 13 years old, 8 who were 14, while 1331 were between the ages of 18 and 25. There were 16 at 35, 3 at 38 and 2 at 40 years of age. Among the Mahomedan first-mothers, there were 2 at 14, 236 between 18 and 25, 6 at 35 and one at forty. The average age of a *primiparae* among the Hindus was 20.42 and among the Mahomedans 21.24. Although child-marriage still continues, especially among orthodox Brahmins, the consummation of marriage is not till after puberty. There is a gradual rise in the age of consummation owing to education, health exhibitions and social influences. Among the higher caste non-Brahmins, girls are not married before puberty and often not till they are 17 or 18. The steadily increasing number of

unmarried students—Brahmin and non-Brahmin in the women's colleges and secondary schools scattered throughout India, must necessarily raise the age of marriage and of motherhood."

INDIA: Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D., F. A. S. B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. Part II of Vol. CXLV of The Annals of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, September 1929, Page 9¼ inches by 6½ inches. Pp. 203.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science was organized on December 14, 1889, "to provide a national forum for the discussion of political and social questions. The Academy does not take sides upon controversial questions, but seeks to secure and present reliable information to assist the public in forming an intelligent and accurate opinion." It "publishes annually six issues of *The Annals* dealing with the most prominent current social and political problems." "The larger number of the papers published are solicited by the Academy;..."

Many distinguished public men and scholars are connected with the Academy. For instance, President Herbert Hoover of U. S. A. is one of its vice-presidents, Lord Balfour, Prof. Pigou, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, etc., are members of its general advisory committee.

The "India" Part of *The Annals* contains the following twenty-three papers:—

Constitutional development and Political Ideals by Lord Ronaldshay; The Indian Constitution by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru; The Army and Navy in India by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar; Emigration by Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikary; Local Self-Government in India by Hon. S. N. Mallik; The Internal States of India by Keralaputra; Communications—Railways by D. Y. Anderson; Indian Mercantile Marine by Seth Narottam Morarjee; The Agriculture of India by Dr. H. H. Mann; Famines and Standards of Living by V. N. Mehta; Industry and Commerce by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas; Money Reconstruction in India (1925-27) by Sir J. C. Coyajee; Public Finance in India by George Findlay Shirras; Unemployment in India by A. G. Clow; Primary and Secondary Education by E. F. Oaten; The Indian Universities by Sir P. J. Hartog; Technical and Vocational Education by A. T. Weston; Origin and Growth of Journalism among Indians by Ramananda Chatterjee; Origin and Growth of Journalism among Europeans by A. H. Watson; Hindu-Moslem Unity by Lord Lytton; Backward and Untouchable classes by Mahatma M. K. Gandhi; Caste System and its relation to Social and Economic Life by M. D. Attekar; Europeanization and the Ancient Culture of India by the late Lala Lajpat Rai.

The papers are serious discussions of the questions tackled and deserve attention. On the problems of public finance in India, unemployment in India, primary and secondary education, the Indian universities, technical and vocational education and Hindu-Moslem unity, it would have been better if the volume had included papers written from the Indian nationalist point of view, though the British view is undoubtedly worth knowing. Most of the papers are written by persons who have a right to speak on their subjects with authority. The editor, Prof. Bhandarkar,

deserves to be congratulated on his success in getting them to write for *The Annals*.

X

EVERYMAN'S DIARY; 1930—M. C. Sarkar & Sons., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Annas 12.

We have received a copy of Everyman's Diary published by Messrs M. C. Sarkar & Sons. This diary is of a very convenient size and contains a large amount of useful information. The paper, printing, and get-up are excellent.

GHOSE'S DIARIES: 1930—By J. N. Ghosh. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

• We have also received a set of Ghosh's diaries of various sizes: these neat productions are in keeping with Mr. Ghosh's reputation as a producer of excellent diaries. The paper, printing, get-up etc. besides the useful information contained in them provide a very high return for the prices. These are also published by Messrs M. C. Sarkar & Sons.

K. N. C.

MISCELLANY (A COLLECTION OF ARTICLES ON VARIOUS TOPICS). By Dharendra Kumar Mukherji M. A., B. L., M. C. Sarkar & Sons.

This book is a collection of miscellaneous essays contributed by the author to different periodicals. Their variety is a proof of the versatility of the writer and shows an intelligent interest in the questions of the day. There are also five essays which throw interesting light on the history of the Burdwan Raj and the town of Burdwan.

N.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS. VOL. I, PARTS I AND II. By D. B. Diskalkar, M. A. Price Rs 3. 1925.

The first part of Vol. I contains fifteen selected inscriptions from the 2nd Cent. to the 8th Cent. A. D. in their chronological order. The second part contains historical and literary notes and a complete translation into English. Important inscriptions from Dr. G. Buehler's essay on "Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial poetry" have also been appended to the end of this part. The object of editing these inscriptions is to demonstrate their literary and historical value. The volumes will certainly popularize Indian Epigraphy and will bring within an easy reach valuable epigraphical records of India. The two parts add to the number of epigraphic help books like *Prachinalekhamala* of the Kavyamala series, *Gaudalekhamala* of the Varendra Research Society and the newly published Bengal Inscriptions. The work will be useful to those who would care to study the evolution of Kavya literature as well as the history of some of the ancient dynasties. The author has not only edited the texts with some corrections here and there, but also has added references to previous publications. The critical notes and translations are also useful. Epigraphical

records not being easily available to the general reader, the present publication, we are sure, will be of immense service to all the departments of Indian research. The characters used in this book are Devanagari and will be easily understood by the Indian students. The book will no doubt be welcomed, as it will help to stimulate the readers' interest in the historical records of India. We are, however, sorry to remark that most of the historical notes are but repetitions of opinions which are in many cases far from being up-to-date. They do not show original research.

SADHANAMALA. Vol. II. By Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M. A. Ph. D. 1928. Oriental Institute. Baroda. Price Rs. 9.

Sadhanamala is the flower of Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The work is adequately described by its title. We welcome the newly published volume. The introduction to this volume is a pretty big one consisting of 177 pages. It is a closely reasoned, conscientiously elaborated argument, based on data which are numerous and carefully sifted. The work is one for which the editor deserves much credit. The *Sadhanamala* throws a flood of light on the condition of India and Indians of the Tantric age. In editing the text for the first time Dr. Bhattacharyya has completed, with success, a task that would have weighed heavily on any oriental scholar. He has detailed the four *Pithas* of the Vajrayanists and identified each of them. We are glad to say that he has been able to discern with pretty certainty the chronology of the succession list of the Vajrayanist Gurus. The leading tenets of Vajrayana consisting of the conception of Gurn, regulations for worshippers, *mantras*, *bodhicitta*, *ahamkara* and *adaya* have been very aptly and clearly explained. The chronology of the forty-seven authors of the *Sadhanas* with all available details has been discussed in the introduction. The significance and appearance of the Vajrayana deities who are all manifestations of *Sunya* have been treated at length. He has explained Buddhist worship and has tried to indicate to a certain extent the line of demarcation between the Hindu gods and Buddhist gods. In fact, the editor has opened new path in the study of Buddhist Tantric iconography, while identifying the eighteen Tantric deities he has definitely shown how *Sadhanas* and images mutually go a great way in explaining each other. Having examined the identifications our impression is that Dr. Bhattacharyya has taken great pains to establish the claims of his text, so nicely edited, and, considering the obstacles with which he was faced, we may safely assert that he has done his work admirably well. The nineteen beautiful plates and a correct index enhance the usefulness of the work. We strongly recommend the work to those for whom it is intended.

Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan

GUJARATI

FUTURE IN TRADE: By Hiralal Vardhman Shah. Printed at the Dharm Vijay Printing Press, Limbdi. Thick cardboard, pp. 156. Price Rs. 5. (1928).

This book feeds the passion of those who are speculators in various commodities in trade, such

as cotton, yarn, silver, gold, wheat, seeds, rice, opium &c. It is based on astrological calculations, and as the speculator's mentality is such that it would grab at anything in the shape of a hint or prognostication to serve his turn, the book even though priced so high, is sure to sell well.

We have received a small book containing a very amusing small poem on the Fair at Chasthi in Burma.

VAGAR DOKADA NO VAID: *By Ravishankar Ganeshji Anjaria. Printed at the Lady Northcott Hindu Orphanage Printing Press, Baly. Cloth cover. Pp. 379. Price Rs. 2. (1928)*

The title of the book means "A Doctor without Fees", and it aptly describes its contents. If it is properly studied, it is sure to make good the claims it makes, as so much information about our body, its ailments and remedies is given in it, that a layman can easily pick up suggestions suitable to his cure and act accordingly. The writer is an admirer of the fasting cure.

BEHIND THE CURTAIN: *By Yeshwanji Savariar Pandya. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 160. Price Re. 0-10-0. (1928).*

This book presents the eternal modern problem of marriage, an advanced college-attending youth and a girl far behind him, according to his lights in catching up his ideals. The writer has presented the problem in a pleasing way.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

1. MAN AND THE UNIVERSE by Hans Driesch (Allen & Unwin)
2. INDIAN ADMINISTRATION by M. R. Palande (Oxford University Press)
3. THE CASE FOR INDIA by John S. Hoyland (Dent)
4. THE LITTLE ENTENTE by Robert Machray (Allen Unwin)
5. GLIMPSES OF LIGHT by Swami Dhirananda
6. PLEASURES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PEN by N. C. Kelkar
7. GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE by T. K. Shaha
8. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH by Sachin Sen M. A., B. L.
9. SHAKTI AND SHAKTA by Sir John Woodroffe (Ganesh & Co.)
10. MAHAMAYA by Sir John Woodroffe and P. N. Mukhopadhyaya (Ganesh & Co)
11. THE BENGAL LAND REGISTRATION ACT VII OF 1876 by Aswini Kumar Ghosh M.A., B.L.
12. SWARAJ CULTURAL AND POLITICAL by P. N. Bose (Newman)
13. MIRROR OF INDIAN ART by G. Venkatachalam
14. PRACTICE OF YOGA by Swami Sivananda (Ganesh & Co.)
15. CRICKET AND HOW TO PLAY IT by E. H. D. Sewell (The Times of India Press).

On Taking Oath of Loyalty

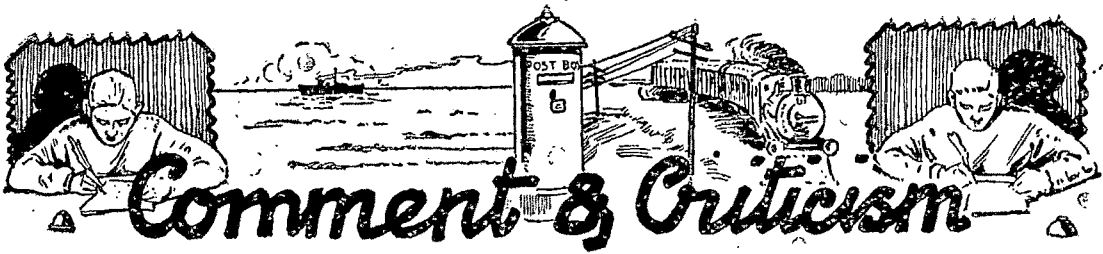
A Letter Written to Charles Andrews

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

YOU were perfectly right in not pressing the girls to take their oath of loyalty. The idea of administering or taking oath is repugnant to me. It is barbarous—very similar to the medicine man's prescription of magical formula. Truth carries its own solemn value,—to try to add to its weight by some silly incantation added to it is impious. Oath has its only meaning when it is for imposing some ideal which may not have a full claim of truth and yet, for prudence' sake, may be considered to be safe, or necessary, or respectable. In such a case, invoking God's name for maintaining something whose truth is doubtful is profanation. I hope you do not allow our Boy Scouts to take oath placing them in a grave risk of breaking it. I should like to put the question to those who administer to other people the oath to be loyal to God, "Have you yourself been always loyal to God? Do you fully realize what that loyalty means?" They have the liberty to preach it to all men and try their best to follow it in their own life,

but they have no right to bind other people to an oath whose significance is enormously vast and which they break themselves, consciously or unconsciously, almost every day with a light heart and a smile on their countenance. It only shows on their part a want of reverence to God to be ready to utilize His name for some purpose which they evidently hold more precious than their allegiance to God. This is why it so often happens that when they break God's own law in order to serve their King or their country they are not only not taken to task but most often praised, whilst, when to be true to your God, you are ready to ignore your King or your country these very oath-bearers put you to gaol. I can never encourage an importation of such a system of blasphemous hypocrisy into our country for the sake of any benefit that may come to us from any source whatever.

Santiniketan:
October, 1923.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

The Problem of India's Poverty—its Solution

Dr. Rajanikanta Das has contributed a valuable article on the problem of India's poverty in the *Modern Review* for October, 1929. The problem is a hackneyed one, but Dr. Das's handling of it has been undoubtedly interesting.

Dr. Das, after surveying the whole situation, has concluded that "the wastage of natural and human resources on the one hand and the primitiveness of agriculture and the backwardness of modern industrialism" are the causes of India's extreme poverty and has suggested "increasing the productive power or industrial efficiency of the people" as the panacea. Let us take the wastage of human material. This complaint is mainly based on the fact that for "for more than eight months in the year" the Indian cultivator or artisan sits idle. It is however doubtful whether any artisan closes down his workshop for eight months in the year. As regards the cultivator, his idleness has become almost proverbial, particularly since the *Charkha* agitation; but some allowance should certainly be made for rest and for ill health, especially in the malarial tracts of the country. Dr. Das however does not suggest how the cultivator can usefully spend his off time. So far as wastage of natural resources is concerned, that might be prevented by building up appropriate industries and by bringing all culturable waste land under cultivation. It is true that the extent of such culturable waste land is enormous; but in pressing the case we should not forget that for want of adequate grazing ground the plight of our cattle has become wretched beyond description, and that in any economic scheme provision should be made not only for feeding men but also for feeding cattle. But perhaps Dr. Das would eliminate plough and draught cattle as far as possible by introducing the tractor and the truck. But there is a danger in pursuing that policy too far. In the first place, that would lead to further "drain", as India manufactures neither trucks nor tractors. In the second place, the introduction of labour saving machinery will inevitably throw out of employment a large number of men now engaged in old-time ploughing and in driving carts. Motor buses and trucks, not to speak of railways and steam-launches, have already invaded the remote villages in some parts and have deprived many boatmen, and cart-drivers, and indirectly carpenters, of their livelihood throwing them back on the over-crowded land. Dr. Das knows that Indian industries are not sufficiently

developed to be able to absorb all those whom agriculture cannot maintain and to pursue a policy that would inevitably add to the number of these vagrants would be certainly disastrous. In an industrially undeveloped country like India, that indeed is one of the drawbacks of intensive and scientific farming which Dr. Das advocates.

It will thus be seen that the human wastage in agriculture is inevitable in the absence of a subsidiary occupation for the cultivator; and that the utilization of the land resources in intensive agriculture may increase production but will hardly solve the poverty problem. It may enrich a few persons who can invest their capital in acquiring land and purchasing machinery, but it will certainly drive away a large proportion of the twenty and odd millions of field and farm labourers from the fields, for whom room cannot yet be found in mills and factories. Something may be achieved by improving seeds, applying manure and by crop rotation but all this requires cash and intelligence which the ordinary cultivator does not possess in abundance. Co-operative efforts in the direction of marketing and sale may eliminate the middleman but will not increase production.

The only way of increasing the production of agriculture on a large scale is by both intensive and extensive cultivation; but we have seen the danger of that process and have serious doubt whether that alone would solve the problem of the poverty of the masses. Then comes the question of building up manufacturing industries. That requires capital outlay in buildings and machinery (further "drain"), raw materials and labour. Assuming that India has enough of all that, she shall still have to protect her nascent industries by tariff walls, which means additional burden to India's poor millions. The crisis through which the Bombay textile industry is passing before our eyes ought to be an object lesson to us. But let us hope that we will succeed in building up mills and factories. Will that solve the poverty problem? We will not raise the question of the moral aspect of industrial life—we will not talk of the drink and drug evil, of the degradation of the workers, of the unspeakable filth and misery of the slums. We are concerned only with the poverty problem. What will be the effect of the establishment of big industries? Large scale production, enormous quantities of goods, to meet not the requirements of the Indian masses but the demands of the world market. A handful of capitalists and financiers will batten on the sweating labour of

thousands of helpless workers,—men, women and children. This profiteering tendency is inseparable from capitalistic enterprise. The sum total of production will undoubtedly increase. India's export trade may show a large favourable balance. But the masses will sweat and starve as before. Increased production may mean increase of the national dividend but the "national" dividend will go into the pockets of half a dozen financial bosses. Besides there is bound to be wastage of human material during industrial crises. England is a highly industrialized country where production may be said to have reached the highest limits, where there is no wastage of natural resources, yet millions of her unemployed live year in and year out on government doles. Here we find high productivity side by side with poverty and wastage of human resources. It is more or less true of all highly industrialized countries.

The truth is that although increased production means increase in the sum total of a nation's wealth, it may not mean the prosperity of the people. Increased production is undoubtedly necessary but the problem of poverty is the problem of the primary necessities of life. To solve the problem, therefore, production, whether agricultural or industrial, should first of all be directed, not towards profit, but towards the supply of the national requirements of life's necessities. As Bernard Shaw has put it, "the only way in which a nation can make itself wealthy and prosperous is by good housekeeping; that is, by providing for its wants in the order of their importance, and allowing no money to be wasted on whims and luxuries until necessities have been thoroughly served." Not only that. The produce should be evenly distributed among all men. Then (to quote Shaw again), "there would be less ostentation, less idleness, less wastefulness, less uselessness; but there would be more food, more clothing, better houses, more security, more health, more virtue; in a word, more real prosperity."

But you cannot force or persuade the individual farmer to grow paddy in preference to jute, if jute is in great demand in Dundee. You cannot force or persuade the individual mill-owner to produce only such kind of cloth as the country needs in preference to other more profitable lines. Still less can you force or persuade the farmer or the mill-owner to subscribe his surplus profits to the national fund for distribution. You cannot do that so long as land and capital are individually or privately owned. Dr. Das's panacea of increased productivity will not cure unless there is "good housekeeping." That is to say, you cannot really solve the poverty problem unless and until you can establish collective or state ownership of land and capital. That, I suppose, brings us to Socialism.

— GANAPATI PILLAY —

"The Arab Revolt and the Massacre of the Jews in Palestine"

Dr. Taraknath Das's article "The Arab Revolt and the Massacre of the Jews in Palestine," published in your magazine for November is very disappointing. It unmistakably lays the whole blame on the Arabs and characterizes them as religious fanatics and murderers.

The learned doctor should have known that the

Arabs were there in Palestine for hundreds of years by the might of their arms, and the Jews were allowed to found a homeland there by the intervention only of a third party. The Arabs tolerated so far, but when these very kind and gentlemen Jews, puffed up by their new rights and also the huge sums flowing to them from all parts of the world, began to elbow them out from every walk of life with the ultimate object of ousting them altogether, the sensitiveness of our Arab brothers was pricked a little, and they could not digest the attitude of the Jews. This is the crux of the matter, and the Wailing Wall affair was only a spark.

Things were going on in this fashion under the benevolent Zionist movement till the Arab blood warmed up a little and with what results we know.

What a relief it is to read the notes and comments on the same subject published elsewhere in your magazine.

GOLAM MURTAZA

Muslims and the "Gita"

Dear Sir,

Your comments on F. K. Khan Durrani's book "The Bhagavad Gita, A Criticism" published on page 597 of the *Modern Review* for November 1929, may create an impression that the opinions expressed in that book are shared by all the Mussalmans. I write to say that the author of this book has by indulging in the criticism of the sort noticed by you done distinct disservice to the cause which he seeks to serve. May I tell you that Gita is not unknown to Mussalmans. It was rendered into chaste Persian verse by the celebrated Faizi of the court of Akbar. This translation is of excellent literary merit and distinction, and forms a part of the course of studies wherever old type *maktabs* have survived in this country. It is perused with interest and is held in esteem not merely because of the merits of its language, or of the glamour of the personality of its translator but also for the worth of the ideas preached in it. The doctrine of the oneness of God and some other attributes of Godhead so well and so forcibly defined in it, and its philosophy of action, among other things, are nearest to what Islam has taught about God and this world. I have heard my father and grandfather reciting parts of it with relish, and I have seen several *maulvis* in mosques reading Faizi's translation with reverent attention. This is significant, and shows that if any Hindu scriptures which teach about God similar to what a Mussalman has learnt about Him from the Quran, are brought to him he will receive them with attention and reverence. I believe that the same method should be adopted by the Mussalmans, while approaching the Hindus if they desire that the Hindus should pay them any attention. The Tabligh Literature Society of Lahore has to learn the lesson which the Christian missionaries have now learnt that sympathy and not criticism provide the key to the heart of the people.

Krishna, the Lord of Gita for having preached oneness of God, is regarded by several sections of Mussalmans as one of the numerous prophets which the Quran says have been sent by God to various peoples for their guidance. I wonder if many Hindus know this.

I remain, Yours faithfully,
AHMAD SHAFI



The Zeppelin Grows Up

The new airships R 100 and R 101, and the flying exploits of the *Graf Zeppelin*, which has completed the first airship voyage around the world, form the latest chapter in the story of the rigid airship's development—the story of the Zeppelins and of Count Zeppelin, their builder.

On a July evening in 1900—three years before the aeroplane had been invented—a 420-foot airship shaped like a huge lead pencil was towed by a group of men out of its floating hangar on Lake Constance, on the German-Swiss border. At the ends of restraining ropes it ascended to a height of seventy-five feet. Then the ropes were cut and two sixteen-horsepower motors on the airship started. This ship, the *LZ-1* (LZ is an abbreviation

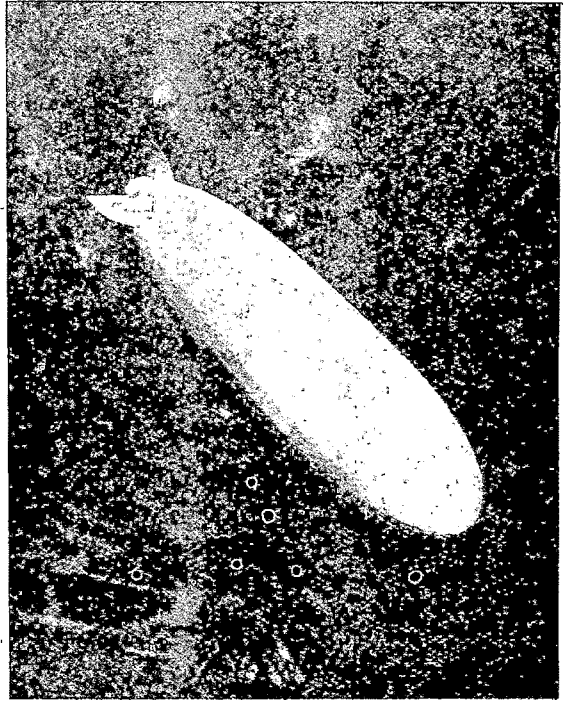
had put the steering apparatus out of commission. But those on the ground did not know it. Aboard the cranky craft its inventor, Count Zeppelin, managed to land it safely with its four other passengers.

Thus was fulfilled, if in somewhat erratic fashion, the inventor's dream of many years. The adventurous Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin, born in 1838 on the German shores of Lake Constance,



The *Graf Zeppelin* just before starting her round-the-world cruise, moored alongside the *Los Angeles* (in foreground) in the Navy hangar at Lakehurst, N. J. Both are products of Count Zeppelin's genius

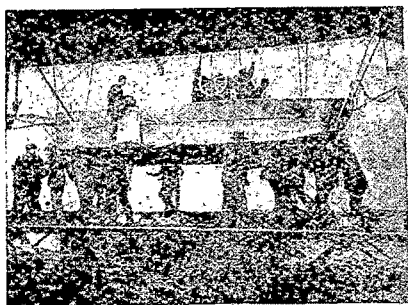
of Luftschiff Zeppelin—German for Zeppelin Airship) was the first Zeppelin. First it nosed down a little. Then the propellers took hold and it sailed gracefully upward. A few moments later it began to behave strangely. First it would advance a few hundred feet. Then, for no apparent reason, it would reverse and back up an equal distance. Failure of a sliding weight that balanced the craft



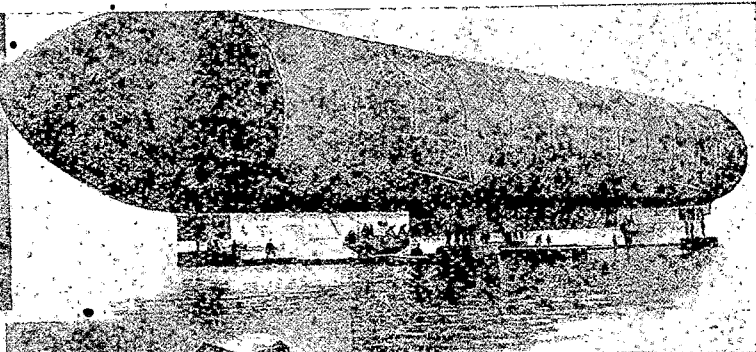
The *Graf Zeppelin*, sailing over New York City's skyscrapers after arrival from Germany on her first transatlantic flight. Photographed from an aeroplane

long had held the vision of great airships for commercial and military operations. It was in America that his idea took definite form.

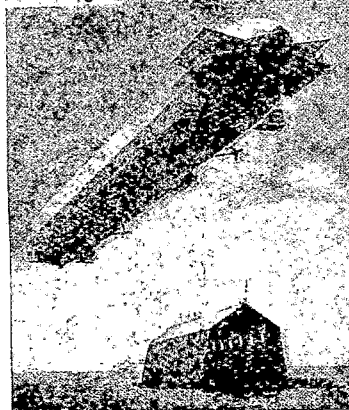
Perhaps no single machine of modern science has demanded of an inventor more optimism and faith than the rigid airship. In a branch of engineering that requires some of the most intricate of all mathematical calculations, Count von Zeppelin had no precedent to go by. The wonder is that



An old photo showing Count Zeppelin ringing a ship's bell to signal his men during ground manoeuvring of his *LZ-4* in 1908. Note the odd construction of the early Zeppelin's car.



The *LZ-2*, Count Zeppelin's second airship, on its floating platform in 1906. It was 420 feet long



One of the early Zeppelins rising from Lake Constance. Below it are the floating hanger in which it was built, and launching platform



Crowds watching a flight of the *LZ-4* in June, 1909

he produced a ship that would fly at all. And it is not surprising that the King of Wurttemberg, to whom Zeppelin appealed for aid to build his first machine in 1887, failed to proffer assistance.

With no experimental data, nothing but his own imagination to draw upon, Zeppelin perfected his plans.

To develop these plans Zeppelin, by that time an army-general, resigned his military post. He enlisted the aid of an engineer named Kober and added the finishing touches to the main prin-

ciples he had already laid down. In 1894 Zeppelin submitted the plans to a special committee of leading German scientists. The group failed to recommend the building of the airship—though it could find no flaw in the specifications.

Now a man passing middle age, fighting to make his invention come true, Count Zeppelin at sixty succeeded in obtaining support to build his first ship.

In the years that followed, before the war, six of his dirigibles, put in commercial service,

carried 37,200 passengers safely on 1,600 flights, covering 90,000 miles and remaining aloft a total of 3,200 hours.

Count Zeppelin died in May, 1917, at seventy-eight, still dreaming of peace-time Zeppelins for world-wide transportation. Had he lived a little longer he would have seen a definite sign of the airship's future role in long distance travel. British troops were besieging German colonials in German East Africa. The Zeppelin *L-59* was sent to carry ammunition and medicine to the beleaguered defenders. Picking up nine tons of machine gun ammunition at Jambol, in southern Bulgaria, it set sail for Africa.

Just as the ship was crossing the Sahara desert the German Intelligence Office intercepted a British radiogram that the Germans had surrendered. The *L-59* had just passed through a storm and had taken in her wireless antenna. It was not until she was west of Khartoum that she listened

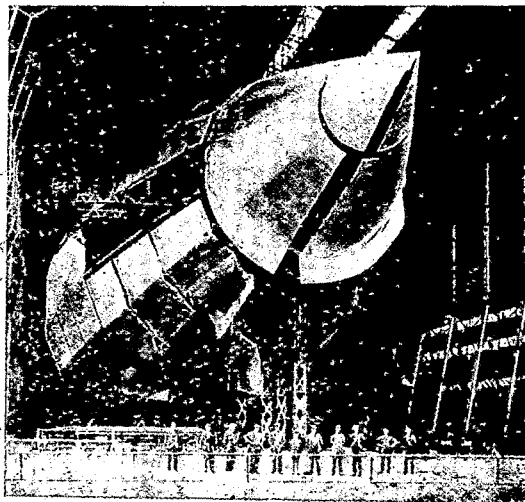


The late Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin, Creator of dirigibles. During America's Civil War he served as a balloon corps officer in the Union Army

in and picked up Headquarters' frantic message not to land. The *L-59* turned without stopping and, flying high over Asia Minor and the Black Sea, reached Jambol after having travelled, in four days, 4,225 miles non-stop. It was a world's record for any kind of aircraft, and at that the *L-59* had enough fuel left in her tanks for two or three days more in the air.

What is the Zeppelin's future? A hint is to be found in the great new rigid airships under construction here and abroad. The British *R-100* and *R-101* are intended primarily for fast mail and passenger service to such distant lands as Argentina, Australia, Canada, Egypt, Norway, India and Spain, where mooring masts and hangars are being built for them. They use hydrogen lifting gas, of which each carries 5,000,000 cubic feet.

The two giant dirigibles for the United States



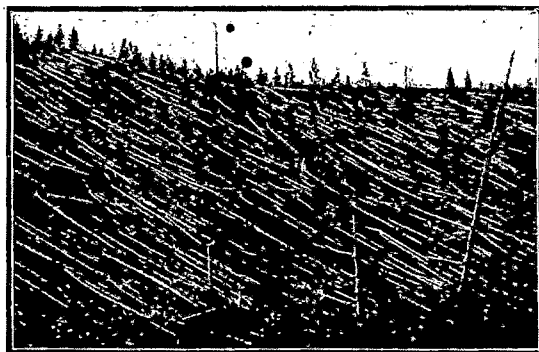
Rear of the huge new British dirigible *R. 100* in its hanger

Navy will incorporate perhaps more radical improvements than any of their predecessors. Each will have three backbones, triangular keels running from one end to the other in the upper half of the envelope. They will be so strong, with bracing rings spaced along the ship's length, that they will require no wires for further rigidity—a construction that permits all parts of the ship to be inspected during flight. Inside the keels will be long corridors, promenade decks, and sleeping quarters.

(Popular Science)

What a Meteor did to Siberia

In the early morning of July 30, 1908, forty thousand tons of iron shot down out of the sky



FELLED BY THE METEOR'S BREATH
Photograph by Prof. Leonide Kulik, head of the Russian Academy of Science, showing how the air compressed in front of the meteorite rushed out, stripping limbs from trees, tearing them up by the roots and spreading them flat on the ground. A few scrubby second-growth trees have since sprung up.

and struck the earth a blow which was felt a thousand miles away. This great meteorite fortunately fell in the wilderness of Siberia. If it had landed in New-York City it would have crumpled every sky-scraper, and not one human being or animal would have survived. Russian peasants five hundred miles away saw the flash in the sky and heard the celestial visitor explode and crash in the earth. Since that time Russian scientists have been searching for the meteor, and an expedition led by Prof. Leonide A. Kulik, of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Prof. Victor Sitin, of the Siberian Archeological Society, has at last located it.

Professor Kulik became interested in the supposed meteorite several years ago. In 1927 a preliminary expedition located what seemed to be the proper site, but the expedition had to return promptly as food and supplies were low and it was necessary to get out ahead of the terrible Siberian winter.

Last summer Professor Kulik made another search, accompanied by Professor Sitin and other scientific assistants. This second expedition, just returned to Moscow, brings the first eye-witness accounts of the scars left by this great cosmic encounter, also the first samples and photographs to prove earlier statements below the truth rather than exaggerated.

Over an area of three or four square miles, at the precise spot where the swarm of meteors

Marching for nearly thirty miles through ever-increasing signs of desolation the expedition came at last to the indubitable spot where the great group of meteors struck.

This spot resembles, as Professor Kulik and Professor Sitin describe it, what might be seen if an instantaneous cold wave froze solid the ripples created by a stone dropped into a giant lake. The mass of the meteors must have equalled, the Russian scientists estimate, at least 40,000 tons. Probably its two hundred or more separate projectiles were moving at speeds of 1,500 or 2,000 miles an hour.

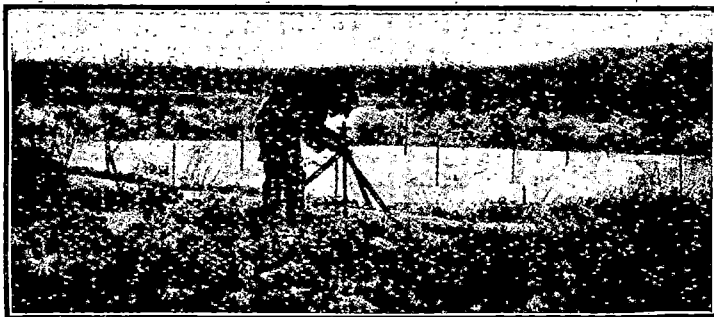
So enormous was the impact that the solid ground heaved outward from the spot in giant ridges, like waves in water. This circular ridges can will be seen, the scientists report surrounding the central crater that the shell-holes left and where single fragments entered the ground. The whole picture is not unlike a giant duplicate of what happens when a brick from a tall chimney-top falls into a puddle of mud. Solid ground actually must have splashed outward in every direction.

Still further devastation was wrought however, outside this central area of shell-holes and waves pushed up in the solid ground. For a distance of from ten to fifteen miles around this central spot the scientists found the countryside scorched and charred as though by a gigantic blow-torch, which is just what probably happened to it. Before it actually hit the ground, the great swarm of meteors must have traversed two hundred or three hundred miles of the earth's air. Pushed ahead of it was doubtless a giant bubble of superheated atmosphere, hotter than the blast of any earthly furnace and under the enormous pressure produced by the meteor's flight. That white-hot air blast was probably responsible for the burnt spot which surrounds the place where the meteorite lies.

Each of the falling meteoric fragments must have worked, the Russian scientists imagine, like a gigantic piston. Air compressed beneath them had to escape. So violently did this air rush outward that almost every tree within a radius of twenty five or thirty

miles was blown over like a toothpick in a hurricane. Perhaps never before or since in human history, has the world witnessed any wind-storm approaching in violence the hot blast which laid low those millions of Siberian trees.

Some small samples of the meteoric material were found, and have been brought to Moscow, where they will be examined by specialists in the Russian laboratories. These samples indicate, it is reported that the meteorites were of the rarer and more valuable iron variety, rather than stony ones.



THIS SPOT WAS AN INFERNO ON JULY 30, 1908

Professor Kulik taking a photograph and measurements at the edge of the main crater, where the largest mass of this celestial visitor buried itself in the earth. Pits like this cover three or four square miles

hit, the ground is pitted and torn. Professor Kulik and Professor Sitin report, as though by long bombardment by the world's heaviest artillery. Pits and ridges and shell-holes alternate as in the most ravaged of European battle-fields.

Leaving the Trans-Siberian Railway at the pioneer town of Taishet, 3,500 miles from Moscow, the expedition first made its way through 300 miles of unmapped jungle, underbrush and peat bogs. At that distance stands the last rude outpost of civilization, a tiny village of bearded Russian peasants. Beyond this the path lay through two hundred more miles of absolute wilderness. Suddenly the expedition came upon signs of the twenty-year-old catastrophe. Trees lay flat and charred on the ground. Scattered here and there were scorched or whitened skeletons of deer.



MRS. URMILA SIMHA—More than thirty years ago the late Gurudayal Simha of Comilla (in Bengal) founded a weekly paper the *Tripura Hitaishi* and a press with the name of the Simha Press. The paper is still existing and is being competently edited by Mrs. Urmila Simha, the daughter-in-law of Mr. Simha, who after the death of her father-in-law and her husband took charge of the paper and the press. There are few ladies in Bengal who are active in the field of journalism. But this is a field to which they can and ought to devote their attention.



Mrs. Urmila Simha

The example of Mrs. Simha will surely draw the attention of many to this neglected sphere of activity for women of India.

MISS SUPRABHA RAY—Miss Ray passed her matriculation examination from the Bidyamayi

Girls' school, Mymensingh and took her degrees of B. A. and B. T. from the Diocesan College, Calcutta. She had a distinguished academic career, and after passing the B. T. examination she went out to England with a Government scholarship to study education. She has obtained the diploma for education of the University of London and has recently returned to India.



Miss Suprabha Ray

SRIMATI RAJABALA DEVI—Rajabala Devi is editing the *Tarun-Sakti* of Purulia and is the head of an *Asram* and a "Workers' Association"



Srimati Rajabala Devi

in the village of Ramchandrapur in the Manbhum district of Bihar and Orissa. Some

months ago the founder of this *Asram* was sentenced to imprisonment for political offence. He left his *Asram* in charge of Rajabala Devi. Since that time she is conducting the village girls and night school, editing *The Tarun-sakti* and managing all the affairs of the *Asram*. Her difficulties in these manifold public activities are very great. In the first place the villagers who are afraid of persecution at the hands of the police actually hinder her work rather than help her in it. And her pecuniary difficulties are also very great. A generous gentleman has come forward with the offer of defraying all the expenses of the paper, and it is with his help that it is being run. But all the other expenses including those for her own livelihood has to be provided for by Rajabala Devi herself by needlework and teaching. Her courage and her public spirit deserve the highest admiration and form a fine example of self-sacrifice.

Tea Garden Labourers In Assam

BY JATINDRANATH SARKAR, M. A.

THE Royal Commission on Indian Labour appointed by the Government of India to inquire into labour conditions in India have already arrived in India and commenced their investigations in right earnest. Long before their arrival in this country insidious attempts were being made in certain quarters to prove that the statement that labour conditions in India are appalling was exaggerated and that the Indian labourers were a contented lot. Their happiness and contentment may be gauged from the acute and intense industrial unrest that has prevailed in this country during the last two years. The recent strike of textile workers in Bombay, jute workers in Bengal, tinplate workers at Jamshedpur and dock workers at Karachi, and the privations they have been and are being subjected to in various ways eloquently demonstrate how our workers are living in perfect peace and contentment.

One Miss Matheson, a member of the League of Nations Economic Section, has

just concluded a "two years' " examination of labour and economic conditions in India at the request of the United Christian Councils of India. Her report, which is confidential at the moment, has been despatched to this country. She has, however, been recently speaking at a conference of the London Missionary Society, where she denied the frequent allegations of "interested" parties to the effect that factory and working conditions in India were "awful and appalling." On the contrary, she declared that, although there was room for improvement in some matters, in other respects conditions were better than in many places in Great Britain. She added that the Indian did not always desire more money and if given higher wages would only work less. Her opinion of the Indian worker is that on an average it requires three Indians to do the work of an English factory girl. *The Statesman*, whose sympathy for everything Indian is well known, considers Miss Matheson's

statement to be "a valuable piece of evidence for the Whitley Commission." This is how propaganda is being launched against Indian workers and this is how their interests are being sought to be undermined.

Nor is this all. Mr. W. L. Travers, C. I. E., M. L. C., President of the European Association, Calcutta, has written an article in the August issue of the *Review of India*, (organ of the European Association) under the caption, "India's Labour Problem: the Truth about the Tea Gardens." The article, as Mr. Travers says, "is written from the viewpoint of a practical planter of the Dooars and with the object of giving those who have to earn their living in the heat of the cities or in the jarring clatter of India's mills some idea of the labour conditions of a great agricultural industry." With reference to the system of recruiting coolies for the tea gardens, Mr. Travers writes :

"Our labourer not only lives and has his being upon a large estate belonging to the employer but he is conveyed and brought to that estate in the first place from his home district at no cost to himself at all. For this important side of recruiting the tea industry maintains a large and widely extended organization. There is an agent whose special job it is in every district where there is a surplus population to recruit those willing to work, even though it be for only a year. The system is called 'Sirdaree recruiting' and it is entirely upon a voluntary basis'.

And at another place he observes :

"But though the recruiting method in force is unpopular the tea industry desires a measure of supervision of recruiting. To prevent abuses—to prevent enticement, it wishes to have simple, clear regulations by which it can itself supervise in co-operation and consultation with the Governments concerned, for it knows full well that clean recruiting is a great asset."

So, according to the writer, the system of recruiting was entirely upon a voluntary basis. He could not, however, deny that it was "unpopular" and that there were "abuses" and "enticement" in the methods adopted by the recruiting agents. But how are these abuses to be remedied? Well, Mr. Travers suggests the formation of a Recruiting Board "consisting of representatives of each Government concerned and nominees of the industry." He continues,

"But what the industry does not desire is the inclusion on such a Board of politicians or outsiders who, knowing nothing of the industry, would inevitably interfere in what is entirely a voluntary movement of free labour, too poor to pay for transport to a distant field of work."

So, what this champion of Assam planters

wants is a Recruiting Board comprising Government representatives and nominees of the tea industry. One does not wonder that Mr. Travers could not have the fairness to suggest the inclusion of labour representatives in a Board the primary duty of which is to look after the proper method of recruiting of labourers for the tea gardens. This is how foreign capitalists manipulate things in this country. Then Mr. Travers goes on to describe the life of the labourer in a tea garden. His remarks in this connection will be read with interest. He says :

"Thus our new labourer begins the tea garden's life fair and square, with no debt, unless indeed he has applied to the agent and been given money in his country either to pay a *Mahajan* or to leave for the benefit of his people. A labourer can if he wills—and may do—send money to his parents almost immediately. Lakhs of rupees are sent from the tea districts to Chota Nagpur and other recruiting centres every year...The labourer and his wife—like anyone else—he is not much good without her—are generally happy and contented persons, for their earnings are ample for their needs. If thrifty, they are soon able to buy jewellery and after a time enough can be saved for the purchase of land. Many thousands have settled as ryots in Assam and in the Dooars, for they like to stay near a garden so that their children can work there. And the children literally swarm...Moreover, if he wants money for any need, such as the purchase of a cow, for a marriage or a poojah, it is advanced to him free of interest, to be recovered gradually. This is the *Ma-Bap* system, where the Manager knows and cares for his people, attends to their well-being and tries his best to keep them happy and contented. Though it is obviously to his own advantage to do so, there is much more in it than self-interest. Living for years as he does, amongst a kind and simple people, the normal British Manager or assistant becomes very fond of them and finds himself advising and assisting with their marriages and in a thousand and one of their family affairs. There is a real affection between the labourer and the Sahib and they naturally turn to him for advice and help."

After reading the above excerpt, one will naturally form the conclusion that the tea gardens in Assam are a veritable paradise on earth for about five lakhs of labourers, who, according to Mr. Travers, lead "happy and contented" lives under the affectionate care of the planters. Is the roseate picture Mr. Travers has drawn true to life? Are the statements he has made about labour conditions in the tea gardens based entirely on facts? We do not mean that all the remarks of the writer are incorrect but what we do mean is that he has not cared to look at the other side of the picture. The life of a tea garden coolie is not all happiness, he has his miseries and privations as well

and to this aspect of his life Mr. Travers is totally blind. The over-zeal manifested in this connection by the *Statesman* is curious in the extreme. It characterizes Mr. Travers' article as "not only interesting but faithful to the facts" and goes to the length of suggesting that Mr. Travers' article "ought to be reprinted and widely circulated as an antidote to the poisonous lies which have recently been uttered about tea garden conditions." One might naturally ask if it is a propaganda carried on behalf of the Assam Planters against the Indian labourers of the tea gardens and if it is an attempt to prepare the ground from beforehand for the Whitley Commission.

The question is—are things really what Mr. Travers describes them to be? We will presently see how Mr. Travers has grossly misrepresented facts. Let us have a glimpse into past history. About half a century ago, that is in 1881, the Inland Emigration Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. It attracted at once the attention of the British Indian Association and its Secretary and leading spirit, the late Kristodas Pal. Several representations in succession, criticizing clause by clause, the various clauses of the Bill were submitted by the Secretary of the Association to the Government of India. The old files of the *Hindu Patriot* record the history of the agitation thus inaugurated as well as the passionate remonstrance of Kristodas Pal with the Government of Lord Ripon on behalf of the helpless, friendless, and voiceless Assam coolie. Kristodas Pal, who did not hesitate to call a spade a spade, bluntly characterized it as "a slave law in disguise." But the Bill was passed into law in spite of public protest. Thus wrote Kristodas Pal in the *Hindu Patriot* of January 9, 1882:

"The Council has passed the Bill. It remains to be seen what verdict the British public will pass upon it. We have fought for the mute, the ignorant, the helpless, and we will consider ourselves amply repaid if our voice reaches the shores of England. Throughout this struggle we were quite aware that we were carrying on an unequal contest. On the one hand, there were arrayed the whole European community, both official and non-official, having more or less direct interest in tea, and on the other were poor coolies who were speechless and whose cause was espoused from a pure sense of duty and humanity by such weak champions as our humble selves. We may be ridiculed, abused, aye, threatened, but we will not leave the path of duty or sacrifice the cause of humanity for any earthly consideration whatever."

Lord Ripon himself was a little perturbed

by the fearless plain-speaking of the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot* and His Excellency so expressed himself in the Council Chamber. In the same issue Kristodas Pal wrote:

"Of course, it is our misfortune to differ from His Lordship in the matter of this Bill but we do not for a moment believe or say that His Excellency has knowingly sacrificed the coolies for the sake of the planter. His Excellency, however, is placed in a peculiarly difficult position. The whole European community, by whom he is surrounded 23 out of 24 hours of his life, smacks of tea. Most of the official and non-official Europeans whom it is his duty to consult in public matters hold shares in tea gardens. We would venture to remind His Lordship in the words of the poet: Laws grind the poor and rich men rule the Law."

Well, the "Slave law" was passed. Indeed, the Government have their own way of doing things. Neither public protest can deter them nor public appeal move them. They will do what they are determined to do, even if the heavens come down. We would now draw the attention of Mr. Travers to the historic exodus of the coolies from the Assam tea gardens in May, 1921 and the heartless brutalities perpetrated on them at Chandpur by the military and the police. Is Mr. Travers aware as to why these poor men left the gardens? Probably he is not or feigns not to know the cause, else he would not have rushed to print so recklessly.

It was the heyday of the Non-Cooperation Movement when the fateful exodus took place. Wrote the *Patrika* in its issue of the 20th May, 1921:

"The strike of the coolies of the tea gardens of Assam is really a revolt against age-long tyranny and exploitation to which they have been the most helpless victims. From the time the coolie falls into the hands of the artful recruiter—the *arkati* as he is popularly called—till he finds his resting-place in his grave away from his native home—his life is one long-drawn misery. And not only men but women and children have the same story to tell. Sir Henry Cotton tried his best to improve the lot of the coolies, but the planter proved too powerful for him. The moment the helpless coolie passed into the gardens it was felt that he was lost to civilization and humanity. He had fallen into conditions from which it seemed no earthly power could rescue him. The Assam coolie has thus been outside the scheme of regeneration of Christian missionaries and politicians alike. But his redemption has at last come. From whom? Not from any outside agency but from himself. He is determined to break his shackles for ever or die in the attempt."

When the coolies were at Chandpur on their way home, Mr. J. McPherson of the Indian Tea Association went over to the place and sought the help of Sj. Haradaya Nag in inducing the coolies to go back to.

the gardens. Haradaya Babu did all he could, but the coolies persistently refused, saying that they would rather die of starvation and pestilence at Chandpur than go back to the tea gardens under European tea planters. They further said that when they were first taken to the garden they were paid four annas, two annas, and three pice for each male, female and child respectively but ultimately with the increase of harsh treatment the rates of wages were also cut down to two annas, and three pice for each male and female and nothing was paid to any child, who had to work gratis. They explained in pitiable terms that they were practically starving and some of them had no food for days together. They had borne it for some time but "when it became quite unbearable they thought it better to die in their own homes in the presence of friends and relatives than under the eyes of the planters." Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had been to Chandpur to see the condition of the coolies, was "painfully struck by their wretched appearance." "I do not think," he said, "that this appearance is due merely to the miseries of the march-down from Assam."

It seems to me that they have been under-fed for a long time previously. In every place they have consistently told me that they were getting on an average 6 pice a day."

The Karimganj correspondent of the *Patrika* wrote at that time :

"They (the coolies) complain that in some gardens men and even women are whipped and otherwise savagely dealt with."

The European Association, as is its wont, found an occasion for inciting the Government against the people. In a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal it asked quite petulantly like a spoilt child : "Has the machinery of the Government broken down?" The reasons of this outburst was the exodus of the coolies from the Assam tea gardens. The tea planters constitute an important community among European exploiters in this country. It is, therefore, natural that the European Association representing European commercial interests in this country should be perturbed at the action of the coolies, which meant ruin to the planters. The Government of Bengal and Assam smacked politics in the whole affair and went so far as to say that the unrest among the coolies was caused by professional political agitators. Politics, however, had nothing to do with it. It was

purely an economic revolt. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Young India* at the time :

"It is admitted, it is purely a labour trouble. It is admitted that the employers reduced the wages. Both Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Andrews report the trouble is purely economic and that the coolies have a substantial grievance. It is evident that the reformed Government has failed to cope with it..... If the Assam planters are not sustained by the exploitation of Indian labour they have nothing to fear. A time is certainly coming when there will be no more unconscionable dividends. The profit of the big concerns must bear relation to the wages of the workers."

The privations of the coolies and the severe atrocities perpetrated on them at the Chandpur Railway Station by a Gurkha force deeply stirred the feeling of nationalist India. A vigorous agitation was started through the Indian Press, in the Council Chamber and on the public platform but to no effect.

Coming comparatively to recent times, we find the following touching remarks about the Assam coolies in "Modern India," an illuminating book by Dr. V. H. Rutherford, who toured this country extensively in 1925-26. He says :

"On the tea plantations of Assam a man gets 8d for eight hours a day, a woman 6d and a child 3d ; in the tea factories the worker earns 9d for an eight-hour working. The coolies suffer not only from this low level of wages but frequently from indebtedness to his employers in outlandish districts where he is dependent upon the shops provided by the employers for his foodstuffs, fuel etc. This indebtedness, together with the isolation of the plantation, renders it difficult for him to seek employment elsewhere and thus practically reduces him to a life of economic slavery. His treatment often borders on the inhuman and his chances of justice and redress are chimerical."

In their report of "Labour Conditions in India," Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M. P. and J. Hallsworth, who were sent to India as representatives of the British Trade Union Congress in 1927-28 to study Indian Labour conditions, made scathing remarks on the savage and heartless treatment meted out to the coolies. They characterized the tea gardens as "slave plantations" and stated that "in Assam tea the sweat, hunger and despair of 1,000,000 Indians enter year by year." Even at the highest figure, according to their calculation, the combined labour of husband, wife and child there brings in only 1s. 3d. a day. Mr. Travers speaks of a relation of "real affection between the labourers and the Sahib." "We witnessed" said these British Trade Union delegates, "a group of men, women and children working away

together, while about five yards away was a planter's young assistant proudly hugging a whip. This we regarded as good proof of 'contentment' prevailing among the tea garden plantations." In one of its issues in the month of August last, the *Bombay Chronicle* wrote the following under caption, "Slaves or Prisoners":

"Some of the labourers of Goa, decoyed to the Assam plantations but repatriated through the intervention of the Goa Congress Committee, have confirmed the grave allegations that have often been made about the treatment given to the Indian workmen by the planters. They allege that the wages actually paid to them were far lower than those first promised or current in Goa, and utterly insufficient for their daily wants, that they were forbidden to write to their families and that they were practically prisoners for life terrorized by the brutality of the Sahibs. As allegations are so persistent, the Congress Secretary may well make enquiries into the matter with the aid of the Assam Congress Committees."

Herr Furtwangler, a member of the International Textile Workers' Federation who visited India in 1927, states that

"The wages of coolies on the Indian plantations have not changed for the last 70 years. The wages of a coolie in 1870 are five rupees per month. In 1922, the maximum wages of a coolie on the Assam tea plantations did not exceed seven rupees per month. It should be remarked in this connection that the price of rice—the coolies' only article of food—has more than doubled during this period. The coolie spends practically the last of his monthly wages on his rice. His clothes—or rather rags worn by the Indian coolie—occupy but an insignificant position in his budget."

We should rather say the price of rice has more than quadrupled during the last 70 years. Dr. Rama Rau stated in the Council of State only on the 19th September last that the price of rice in 1857 was 18½ seers a rupee, whereas now it was less than four (?) seers a rupee.

In course of his address on "Labour Conditions in India" delivered on September 4, 1929, at the 61st session of the British Trade Union Congress, Mr. V. R. Kalappa, fraternal delegate from the All-India Trade Union Congress, observed that

"The condition of the men in the plantations is nothing short of forced labour, inasmuch as they cannot of their own free will either withdraw their labour or leave the gardens into which they have been practically enticed by the cunning of the re-ruiting agencies set up all over the country at a considerable cost by the planters. Through unscrupulous lies and false hopes of better living held out about 800 thousands of such labourers are tempted into the tea gardens and exploited under the crack of whips and cruel intimidations—

all for a paltry remuneration of about 3d. for a child, 5d. for a woman and 7d. for a man."

Professor Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., the well-known economist, makes the following remarks on the extremely low wages given to the tea garden coolies:

"Though these workers are mainly recruited by the contractors from semi-aboriginal communities and their standard of living is low, yet it is obvious that four annas per diem is hardly sufficient to keep them from starvation during a period of high prices."

And, yet in the face of these assertions made by well-informed men, Mr. Travers has the temerity to say that "if thrifty, they are soon able to buy jewellery and after a time enough can be saved for the purchase of land!"

We would now say a word or two about "Tea garden morality." Besides the indescribably low wages paid to them, the coolies are sometimes subjected to merciless physical torture on the slightest pretexts. Nor is this all. Their wives and sisters and daughters, especially if they happen to be a little fair-looking, are not immune from the lascivious passion of some of their European masters. And to illustrate our point we would only refer to one or two incidents of a highly revolting nature. Most of us know what a sensation was created in the country more than nine years ago by the well-known Khoréal Shooting Case.

The prosecution case was that a Sahib, an Assistant Manager of the Khoréal Tea Garden, shot Gangadhar Goala, a coolie, with a revolver at 10 p.m. on the 25th of May 1920. The fact itself was not denied by the Sahib, whose case, however, was that he did so in self-defence. The prosecution case so far as the Sahib's presence in the coolie lines at that hour of night is concerned was that he had made immoral proposals to Gangadhar's daughter, Hira, on the 18th of May when she was plucking leaves in the new extensions of the garden. On the same night the Sahib accompanied by a chowkidar of the bungalow came to Gangadhar's hut and renewed his proposals which were refused. About night-fall of the 25th of May the Sahib's bearer Nasim Ali demanded Hira to accompany him to his master's bed. The demand was refused. Enraged at this refusal late at 10 p.m., the Sahib himself arrived at the scene armed with a revolver and called out "Hira, Hira." Hira's brother Nepal, a boy of 8 years, came out of the hut and

reported that Hira was not at home and began to shout for his father Gangadhar who had gone to a neighbour, a brother coolie's hut. To stop the boy shouting the Sahib fired three times. As soon as Gangadhar heard his son shout he ran back to his hut and began to shout. The Sahib fired three shots at him. The first missed him, the second hit him in the arm without causing any more injury than an abrasion and the third hit him in the right side of the chest, broke a rib and past out at the back. At the third shot Gangadhar fell on the road, from where he was removed to his hut by some coolies. His wife and daughter witnessed the whole incident while the Sahib went away towards the main road unruffled as though nothing had happened. The Sahib was tried but was acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the European Jury. An esteemed correspondent wrote in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in this connection :

"The history of the Khoreal case from its inception on the night of the 25th May, 1920 right down to 2 P.M. of the 23rd June, 1921 is an illustrious example of that resplendent impartiality of the administration of justice in this country in the hands of the European Jury. The result of the Khoreal case has not taken anybody by surprise though there never was a stronger case for the prosecution than this. The result in the High Court is no other than it was in the court of the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar. The only difference lies in the fact that the trial in the High Court has been regular, while that at Cachar irregular. In the High Court eight out of nine jurors were Europeans, at Cachar all the five were Europeans. In the High Court the presiding Judges acted impartially, at Cachar the presiding Judge acted, in the words of Justices Teunon and Ghosh, as the accused's advocate. But if the result is a scandalous miscarriage of justice, the fault is in the system which confers upon a European accused the special privilege of having the majority of jurors of his own caste and colour—in the majority of cases his own kith and kin."

Such are the facts of the case which bring into prominence the ever-vexed question of the brown against white.

Discussing the Khoreal shooting case at the time with Babu Akhil Chandra Dutt, M. L. C., Mr. Beatson-Bell was reported to have remarked: "Is it not *prima facie* impossible for a young Englishman fresh from a Christian home to be so infatuated for a coolie girl as to go to her house shamelessly?" But it is forgotten by the members of the ruling race in India that such things do happen and have happened. The scandal had become so grave in Burma

that a circular had to be issued prohibiting British officers from keeping native women. Sir Valentine Chirol has not been able to deny this but has used his usual ingenuity to make Indians responsible for such scandalous acts on the part of the British officers. In his book "Indian Unrest" he says: "there are men who would get a hold upon him (Civilian) if he is a young man by luring him into intrigues with native women." So, according to Sir Valentine, young Englishmen fresh from Christian homes are not free from those weaknesses which the flesh is heir to.

In 1884 a case *Empress Vs. Charles Webb* created a sensation and aroused indignation in Bengal. The accused Webb, Agent of India General Steam Navigation Co. at Kokilamookh, was charged with having committed rape on Shukarmani, a coolie woman, and causing thereby her death. The case was tried by Mr. McLeod, Magistrate of Jorhat. In his judgment he observed :

"I have given the case my careful thought and have made every possible allowance for the accused. But I am convinced that the charges brought are true. Though charged only with wrongful confinement there is very little doubt what was the object of Shukarmani's confinement, though of this there is no strict legal proof."

Mr. Luttman Johnson, Judge, Assam Valley District, made a reference to the High Court for enhancement of sentence urging the following grounds :

"The passengers (imported coolies) are during the passage from their homes to their destination under the special protection of Government and the carriers who convey them. The accused at the time he committed the offence was entrusted with the care of the passengers and his business is to look after and protect passengers and goods landed on his flat. But even if the complainant had been an ordinary passenger and not under his special protection the offence (though it may not amount to rape) appears to deserve severer punishment than rape."

The High Court did not enhance the sentence.

The *Patrika* in its issue of the 14th July 1921, gave the following illustration of tea-garden morality.

"Mr. and Mrs. S," we are told, "are the proprietors of a well-known tea garden in Cachar and occupy leading positions in the European society in the Surma Valley. Lord Curzon while up there was their guest and Mrs. S. was always given the seat of honour in State dinners and similar functions and if we can without impertinence call attention to the fact, she was looked upon as one of the handsomest ladies in Assam. Some years ago their Sahib of Calcutta was on a visit to the garden and he and Mr. & Mrs. S were

invited to breakfast with Mr. M., a planter whose estate was four miles off. Mr. S asked the Burra Sahib and the Memsahib to go ahead saying that he would follow which he did in half an hour's time. The party passed the whole day with their host. In the meantime an extraordinary occurrence had taken place in their garden. A coolie girl named Gunjari was produced by her father before the Civil Surgeon who happened to be near. The girl complained of having been criminally assaulted by her Burra Sahib (that is to say, Mr. S whose wife as stated above was an extremely handsome lady) and the Civil Surgeon certified that in his opinion there was undoubtedly a criminal assault, and that the girl, in his opinion, was not more than ten years old and the injury and haemorrhage were so extensive that it was a miracle that the girl did not succumb to them. A telegram having been sent to the Deputy Commissioner a criminal case was started against Mr. S who was arrested and ultimately sent up for trial under Sec. 376 I. P. C. (rape). The case was tried by the then Deputy Commissioner, Mr. F. C. French, now Member, Board of Revenue. The girl repeated her story in court and was corroborated by the Civil Surgeon and other circumstantial evidence. Now what was the defence? Not a denial of the facts (though the accused did not make any statement) but the suggestion was that the immature girl of ten years (according to the testimony of the parents confirmed by the Civil Surgeon in his sworn deposition) was a consenting party and evidence was produced that the girl was twelve years old. It is curious that the evidence came from the books of Mr. Creswell's garden whose name also figured in the Khoreal case. It was, therefore, confirmed that as the girl had passed the age of consent and appears to be a consenting party no offence was committed. The D. C. accepted the argument and discharged the accused."

The following lines from the pen of "a man in very high position who knows the whole thing at first hand" were published in the *Servant of India* of 30th June, 1921 and it is to be hoped that they will be read with a feeling of horror and disgust. Speaking of "the moral atmosphere of a tea garden in Assam" he writes :

"As regards the planters, they are out to make money. In their compulsory exile, the only amusement they indulge in is physical ; intellectual amusement is not appreciated. Sports and games, riding, shooting, drinking and swearing are the order of the day. Such as are not votaries of physical energy have little to relieve the dull monotony of existence.

In their day-to-day life there is no refinement or culture. Physical pleasure and animal gratification are indulged in without restraint. Absence of white women is more than made up by drawing upon the young womanhood in the coolie lines. It is a traditional right which no coolie can resist on pain of severe punishment. The degradation is so complete that in most cases they cannot conceive of any right in them to thwart the desire of the Sahibs. Are they not the slaves of the Sahibs, and are not their wives, sisters and daughters the ultimate property of the Sahibs? A kind Sahib

pays for his indulgence in the shape of a few rupees ; a bad Sahib does not pay. When a Sahib wants a woman from the lines, she must be supplied by her father, brother or husband. A young coolie woman going on an evening to the bungalow in the company of the Sahib's bearer or chowkidar is nothing strange—it involves no disgrace. It is a sort of a tax which must be levied on any coolie's hut. Some Sahibs stick to one girl ; other like change."

The same writer draws another touching picture of the conditions in a tea garden, away from public opinion and inaccessible to the ordinary visitors—conditions which are entirely different from conditions in mill or coal districts.

"Life in a tea garden," he continues, "is shut out from the public view. There live the Sahibs in their bungalows and the coolies in their lines. The coolies are recruited from various parts of India. In a coolie line are to be found Madrassis, Sonthals, Oriyas, Mundas, Oraons...Assamese Chamars from Behar and U. P. and the C. P. low caste Bengalees, hillmen, a motley crew in different stages of physical and moral development. Many of these are born in the garden and almost all are completely out of touch with their villages. They have no place to go to, no aspiration in life, no hope of material or moral improvement, no standard, no ideal. The ray of religion does not penetrate the coolie lines ; education is unknown ; instinct governs their conduct of life chastened by the rules and regulations of the garden. They are slaves of the planters' body, mind, and soul. It is a low animal existence, an agency to create dividends for the company."

Such is the life of the coolies in the tea gardens of Assam. We have cited only a few of those instances of brutality that have come to light, but many more do happen now and then in the gardens that never see the light of day. Do they demonstrate the bond of "real affection between the labourer and the Sahib" which Mr. Travers speaks of in his article? Do they indicate in any wise the "happiness" and "contentment" of the coolies? Will the *Statesman*, after what has been stated above, still persist in characterizing Mr. Travers' article as "faithful to the facts"? We never, however, for a moment mean that all tea gardens are bad or that all the European planters are despotic. We believe there are also well-ordered gardens where the planters live with their wives and children, where life is healthy and the atmosphere sweet and pure.

The Whitley Commission, to their tour programme, will stay in the tea garden areas of Assam for more than a fortnight in connection with their investigations. It is to be hoped, they will conduct a careful and impartial inquiry

into the condition of nearly five lacs of coolies uninfluenced by the sinister propaganda of interested parties. We would also request the members of the Commission, though we are not very optimistic about their performances, to discover the genesis of the phrase "Planter Raj" which is so current in our country and devise ways and means by which this mighty Raj may be demolished in the interest of the down-trodden and voiceless labourers. "Healthy and permanent progress," said Mr. J. H.

Whitley, the chairman of the Commission, soon after his arrival in Bombay, "is bound up with the steady improvement of the human and economic status of the rank and file of the industrial army. It is the well-being of all persons engaged in industry which constitutes the contribution that industry makes to national wealth." Nice words and nicely said, too. It is only to be hoped, however, that he will try to remember them in the course of his investigations in this country.

"India's Military Defence : What It Implies"

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IN this article I wish to make some observations on Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article in the last October number of this Review with the above heading. I do not intend to examine all his statements and arguments, as that would require more space than is available; nor have I sufficient time at my disposal for the purpose.

"Good government can never be a substitute for self-government"—one of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's dicta, has been styled a jingle by Professor Sarkar. It is more than a jingle; it is to me so obviously true as to be almost a truism. Arthur James Balfour (afterwards the Earl of Balfour) is credited with a similar dictum, *viz.*, "We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people."

It is part of man's glory that, within limits imposed by his nature and powers, he can be a self-initiating, self-directing, self-correcting and self-controlled being. "Other-rule" must necessarily to a great extent deprive him of powers and opportunities of initiative, self-direction, self-correction and self-control.

The best form of "other-rule" must, in other words, necessarily deprive the people ruled of the power of managing their own affairs, of the power and advantage of initiating measures, of making mistakes and correcting themselves and learning thereby, and of controlling

themselves and their representatives. No government can be called "good" which dwarfs and atrophies the manhood of a people in this way. It is possible for a people under the best "other-rule" to be well fed, well clothed, well housed, well taken care of in sickness, well trained to produce crops and manufacture goods, and so on (though British rule in India is not "other-rule" of this description); but by the very fact of its being "other-rule," it must fail to give full scope to and strengthen those faculties and powers of man, referred to above, which are some of the things which distinguish him from cattle and other lower animals. Hence, though the best "other-rule" may be an ideal form of government for the lower animals, it can never be "good" government for man, particularly for that part of his nature which distinguishes him from brute beasts.

Self-rule may certainly be also such as would not entitle it to be called good government in the ideal sense. It is possible, however, for the best self-rule to be fit to be called good government in the highest sense; but the best foreign rule can never, as we have shown above, fulfil all the conditions of an ideal good government.

For these reasons, I think it is quite correct to say that good government in the popular acceptance of the expression can never be a substitute for self-government. I go a step further and assert that it is possible only for self-rule to be styled good

government in the strict sense of the term and that "other-rule" even of the best kind can never conduce to the welfare of the higher nature of man.

Professor Sarkar says that in relation to self-government "a day of disillusionment comes to every one of us." I confess it has not come to me yet, and that I have not yet "grown up into a cynic." I have not "given up all thinking about the country's future."

In the concluding paragraph of his article Prof. Sarkar asks: "Are these possible in India, as it *actually* is to-day?" The answer is, of course, in the negative. But that does not mean that things cannot be better in any future, near or distant. But things cannot be much better under "other-rule"; they can improve only under self-rule. I admit that under self-rule things may *possibly* be even worse than they are now. But whilst under "other-rule" there is no possibility of substantial improvement, under self-rule there is. For India's unsatisfactory condition "as it *actually* is to-day," "other-rule" is to a great extent responsible. But of the truth of that fact one does not catch even a glimpse in Prof. Sarkar's article. He mentions many conditions which India must fulfil before she can be self-governing; but if this be true, it is no less true that India cannot satisfy these conditions before and unless she has had self-rule. That may be a vicious circle, but it is a fact.

That even a very small amount of self-government may be better than the British variety of "other-government" in India I propose to suggest by quoting the following passage from *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27* by R. Littlehailes, C.I.E., M.A., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Vol. i, page 11:

"Whatever may be the opinion held regarding the methods adopted or the standards of education attained, the foregoing tables unquestionably reveal the fact that there has been remarkable and unprecedented expansion during the quinquennium. The number of recognized institutions has increased by 37,737 as against an increase of 18,347 institutions in the previous quinquennium, and the number of scholars under instruction in recognized institutions of all kinds has increased by 2,787,125 as against an increase of only 534,917 in the previous period. It is true that progress in the previous quinquennium was seriously handicapped by post-war economic conditions, by epidemics and by the non-co-operation movement. But even the removal of these obstacles during the period under review cannot by any means account solely for the recent remarkable statistical advance. The increase

in the total number of pupils under instruction is over 100 per cent. higher than any previously recorded increase, the increase in the number of pupils in both recognized and unrecognized institutions between 1911-12 and 1916-17 being only just over 1,000,000. The progress made during the quinquennium can be appreciated by the fact that while prior to 1922 it took 42 years to increase the enrolment by less than 6.5 millions, it has taken only 5 years since 1922 to increase the total enrolment by over 2.75 millions in all kinds of institutions. In fact, over one quarter of the present total enrolment has been contributed during the last five years only."

The Ministers in charge of education during these five years had neither enough money nor enough power. Yet they succeeded in doing more for education than the Britishers and their servants were able to do before during any similar period.

In the second section of his article Sir Jadunath writes that "No State can live unless it has ensured effective military defence for itself." This may be true theoretically and in the abstract, but not true for all times and climes. In the early history of man, in many regions, individual men were not safe, they could not live, unless they could defend themselves. But with the advance of civilization, attacks of private individuals on other private individuals were made unlawful; and now in all enlightened countries men who are physically unable to defend themselves need not generally feel that their lives are unsafe. What is against the law as regards individuals in all civilized lands, is not yet *in practice* recognized international law as regards the collections of individuals called nations, peoples, etc. But theoretically the leading thinkers of the world are convinced that war is a crime and ought to be outlawed. Hence we have the world court of international justice and arbitration, we have the Kellogg Peace Pact, we have an article in the covenant of the League of Nations providing for the settlement of all disputes between its Member States by arbitration. Some disputes have already been settled in this way. Therefore, we are on the way to a state of things when the free existence of a people may be possible even if it cannot defend itself by its armed might.

And even at present there are many small countries which are independent, though they cannot defend themselves against even a second-rate power. One of them, Denmark, with a population of only about

three and a half millions, is at present seriously considering a proposal placed before the Folketinget by its Minister of Defence to thoroughly disarm itself, depending entirely for its safety on the neighbourliness of other peoples.

The world war has shown that no country, however powerful, can defend itself, unaided, against powerful foes. Great Britain is a great power, France is a great power. And they had some European and other allies. But they could not have been victorious if America had not joined them in the fray. So even the most powerful nation cannot depend for its safety and freedom from attack entirely on a wholesome dread of its fighting forces in the breasts of other nations ; it must to some extent depend also on their friendliness and goodwill.

Indians have not been distinguished for aggressiveness in ages past. A free India is not likely to be aggressive. Therefore, its friendliness to other peoples is calculated to evoke friendliness on their part.

But, it will be objected—and there is force in the objection, that Asia is not Europe and India is not inhabited by a white, Christian, European people, and, therefore, if India is to have and maintain a free existence, it must have the military power to defend itself. So let us see whether a free India would be able to fight in self-defence.

Professor Sarkar has saved us the trouble of proving from the testimony of very recent military authors that the European and Indian fighting races are physically equal, by taking it for granted. There are in fact several British officers of eminence, like Sir Ian Hamilton, who have said that it is the Sepoy who "does the hardest fighting." As for leadership in war, not to speak of the record of Indian military leaders and officers in pre-British days and in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries during the British period, even so late as the last world war Indian officers gave unmistakable proof of it. The Indian troops which took part in it came partly (the larger number) from British India and partly from the Indian States. Those from the latter were commanded by Indian officers, who showed no lack of efficiency as compared with the British. Those from British India were commanded by European officers ; but when these were killed or disabled, the Indian officers took command, and with complete

success. Under the East India Company, sometimes even British troops were led by Indian commandants, with no bad results.

"Our first Sipahi levies were raised in the Southern Peninsula—little by little, they proved that they were worthy to be trusted with higher duties, and once trusted, they went boldly to the front. Large bodies of troops were sometimes despatched on hazardous enterprises, under the independent command of a native leader and it was not thought an offence to a European soldier to send him to fight under a black commandant [p. 148.] A battalion of Bengal Sipahis fought at Plassey side by side with their commander from Madras—that the Bengal Sipahi was an excellent soldier was freely declared by men who had seen the best troops of the European powers [p. 149]...But it was the inevitable tendency of our increasing power in India to oust the native functionary from his seat or to lift him from his saddle that the white man might fix himself there, with all the remarkable tenacity of his race. As the degradation of the native officer was thus accomplished, the whole character of the Sipahi army was changed. It ceased to be a profession in which men of high position accustomed to command might satisfy the aspirations and expend the energies of their lives. All distinctions were effaced. The native service of the Company came down to a dead level of common soldiering, and rising from the ranks by a painfully slow process, to merely nominal command. There was employment for the many ; there was no longer any career for the few. Thenceforth, therefore, we dug out the materials of our army from the lower strata of society, and the gentry of the land, seeking military service, carried their ambitions beyond the red line of the British frontier and offered their swords to the princes of the Native States [p. 154]. Kaye and Mollison's *History of the Sepoy Mutiny* (Silver Library Ed., Longmans & Co., vol. I.

It may be said that the Indian officers in the British Indian Army were and are trained by Europeans. That is true, but that is no derogation from their merit. Were not the Japanese officers at first so trained ? But Indian armies led by Indian officers not trained by Europeans defeated troops led by British officers in many a battle in centuries preceding the present. I confine myself only to the British period of Indian history ; else I could have referred to the military leadership of many Pathan, Mughal, Rajput, Maratha, and Sikh warriors.

It is not true that if a country be once or more than once conquered and held in bondage by another country for some length of time, that shows the inherent and permanent inferiority of the former. Great Britain had known successive waves of conquest by various European peoples for centuries. That does not show that country's permanent inferiority. Italy was a divided and subject

country for fourteen centuries. But the Italians are now a powerful and united nation.

Referring to an opinion expressed in the *Edinburgh Review*, adverse to Indians, R. Rickards wrote a century ago :—

"In the first place, it is a mistake to suppose that the native princes of India have never been able to organize of themselves a native force. The writer of this article must surely have forgotten such histories as the battle of Paniput; the total subversion of the Mogul empire by a Hindoo Power; the career of such men as Hyder Aly, and Tippoo Sultan; the defeat and surrender, *en masse*, of British armies to native powers; the retreat and even flight of others; the ravage of our finest provinces even to the gates of their metropolises; the successful resistance of a second-rate chieftain to five different attempts in 1805 by Lord Lake's army to storm the fort of Bhurtpore; and its being thought a glorious exploit when it fell at last in 1826 (but not till stormed) to a British force of 25,000 men. All these occurrences, I say, with many others of a like stamp, must have slipped the writer's memory, or he must think them fabulous tales. No facts, however, in history are better authenticated. It is equally certain that there is not a native prince, nor petty chieftain, in India without an armed native force. Their contests have been as numerous, their ambition as aspiring, their enterprizes as daring, and their battles as bloody, as in any part of the western world, in times when its civilization was no further advanced than the present state of the East. The mistake probably arises from comparing Indians, *as they now are*, with the most enlightened people of modern Europe; and because an obvious difference between the two families is now perceptible, the moral defects of the less advanced country (and would it not be a miracle were it otherwise?) are erroneously ascribed to natural imbecility of character. But in what respect, I would ask, were the nations of Europe, in the dark or middle ages, superior in manners, in refinement, in knowledge, in the arts of peace, or the science of war, to modern Indians? If a nation or nations had then existed, sufficiently advanced to produce such armies as those of France and England, in the present day, and sufficiently enlightened to send forth such commanders as Napoleon, Buonaparte and the Duke of Wellington, is it possible to conceive that the semi-barbarians around them would not, in pitched battle, be slaughtered and driven like sheep from every field, as Clive and Lawrence and Coote drove before them the native armies of India? But this is a question of discipline, of science, and civilization; not of personal bravery. Instances of enthusiastic courage, of heroic devotion, are innumerable in the histories of the East; and of fortitude in suffering, and voluntary submission to pain and privations, not to be surpassed by the most exalted of European martyrs. If, therefore, strength and vigour of mind, natural energy, and industry, suited to their existing state, be proofs of any value, the seeds of growth, which, under better culture, turn nations to the eminence of the West, are assuredly not wanting. Adequate stimulation and instruction

The author proceeds :

"Secondly, it is a mistake, in my judgment at least, to suppose the Turks a very different (that is a superior) description of people to Indians, and little, if anything, inferior to western Europeans. If this were the case, why have they not improved as rapidly as western Europeans? This argument has often been used to taunt Indians with moral incapacity; but if it be good for anything, how comes it that the superior Turk has been for ages just as stationary as the incapable Hindoo? When 40,000 Turks, on the banks of the Danube, can make little or no impression on a small body of 4000 Russians, the politicians of the day exclaim, 'This is precisely what we should expect from the character and tactics of the two people.' Or when Buonaparte invaded Egypt in 1799, what enabled him to disperse Turks and Mamelukes, like chaff, but the very same cause—the same superiority of knowledge and science, which gave victory to Clive at Plassey, and to Wellesley at Assye? The Turks, indeed, have had greater opportunities and means of improvement, than the other nations of the East. They have had more constant intercourse with the western Europeans. They have inhabited for ages the borders of science and civilization; and with the admission of their alleged superiority, how are we to account for their stationary and backward state? The fact, however, is, that as long as despotism, propped by ignorance and superstition, can hold the human mind in fetters, the Turks, like all other people, must continue to be the victims of its sway. But we see, and hear, and know, more of Turkey than of other eastern countries. It acts, occasionally, an important part in scenes of European diplomacy. Our newspapers, books of travels, and periodicals, bring it more frequently to our notice. We are more interested in its affairs, than in those of countries withdrawn from our observation by half the circumference of the globe. And when it was expected, though, as the event has shown, without any just grounds, that the Turks, under a Sultan of genius and vigour, would resist more successfully than usual the progress of the Russian arms, we fancied, we discovered at once, in them, a superiority of character, little if at all below that of their European neighbors. Let us hope, therefore, that when we make the same discovery regarding Indians, *it may not be to our own severe cost.*" [Italics the Author's].—*India; or Facts submitted to illustrate the character and condition of the Native Inhabitants, with suggestions for reforming the present system of government.* By R. Rickards, Esq., London. Published by Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill. 1828. Part III, Chapter II, Section XX, pp. 349-51.

Indian officers chosen from all classes of the people should undoubtedly be "properly trained, properly linked together in grades, inspired by the right spirit, and exercised in leading and enforcing obedience from their men," as Professor Sarkar wants. But it is certainly not the people of India "as it *actually* is to-day" who can do it. It is the British Government which can and ought to do it, and is to blame for not doing it. On the question of the basis of selection for

admission to the proposed Indian Sandhurst, the Skeen Committee wrote that

"The preference for soldiers' sons as a class which is a feature of the present system of selection, should in future become the exception rather than the rule", and that "suitable boys from the professional and other classes should have the same chances as any others."

We all know the fate of this very sane and authoritative suggestion or recommendation.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., is not an extremist, not a wild sentimentalist or enthusiast, not a dupe, but a hard-headed man who has been knighted by the British Government, was Member of the Executive Council, Madras, Advocate-General, Madras, and President, Recruitment Committee for India Defence Force, 1917. He writes in his article on "The Army and Navy in India" in *India*, edited by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and published in September 1929 by the American Academy of Political and Social Science as part II of vol. CXLV of its *Annals* :

"The ideal of modern India is to have an army, navy and air force of its own, manned and officered by Indians in the same way as the forces of the self-governing Dominions are constituted and under the control of the Government of India. Indians recognize that the attainment of their ideal must take some time, but they contend that an earnest beginning should be made at once and that a definite programme should be framed for Indianizing the defensive forces within a reasonable period of time. Of this there is no sign on the part of the British authorities, and it is one of the root causes of the distrust of the British Government. Can Indians be blamed if they feel that they are only hewers of wood and drawers of water in the army of their own country, which is maintained entirely at the cost of the Indian taxpayer, and if they resent the treatment accorded to them as dictated solely by racial considerations and a distrust of their loyalty? How can loyalty be ever promoted by a policy of distrust? Self-government within the British Commonwealth is still the ambition of India. But the narrow-minded Imperialism of the British Government is calculated to instil the belief in the minds of Indians that England is not really prepared to satisfy their legitimate natural aspirations to full responsible government within any reasonable distance of time."—Page 26.

In section IV of his article Professor Sarkar lays stress on the development of certain moral qualities. Whenever Indian soldiers and officers have had opportunities of being properly disciplined, they have never been found inferior to their fellows of other races and countries as regards (i) Methodical habits and steadiness of conduct in the rank and file, (ii) Discipline

throughout the entire force, and (iii) The closest co-operation and linking together of efforts among all grades of officers and all "arms" or branches of the army."

As regards "a sense of common nationality," and predominant "herd instinct", there is no sense of common nationality between European and Indian troops and officers; yet they have for more than a century fought together efficiently and been impelled by the herd instinct. If Indian troops of different provinces, castes, and creeds can thus fight together under European supreme command, there is no reason why they should not so fight under Indian supreme command. At present they fight for money. "Clan loyalty", "sectarian devotion", or "parochial patriotism" do not at present stand in the way of their fighting together. In a free India also they will get money. There is no reason why at that time, under a possibly added impulse of national patriotism, clan loyalty, sectarian devotion, or parochial patriotism should stand in the way of their fighting efficiently in defence of India.

In days of yore, independent Hindu kings had Musalman privates and officers, and independent Musalman kings had Hindu privates and officers.

Examples of selfishness and dishonesty in some military and other leaders in the days of India's decadence cannot prove that there are not in the present and will not be in the future unselfish, patriotic and honest leaders. There are some such men now. "Cheerful and complete self-surrender to discipline for a higher object" exists even now. The fact cannot be denied in the face of the examples of loyalty to principle and discipline even to the death which we have witnessed in our day. It may be objected that some of the men have not died or suffered for a high object. But do even British soldiers and officers, who appear to be Prof. Sarkar's *beau ideal* of self-surrender to discipline, always or for the most part suffer or die for a noble object? Where loyalty and sense of discipline exist, they can be utilized for a good object as for a bad. Apart from suffering or death, our young men show splendid discipline in social service during bathing festivals, and flood and famine relief work.

As for "standardization of life and thought, as opposed to the preservation of provincial peculiarities and communal differences," Professor Sarkar knows that in the Indian

army at present, as well as in the civil departments and administration of the country, such peculiarities and differences are deliberately preserved, and yet in the opinion of Sir Valentine Chirol and others "The Indian army... is a great fighting engine." Supposing that under Indian Swaraj these peculiarities and differences continue to exist as now, why should they then make the Indian army a less efficient fighting engine?

From my observations in the last few paragraphs it should not be inferred that I do not value a sense of common nationality and am not alive to the disadvantages of clan loyalty, sectarian devotion, or parochial patriotism. What I mean to say is, that, if at present, in spite of an imperfect sense of common nationality and in spite of clan loyalty, sectarian devotion, or parochial patriotism, a wholly mercenary Indian army can be efficient, there is no improbability of such an army continuing to be efficient for defensive purposes in a free India, when probably the sepoys and Indian officers will, in addition to the motive of gain, be impelled by patriotic feelings.

It should not be forgotten that, in spite of sectional strifes and bitterness, due to certain causes some of which are connected and some unconnected with British rule in India, the sense of common nationality, which was not entirely non-existent before, has been growing. This growth is due in part to substantially uniform administrative machinery, education of substantially the same type, countrywide commerce and communications, the impact of the waves of "civilization" and of aggressive nationalism, racialism, industrialism and commercialism from abroad on the whole of India to a greater or smaller extent, and the sense of common wrong. The pride in India's past and in the not insignificant amount of her children's modern achievements and the hope of a common glorious future have also been filling the minds of a larger and larger number of Indians with the lapse of years. According to my reading of the signs of the times, this sense of common nationality will grow as years pass. Present-day sectional strifes and bitterness have no doubt an ominous look. But some portion of these is due to conditions which have come into existence as concomitants of British predominance, and will disappear when that predominance is gone.

As regards "standardization of life and

thought," I doubt if it is an entirely desirable thing. In fact, it is one of the evils laid at the door of militarism that it reduces vast numbers of men to the position of machines without independent thought, feeling, will and conscience. But so far as it may be necessary for defensive purposes, it is being produced by political, economic and social propaganda reaching down to larger and larger circles of the masses every day.

Both in Czarist and Soviet Russia, the Russian army has been composed of men of at least as great a variety of races, religious communities, and linguistic and cultural groups as the main sections of India's population. (See "Notes.") Yet neither in the past nor at present has the Russian army been insignificant.

As India is neither Central Asia nor Afghanistan, I do not propose to take any notice of Kipling's story given in section V of Prof. Sarkar's article. His sixth section is in praise of discipline, particularly of discipline in the British army. Many Indian armies and their leaders both in British and pre-British days have given proof of such surrender to discipline. I have no space or time to pick out examples. But I may be excused for showing the other side of the medal of British military discipline in the days of Wellington, to which Prof. Sarkar's examples belong. Sir John Fortescue is a recent and authoritative historian of the British army. Let us see how he describes the conduct of the British troops after the storming of Badajoz, a Spanish town, a town of their friends, though taken from the hands of the French who had been occupying it by force. Writes Fortescue:—

"Then the assailants gave themselves up to an orgy of rape, drunkenness and pillage. It seems certain that there were at least some officers of high rank who had promised their men the sack of the town: . . . it is undeniable that for a time the British Army in Badajoz was dissolved into a dangerous mob of intoxicated robbers. The soldiers sacked every house from cellar to garret; they fired indiscriminately upon the locks of doors, upon inhabitants and upon each other; they threatened such officers as tried to restrain them: and they are said even to have discharged vinous salutes with ball cartridges, about the person of Wellington himself. As at Ciudad Rodrigo, men were actually drowned in spirits, and many were killed or wounded while fighting for liquor or booty. Philippon himself (the commander of the French garrison) with his two daughters only escaped outrage, because they were escorted by two officers with drawn swords. Two Spanish ladies fled to the British camp to throw themselves on the chivalry of the officers..." (Hon. J. W.

Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. VIII, pp. 403-404. which he ascribed principally to the neglect of the regimental officers." (Fort., VIII, p. 621.)

The pillage went on for three days.

"On the 9th therefore Power's brigade (a Portuguese brigade) was kept under arms all day, and a gallows was erected in the principal square when the sight of a few men hanging by their necks was efficacious in driving the last of the stragglers back to camp. It is useless to waste words in condemning the behaviour of the troops, already ten times condemned, or to point out that it was triply condemnable seeing that Badajoz was a city of friends." (Fort., Vol. VIII, p. 404)

Sir John Fortescue goes on to relate that

"Wellington's wrath was indescribable. 'He fulminates orders' wrote Stanhope, and will hardly thank the troops, so angry is he'; but thunder as he might, he could not stop the riot for three full days." (Fort., -VIII, p. 405)

The same scenes had been witnessed after the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo.

"The first rush was to the central brandy store of the garrison, where hundreds got drunk in a few minutes, and several killed themselves by gorging raw spirits wholesale." (Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, Vol. V, p. 184) "There followed a disgraceful scene of riot and pillage... Many of them (the soldiers) were so encumbered by their booty that they could hardly move; and Wellington himself, seeing a column march out bedizened with every description of garment male and female, was fain to ask 'Who the devil are those fellows'. He was answered that they were the Light Division." (Fort., vol. VIII, p. 364)

It was thus that British troops behaved in their hour of success. Let us now turn to what was something in the nature of a reverse. It was the retreat of the British Army after the siege of Burgos.

"Hill's army as well as Wellington's had made free with the wine vaults during their retreat and behaved very badly, leaving, according to Sault's account, seven hundred prisoners in enemy's hands". (Fort. VIII, p. 609). "The British were already sulky and savage over the substitution of a dreary march for the fight they expected... Large herds of swine belonging to the peasants were wandering in the woods, and upon them the men wreaked their ill-feeling, as much from mischief as from hunger, firing so heavily that Wellington thought that the enemy had made an attack, and so recklessly that two British dragoons were wounded. Certain of the rearguard pillaged some Spanish provision waggons, in defiance of the bullets of the Spanish escort, and satisfied their appetite in that way. Wellington hanged two of the swine-slayers; but to no purpose. The men, utterly out of hand, wandered in all directions in search of food, refusing to remain with the regiments..." (Fort., vol. VIII, p. 617).

When the retreat was over,

"Wellington, as is well-known, wrote to his Generals.. a circular letter criticizing in no gentle terms the misconduct and indiscipline of the troops,

Some passages in it ran as follows :

"I am concerned to have to observe that the army under my command has fallen off in the respect of discipline in the late campaign, to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read. Yet this army has met with no disaster: it has suffered no privations... It must be obvious to every officer that from the moment the troops commenced their retreat from the neighbourhood of Burgos on the one hand, and of Madrid on the other, the officers lost all control over their men. Irregularities and outrages were committed with impunity... I have no hesitation in attributing these evils to the habitual inattention of the officers of the regiments to their duty, as prescribed by standing regulations of the service and the orders of this army." Wellington's *Memoirandum to Officers Commanding Divisions and Brigades*, dated Nov. 12, 1812, quoted in Oman, vol. VI, p. 157.)

Wellington's circular letter raised a storm of protest then and has been criticized since. But as Sir John Fortescue says :

"Yet when all is said and done, there is hardly a critic of Wellington's letter who does not admit that his censure was in the case of some regiments thoroughly well deserved, and that, though the staff and some of the General officers merited blame quite as much as the General officers, the latter were in many cases disgracefully negligent." (Fort., VIII, p. 622).

In fact, discipline was not the strongest point of the British army in Spain. Wellington himself wrote of his soldiers in the following terms : "They are a rabble who cannot bear success any more than Sir John Moore's army could bear failure." (Fort., VII, p. 190). And he was harassed not only by the indiscipline of his soldiers, but also by the insubordination of his Q. M. G. and Chief of the Staff as well. The latter intrigued against the C-in-C, and

"Information, which could only have been furnished by one who had seen Wellington's most confidential despatches, had been printed by the English newspapers which supported the Opposition in Parliament; and neither Wellington nor Lord Bathurst could trace the leakage to any one else but the new Q. M. G., Colonel Willoughby Gordon." (Fort., Vol. VIII, pp. 610-611.)

I should not feel justified in attaching any importance to historical episodes and incidents picked out for the purpose of proving the innate inferiority or superiority of this people or that. But as Sir Jadunath appears to make much of the Balaklava charge, let me quote the following lines from Chambers's Encyclopaedia :

"Balaklava was mainly a cavalry action, and did far more credit to our soldiers' gallantry than to

their commanders' generalship. It will ever be memorable for the glorious charge of the Light Brigade, who, in obedience to a bungled order, rode a mile and a half beneath a murderous fire against the Russian army in position. Out of the six hundred who had ridden forth, not two hundred returned. It is magnificent, but it is not war, was the comment of a French general."

So there was a "hecatomb" at Balaklava, not of course on the scale of China, for Britain is a much smaller country. May we then say of the Britishers, adapting the language of Sir Jadunath, that in this battle "their common soldiers were lions led by asses?"

Sir Jadunath begins his eighth section with the sentence, "Such was the effect of discipline"—British discipline of course. What would he have thought of a writer if he, the latter, had appropriated this sentence and used it after the passages quoted on a previous page from Fortescue? Prof. Sarkar then sneers at 'self-determination' and 'the inherent rights of man,' and gives as examples of their exercise what the mutineers did at Lucknow after the English had lost the battle of Chinhut. I suppose Indians never did anything better than that, and Britishers never bungled, or did anything wicked or farcical.

In his ninth section Sir Jadunath says that "true discipline in the army is impossible without discipline at home and regular habits in daily life. These are utterly wanting among the indigenous population of India." If so, it must be true that the Indian army has always been wanting in true discipline. Yet British general after British general has praised it! The fact is Prof. Sarkar has been too sweeping in the condemnation of his own countrymen and too lavish in the praise of Britishers.

Sir Jadunath opines that "solidarity is impossible without homogeneity." What are his standards and criterions of solidarity and homogeneity? Are the peoples of the United States of America homogeneous? Have they solidarity? Are the peoples of the Soviet Republics of Russia possessed of homogeneity and solidarity? Is it always an unmixed advantage from all points of view for the population of a country to be wholly homogeneous?

Says Sir Jadunath:

"Apart from the unbridgeable chasm separating the Hindu from the Muslim, the Shia from the Sunni, the Brahman from the non-Brahman, the meat-eaters from the vegetarians among the same

caste of Hindus, there is a strong impediment to our homogeneity in the Hindu psychology."

'Hindu psychology' not being an invariable, well-defined entity, uniform through all ages throughout India, entity, let us speak of other things. Is the 'chasm' between meat-eaters and vegetarians among the same caste of Hindus really unbridgeable? Is there a "chasm" at all at present, in Bengal in any case? How do they then inter-dine and intermarry and have social intercourse of various other descriptions in numerous instances in various parts of India? The state of things in Bengal, with which we are best acquainted, is such now that we had almost forgotten that there was at one time a gulf between them, though even then it was not unbridgeable. As regards Brahmans and non-Brahmans, except recently in the South, all the ordinary transactions of life and kinds of social intercourse and co-operation in politics and business are smoothly carried on between all 'touchable' castes. In Bengal and some other regions, there is even inter-dining among them to a great extent, and a few inter-caste marriages among Hindus have also taken place. In many places, "high caste" people have openly taken food cooked and served by "untouchables."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar says he is "vainly scanning the horizon for any sign of the new birth" of Hinduism. It may be that he being a detached onlooker sees more of the game, or rather the fight that is raging against Hindu obscurantism, than those who are in the thick of it. But many of the latter are confidently awaiting the early advent of a re-born Hinduism. They feel that they are witnessing the throes of its renaissance.

We do not know whether the differences between Sunnis and Shiahhs can be spoken of as forming an unbridgeable chasm.

As regards Hindus and Muslims there is and for ages has been business and ordinary social intercourse. Inter-dining there is among a very small number. Political and economic jealousy there undoubtedly is. How much of it is due to British rule may be investigated. Hindus and Muslims are for the most part racially the same. The conflict between them is not racial. The 'religious' conflict is due to a considerable extent to political and economic causes. I cannot say whether the 'chasm' between them is unbridgeable. But it is a fact that in the *East India Gazetteer* by Walter Hamilton, published in 1829 and dedicated by permission to the

Court of Directors, there are passages like the following :

"Rungpoor : The two religions, however, are on the most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other when they imagine that application to their own will prove ineffectual" (vol. ii, p. 478).

and that Dr. Taylor's *Topography of Dacca* (1839) contains the following passage :

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah." Chap. ix, p. 257.

• If Hindus and Muslims be now really separated by an unbridgeable chasm, the causes have to be investigated and, as far as possible, removed, whether they be entirely of indigenous origin or due to British rule.

In order to illustrate or demonstrate the drawback and danger of Indian 'communalism'—Indian Muslim 'communalism' in this case, Sir Jadunath thus narrates an incident in the Second Afghan War in his own words :

India's north-western defences are menaced by the Amir of Afghanistan's intrigues with Russian generals in Central Asia. A British Indian army advances into the enemy's country to meet the danger. It is held up before the impregnable Peiwar Kotal. Its general, Sir Frederick Roberts, hits upon the splendid device of getting to the enemy's rear by a long night march turning the entire Kotal. The success of the expedition,—the very lives of the troops forming the column,—depend upon the absolute silence and secrecy with which this march is conducted before arriving within striking distance of the enemy. And yet, on the way, some Muslim soldiers of the 12th Punjab Infantry, fire their muskets in the darkness to give warning to the enemy. Communalism is with us a stronger force than nationalism and fidelity to country or salt. What would be the fate of a purely Indian army, of mixed Hindu and Muhammadan regiments, under similar circumstances, without the white soldiers, who by order of Roberts, thereafter surrounded the treacherous Punjabi regiment in the silence and darkness and ensured the safe completion of the night march by keeping a grip on their throats? [Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*.]

We are not here concerned with the cause of the Second Afghan War ; but it may be merely mentioned here that the cause assigned above may be shown to be false from the writings of British authors. Neither is it necessary for us to discuss whether Lord Roberts' device was splendid. I shall only quote the exact words of Lord Roberts describing the incident :

"I had chosen the 29th Punjab Infantry [not the 12th] to lead the way, on account of the high reputation of Colonel John Gordon, who commanded

it, and because of the excellent character the regiment had always borne ; but on overtaking it my suspicions were excited by the unnecessarily straggling manner in which the men were marching and to which I called Gordon's attention. No sooner had I done so than a shot was fired from one of the Pathan companies, followed in a few seconds by another. The Sikh Companies of the regiment immediately closed up, and Gordon's Sikh orderly whispered in his ear that there was treachery amongst the Pathans.

"It was a moment of intense anxiety, for it was impossible to tell how far we were from the Spingawi Kotal, whether the shots could be heard by the enemy ; it was equally impossible to discover by whom the shots had been fired without delaying the advance and this I was loathe to risk. So, grieved though I was to take any steps likely to discredit a regiment with such admirable traditions, I decided to change the order of the march by bringing one company of the 72nd Highlanders and the 5th Gurkhas to the front, and I warned Lt. Col. Brownlaw, in command of the 72nd to keep a watch over the Pathans with his three remaining companies, for I felt that our enterprise had already been sufficiently imperilled by the Pathans, and that hesitation would be culpable." (Lord Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. II, pp. 138-139).

There are some differences between the two versions. In Sir Jadunath's, there is some for two, *Muslim* for *Pathan*, the treacherous *Punjabi* regiment for the *Pathan companies*, and it adds the words, "the white soldiers, who by order of Roberts, thereafter surrounded the treacherous Punjabi regiment in silence and darkness and ensured the safe completion of the night march by keeping a grip on their throats," as an interpretation of what Lord Roberts did and wrote.

In order to judge this incident at its proper value one has to remember the following facts :

(1) The soldiers in question were not Indian Muslims, but predatory frontier Pathans, like Afridis and Waziris, kinsmen and friends of the Afghans against whom they were going to fight.

(2) The soldiers were more or less half-hearted at the prospect of a desperate enterprise (see pp. 134-135, Roberts, *Forty-one Years*, vol II.)

(3) In the court-martial that followed the sepoy who fired the first shot was sentenced to death and the one who discharged the second to two years' imprisonment only, on the ground that the latter being a young soldier might have loaded and fired without intending treachery and was entitled to the benefit of the doubt. (Roberts, II, p. 155-56).

(4) The regiment took part in the whole campaign, and a few hours after this incident

Lord Roberts found himself alone with this regiment at a hundred and fifty yards from strong enemy positions, and the Pathan companies, though unwilling to fight, showed no inclination to pass over to the enemy. (Roberts, *Forty-one Years*, vol. II, p. 142).

(5) It was the act of one or two isolated individuals, and after the sentences, there was not a single case of desertion, "although during that time," as Lord Roberts himself says, "the Mahomedan portion of my force were severely tried by appeals from their co-religionists." (See Roberts, vol. II, p. 156; also the Official History, p. 106).

(6) In spite of the sentences the motive of the soldiers was never proved beyond doubt. As Sir Alfred Lyall wrote, "just when everything depended on silence and secrecy two shots were fired,....whether through accident or as a warning to their Afghan countrymen, has not been indubitably proved." (Quoted in Lady Betty Balfour's *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 300).

I do not think it would be right on the strength of this single doubtful case, in which too not Indian Muslims but non-Indian Pathans were implicated, to conclude that a purely Indian army, without an admixture of white troops, would not be safe or reliable or loyal. Leaving aside the Mutineers and sometimes the transfrontier Pathans (for they, too, when enlisted, have generally fought faithfully for the British), Indian Sepoys, Hindu or Muslim, have not refused to fight for the British anywhere in or outside India on any ground, religious, political or racial. They have been true to their salt. Their loyalty and faithful service in spite of sectarian devotion have been praised by many British officers and other authors. I have these testimonies, some quite recent, before me, but refrain from quoting them. In the past records of Indian troops there is nothing to show that they are more impelled by fanaticism or 'sectarian devotion' than soldiers in other lands. I must refrain from narrating incidents from other countries to support my statement.

In the tenth section of his article Prof. Sarkar has again lavished praise on British officers and reproduced two passages from the histories of the Gurkhas and the Sikhs to illustrate his universal proposition that "their common soldiers were lions led by jackals." But surely communities which had plenty of lions among their ordinary

members had some honest heroes too among their leaders? Otherwise, how could they have "struggled longest to maintain their supremacy", as Sir Jadunath himself says?

As regards his unmixed praise of British officers, I am again under the necessity of bringing to view the other side of the medal. Let me take, for example, the war with Nepal. Sir John Fortescue says, that war "is a story of muddle and indetermination for which the military commanders alone were to blame." This article has already grown inordinately long. I cannot, therefore, quote the opinions of various committees and eminent generals on the subject of the defects of British officers. I shall quote only one or two.

The Akers-Douglas Committee of 1902 "are compelled to report that the evidence laid before them has brought out in the strongest light the grave fact that the military education of the junior officers in the Army is in a most unsatisfactory condition."

"The witnesses are unanimous in stating that the junior officers are lamentably wanting in military knowledge, and what is perhaps even worse, in the desire to acquire knowledge and in zeal for the military art. The committee have been informed on very high authority that the majority of young officers will not work unless compelled; that "keenness is out of fashion"; that "it is not the correct form," the spirit and fashion is "rather not to show keenness"; and that "the idea is, to put it in a few words, to do as little as they possibly can."

"By no part of the evidence laid before them have the committee been more impressed than by that which shows in the clearest manner the prevalence among the junior commissioned ranks of a lack of technical knowledge and skill, and of any wish to study the science and master the art of their profession." (*Report of the Committee Appointed to consider the Education and Training of Officers of the Army*. 1902. Pp. 28-29).

The opinion of the Committee is corroborated by independent testimony. Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley wrote in 1885 from Berlin:

"What Moltke has done is to inspire the German army from top to bottom with the conviction that hard work and hard study are just as necessary in the military as in every other profession..... that is what we have got to do. We copy slavishly the army which is the fashion of the day. When I entered the Army the French were the great military people, and we wore a cap like the French Kepi, and our trousers in wrinkles; now the Germans are the military gods, and we strap down our overalls and wear a feeble imitation of the German 'pickelharbe'. If our officers could copy the Germans as regards work and leave their clothes and their methods alone, and our politicians would understand that war is a serious business

which has to be prepared for, we need never be afraid of the Germans." (Major-General Sir F. Maurice and Sir George Arthur—The Life of Lord Wolseley, pp. 221-222).

Similar opinions were held by Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchner, etc. After the Boer War there was some improvement. But it was not much. Even after the World War, one finds in C. E. Montague's *Disenchantment*, one of the truest English books on the Great War, a passage like the following :

"The winter after the battle of Loos a sentry on guard at one part of our line could always see the frustrate skeletons of many English dead. They lay beside our wire, picked clean by the rats, so that the Khaki fell in on them loosely—little heaps of bone and cloth half hidden now by nettles and grass. If the sentry had been a year in the army he knew well enough that they had gone foredoomed into a battle lost before a shot was fired. After the Boer War, you remember, England, under the first shock of its blunders, had tried to find out why the Staff work was so bad. What it found, in the words of a famous Report, was that the fashion in sentiment in our Regular Army was to think hard work 'bad form'; a subaltern was felt to be a bit of a scrub if he worried too much about discovering how to support an attack when he might be more spiritedly employed in playing polo; 'The nobleness of life,' as Antony said, when he kissed Cleopatra, was to go racing or hunting, not to sit learning how to forecast the course of great battles and how to provide for answering their calls. And so the swathe of little brown bundles, with bones showing through, lay in the nettles and grass." Pp. 154-155.

After giving an account of the education of British officers from boyhood upwards, the author concludes :

"Above all, you have learnt that it is still 'bad form' to work; that the youth with brains and no money may well be despised by the youth with money and no brains; that the absorbed student or artist is ignoble or grotesque; that to be able to afford yourself 'a good time' is a natural title to respect and regard; and that to give yourself any 'good time' that you can is an action of spirit. So it went on at prep. school, public school, Sandhurst, Camberley. That was how Staff College French came to be what it was. And as it was what it was, you can guess what Staff College tactics and strategy were, and why all the little brown bundles lay where they did in the nettles and grass." P. 157.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar concludes his article by calling attention to the essential need in modern warfare of having a competent General Staff and by pointing out that a General Staff cannot be improvised in a day. All that is true. But why he addresses these words of admonition to his country-

men I do not know, unless it be on the principle of beating the daughter-in-law to teach a lesson to the daughter—as the Bengali adage goes. He ought to have addressed them to the British Government. That Government has all along been quite reluctant to admit to the army Indians of the class who can become members of a General Staff. While visiting Agra, the Marquess of Hastings had occasion to observe "the manly spirit prevalent in the upper provinces." Then he adds in his *Private Journal* on Feb. 24, 1815 :

"It is luckily for us a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance."

Yes, in every enterprise of magnitude, particularly military enterprise, the British Government has discouraged "scope of mind" in Indians throughout, so that they may for ever remain dependent on British leadership. Such being the British policy, it is of little use to discuss at present the duties and essential need of an Indian General Staff for the army of a free India.

Though it is not relevant to our discussion here, it must be noted, because Sir Jadunath speaks of Napoleon's defeat as due to "defect in the General Staff," that, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "the highly gifted army leaders who in time appeared, Napoleon, of course, above all, scarcely needed a General Staff." (Vol. XXV, p. 753). And if Wellington defeated him, it was not because the British hero had a superior General Staff. General Staffs in the modern sense of the term were not established for the British Army before the Boer war, though recommended by the Harlington Commission in 1892, and a General Staff to co-ordinate all the war efforts of the British Empire was only established in 1904 and fully developed during the term of office of Lord Haldane.

It is very far from my intention to deny or explain away our social and national defects and weaknesses. I hope, as a publicist, my rôle has not been that of an apologist. I have, however, always felt that criticism should not be of the hope-destroying kind. But in order that it may not be so, one need not extenuate or conceal anything;—one has only to be just and fair and sober, and use measured language as expressive of balanced judgment.



Mahatma Gandhi and Children

On the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, *The Indian Review* publishes a personal appreciation of the great Indian leader from the pen of Mr. and Mrs. Polak who were his companions in South Africa. Mrs. Polak writes :

I often see in imagination Mahatmaji, as I frequently saw him in South Africa, walking up and down a room with a young child in his arms, soothing it in the almost unconscious way a woman does, and, at the same time, discussing with the utmost clearness pressing political questions, communal strife, or abstract problems in philosophy ; and children instinctively knew this side of his character ; they would nestle up to him, sure of the comfort they desired. In some ways I have thought it was easier for him to deal with the needs of young children than those of adolescence, with its warring emotions, its struggle for liberty and self-expression, and its developing mind. During that period in the life of the developing individual, he did not so easily realize the strength of the storms that can sweep reason aside, and when, as it unfortunately sometimes happened, he was deceived by the youth around him, it was because in his own great simplicity, he did not appreciate the amazing complexity of the character of youth. He saw so clearly the straight path that should be trod, that he seemed to find it somewhat difficult to deal with the dual nature that becomes apparent during those years when one passes from childhood into adulthood. When, however, the individual had taken upon himself his adult character, then again for Mahatmaji, contact and understanding were once more easy and could be complete.

Income-tax in India

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea writes in the *Indian Journal of Economics* on the history of the income-tax in India. In the following paragraph he deals with its incidence on landed incomes, and then goes on to offer some general remarks on its history :

One of the peculiar features of the Indian income-tax is the exemption of landed incomes. It has already been pointed out that incomes derived from the land were subjected to taxation when the earlier measures relating to Income-tax were enacted, but that, in order to equalize the burden on all classes of the people, the Income-tax

of 1886 (which was based on the License-taxes 1877-78) was not extended to the landed class as separate cesses had already been levied on them. These cesses, however, were removed later. On grounds of equity, therefore, the Committee see no reason why the landholders should be exempt. Coming to the question of the addition of revenue which may be derived the Committee are of opinion that it was not likely to be very large ; while the administrative difficulties are considered to be great. Nor are they disposed to ignore the political aspect of the question. On the whole, the Committee find the situation so puzzling that they refrain from making any recommendation with regard to this matter. But it is plain to everybody that the problem cannot be shirked and that the situation will have to be faced before long.

The Income-tax has had a somewhat chequered career in India. The fact that it was an unfamiliar tax made it unpopular in the beginning, and the frequent changes which were made in the rate helped to add to its unpopularity. The earlier measures did not prove successful owing to various defects in the assessment and the administration of the tax. But by gradual steps many of its defects have been overcome, and in the course of time the people have become reconciled to it. The tax was in the earlier days levied to meet temporary emergencies, but after a great deal of hesitation and deliberation on the part of the authorities it has at last found a permanent place in the financial system of the country. Based as it is on ability to pay, the Income-tax is now regarded by the enlightened opinion of the country as the most equitable of all the available forms of taxation. The revenue it brings into the public exchequer is substantial if not large, and is expected to expand with the industrial and commercial progress of the country.

Machines and Men

If the last hundred years have seen an unparalleled expansion of industrial production and industrial efficiency, they have also witnessed the emergence, from the very conditions which have contributed to mechanical power, of a moral problem which is extremely disquieting for humanity. Many scientists, as well as moralists have dealt with the possible effect of the industry development on the moral nature of man. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee writes on this subject in *The New Era*.

When labour-saving machinery was first devised people dreamt of untold economic efficiency as well as abundant leisure for the masses. Economic efficiency exists in virtue of and in subservience to social efficiency, health and welfare. Industrialism has involved in large measure a sacrifice of the latter values. As regards leisure, man's work has become more intense and continuous than ever before. In agriculture and in handicrafts man works by fits and starts, and the interest in production is maintained by the system of direct production as well as by family collaboration. Hard work is succeeded by seasons of leisure or idleness, lived in all non-industrial communities by a kind of fasts, festivals and festivities. In machine production, man works intensely day by day and year by year, and the sum total of his work every year is much greater than what the agriculturist or craftsman puts into the field or his handiwork. Here the task of food-getting is so exacting, and standardised into a dull weary routine, the desire for higher satisfactions languishes. Above all, with most machine-tenders the grind of work fashions instincts, which therefore find play either in the craving for sports, recreation and gambling or in organic excesses, drink or vice. Ross observes that the discipline, the monotony and the meaninglessness of one fragment of a task, the dreary rounding in industrial towns, make life more some than ever before it has been for free workers. The series,—hunter, herdsman, husbandman, craftsman, artisan—constitute a curve away from the instinctive, which finds its terminus in the machine-tender with little in it to rouse the pulses of trial and error, curiosity or constructiveness. The numerous automatic machines, which have been converted have taken the colour, the creative zest and novelty out of work and left a husk, a dry, mechanical grind, a cut and dried function of physical drudgery without a soul. Here the day's work baffles elemental instincts and desires, man seeks recreation after exacting toil in coarse stimulation of the senses. Jaded muscles and nerves seek relaxation in immoderate pleasures, in morbid excitements or orgies of sex and drink. A race of mechanical drudges always exists after a thousand and one varieties of turbid pleasure and unwholesome excitement. Thus a people can be judged as much from its occupations as from its diversions and recreations. The machine process baffles elemental instincts in work, thus a complete divorce between industry and art or religion is established. Not merely in actual work but in the ordinary daily routine of life, standardisation seeks to drain all the impulses and energies along one narrow channel denying satisfaction to many other impulses. Thus the social environment on which the individual relies for guidance, as the animal does on his self-regarding organic functions, and which gathers the racial experience of the past, fails to prove good to him. Accordingly man alternates between the sphere of the dictated for him by this weekly routine and the life of appetites where social and ideal values are altogether disregarded. The soul-killing standardisation in the week-days accompanies the practice of setting apart Sundays for the interest of the soul. But the mental reactions which follow the week's routine now and then tend to crowd out even the Sunday soul.

The Kellog Pact

That the Kellog Pact, whatever its immediate efficacy, will stand as a landmark in the history of international relations, no thoughtful observer of human affairs will attempt to deny. The last Assembly of the League saw an attempt on the part of Mr. MacDonald to dovetail the guarantee offered by the Pact with the sanctions of the League. Mr. G. P. Wishard, M. A., General Secretary, Y. M. C. A. Colombo traces the history of the Pact and explains its significance in *The Young Men of India*. He writes :

This Pact differs from all former efforts to get rid of war in at least three important ways. This is the first treaty that has renounced war and condemned the use of force. Hitherto, there has always been the assumption that if arbitration fails there is left the honourable and legitimate recourse to war. That privilege, if you care to call it such, is now gone. For example, if some nation should refuse to pay its war debt to the United States and the question having been submitted to arbitration, was decided against United States, would the United States then have the right to appeal to force for the collection of the debt? Not at all. She has signed away that right by this treaty. When arbitration goes against her she can no longer honourably appeal to arms. If she does she becomes an outlaw nation having broken her solemn covenant made with the other nations.

The second difference is this. In the Paris Pact there are no sanctions as in the League of Nations Covenant and the Locarno Pact. That is, in the Peace Pact no provision is made for the use of force of any kind in case the treaty is broken. Articles 10 and 16 of the League of Nations Covenant obligate the members of the League to combine against and if necessary, go to war with any member nation violating the terms of the Covenant. There is no such provision in the Peace Pact. Evidently it was considered illogical to renounce war in one article and then in the next to provide for recourse to war in case some nation broke its pledged word. You cannot stop war by war.

The third difference I have already stressed. The Paris Pact provides that all disputes shall be submitted to arbitration, even questions affecting so-called national honour. Further there is no provisions that when pacific means fail, other means e.g. force, may be tried. Only and always pacific means.

Prospects of Insurance in India

India, it is aptly pointed out in an editorial article in *The Indian Insurance*, is not in want of natural resources for developing her industries. What she wants to-day is capital, and in order to furnish capital banks and insurance companies on modern lines are essential. Both are in a stage of

more or less rudimentary development. About insurance the editor says :

To-day insurance is the outstanding industry in every part of the globe excepting India. Insurance companies have built up such huge funds that they have become a veritable reservoir from which flows capital in all directions. This has enabled the countries concerned to extend their transportation and other facilities which naturally help industrial development. The funds accumulated by Indian companies so far are too meagre for us to utilise them for these activities. Nevertheless it is an undoubted fact that no improvement can be expected in any of the directions indicated above unless credit institutions such as insurance companies and banks are developed in a country. The more, therefore, the public support is there for Indian companies, the more will it help to build up such credit institutions having very large funds and reserves available for investments on an extensive scale. And when this has been done, it will inevitably pave the way for ushering in a greater era of industrial and agricultural development, thus leading to the economic regeneration and to more and more national unity which more than anything else is the greatest problem of India to-day awaiting to be solved.

Sex Disqualification in Behar Council

Behar is going to follow the example of more advanced provinces in trying to remove obstacles in the way of women being elected to the Provincial Council. We read in an editorial note in *Stridharma* :

We are glad to know that Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy—a member of the Behar Legislative Council—has given notice of a resolution for the next Session of the Council urging the removal of sex disqualification so that women may be elected or nominated to the Council. Behar has only lately enfranchised its women and it is gratifying to know that there are men members who realize the necessity of getting the women into the Councils so as to rectify the one-sided policy that has existed in man-made laws,

Ramkrishna on the "Way for Householders"

The Vedanta Kesari has an interesting article on the Gospel of Ramkrishna, in course of which the writer quotes the following passage from one of Ramkrishna's exhortations to his disciples. It points a way to those who cannot leave the world and yet, are desirous of experiencing in their life the spiritual treasures which religion has to offer :

"Is there then no way for the householders? Certainly there is. One should practise spiritual disciplines in solitude for sometime. It is thus that one can attain to devotion and knowledge. After having done this, if you lead a worldly life

it does not matter. At the time of undergoing spiritual practices you should keep yourself completely aloof from the world; you should not have near you your wife or children, father or mother, brother or sister or any other relative. During the period of retirement think that there is none in the world whom you can call your own, and that God and God alone is really your all in all. Cry unto the Lord and pray to him for knowledge and devotion.

You may ask how long a person should keep himself away from the world and live in retirement. Well, it is good if he can do it even for a day. It is better if he can do it for three days. Let him live in solitude for sometime—say, a year, or three months, or a month or at least twelve days. There is not much to fear from the world if one enters it after attaining Divine knowledge and devotion.

If you first smear your hands with oil and then break open the jackfruit, the milky exudation of the fruit will not stick to your hands.

Economic Status of Indian Women

The question of the economic status of women will always remain at the centre of the woman's movement in India and elsewhere. *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* has an article on this subject. The writer, Mr. H. Gangadharan says :

With the progress of the movement in India for the betterment of the condition of the women, a small portion of the Indian public has cleared its mind of some crude notions about the true duties of woman, both in her public and family life. The notion that a cultured and accomplished family-woman is destined, by force of time-honoured custom, to waste her sweetness in the smoky kitchen, is slowly wearing out, thanks to the awakening of India.

Yet, however much Indian women may wake up and look far above the narrow limits of their household and realize their higher responsibilities to the nation, much good can never be done, unless the Indian male population generally changes its angle of vision. That an independent vocation by women can be carried on side by side with, and harmoniously alongside of, the ordinary duties of domestic responsibility, should be realized by all. In the course of a recent publication, "Careers for Women", (Edited by Doris E. Fleischman, Doubleday, Doran and Company), Mrs. Lillian Gilbreth reveals the astonishing fact that she has, while pursuing the profession of consulting engineer, also borne and reared twelve children. In the course of the recent annual meeting of the Bengal Presidency Council of Women, a strong plea was put forward to afford better educational facilities for women to enable them to follow independent careers.

Indian public men, interested in the advancement of their women, are very anxious to give the right type of education to their girls.

Handspinning and Weaving in Kashmir

Mr. H. M. Kotak writes in the *Khadi Patrika* on the world-famous industry of Kashmir and the dangers with which it is threatened to-day:

The wheel in Kashmir has maintained its ground. Kashmir is consequently free from social disorganisation, low morality, squalor and wretchedness which are the lot of other provinces because the wheel has taken to flight from them. In Kashmir every home has a wheel in it and every village farmer has a loom in his house. Every rural family spins and weaves out its own woollen needs. But the farmer has to idle away from three to four months in the year when he is free from his farming operation. And although he has ample means and qualification to fill up these hours of idleness with proper employment, and there is a demand too for his products in other provinces, still there is none to bring him out from behind the iron palisade of isolation wherein he is pent up owing to heavy floods of foreign goods into the market, and establish a living contact between him and the outside world by providing him with the necessary facilities of trade that he lacks. Indeed it was only during the last Great War when the demand for woollen goods reached its high watermark that the idle spinning wheels and weaving looms in Kashmir were brought into requisition. At that time Kashmir successfully met not only the demand from India alone but from England and allied powers also by providing the necessary woollen goods to the military. So, the spinning wheel in Kashmir has still immense latent possibilities.

That the Kashmir wheel has till now stood the onslaughts of trade and time is mainly due to its inherent virtue. This virtue consists as much in its antiquity as in its being also a means of subsidiary employment and independence it confers on its votaries. Moreover, as the farmers possess sheep of their own and rear them, raw wool costs them nothing. The housewife spins and the husband weaves during the leisure they find from their farming operations. Thus the yarn or the cloth that they spare after meeting their domestic needs is well able to compete with the imported machine manufactured goods. The machine product labours under another disadvantage also, viz., that the wool while undergoing carding and other processes in machines loses the toughness and excellence of its fibre. This costs the machine turn-out its toughness of texture and warmth-giving virtue. Whereas the handspun and handwoven woollen goods not suffering from any such disability are greatly admired and appreciated in cold countries. At the same time in Kashmir hand-spinning, hand-weaving and embroidery work are from the artistic standpoint an index *par excellence* of the superior art and extreme patience that the Kashmir craftsman brings to bear upon them.

The world renowned Kashmir art and craft is rushing headlong towards the pit of doom. The country and the State if they choose can yet save the precious heritage by their galvanizing patronage before it is too late and avert the otherwise eventual catastrophe. A sincere nationalist outlook on things in general and clothing in particular

on their part would connote their own and the craft's salvation.

The Arya Samaj and its Proselytes

The so-called depressed classes of India has always been the principal objects of attention for religious missions, both Indian and foreign in this country. Mr. Devi Chand, M.A. writes in the *D. A.-V. College Union Magazine* on what the Arya Samaj has to offer to its proselytes:

No church is free from certain danger and pitfalls in its mission of ameliorating the condition of these classes. The mass-movement of Christianity has miserably failed, as it has brought into its fold inefficient, immature and indigent mass of humanity, that can't stand on its own legs, and throws upon the shoulders of the mission the whole responsibility of its economic and financial support. This is too great a responsibility to be shouldered by any Church, howsoever vast may its resources be. The failure on the part of the Church, to comply with all the phantastic, unreasonable, and heavy demands of these people, breeds discontent and contempt, the result of which is apostasy and relinquishment of the Church. The Arya Samaj should learn a lesson from Christianity and avoid the mistake of the Christian missions. We are poor, and without mundane resources. We cannot cope with the Christians in putting forth material inducements to lure these people into the Vedic faith. Our only appeal should be in the name of our religion, civilization, truth and righteousness, we possess. It matters little, if only a few listen to our appeal. Let our pace be slow, but it should be sure and certain. If dazzled, misguided, and betwitched with the false and imaginary hopes they have built on certain agencies and organisations, they care not for our mission, and like not the methods, which the Arya Samaj employs for their sure, steady and lasting progress, let us not lose heart. Soon will they be disillusioned and rue the day when they turned a deaf ear to the counsel of the Arya Samaj, their real, permanent and selfless benefactor and guide.

Electric Power and Agriculture in India

Electricity is the power of the future, and its application to agriculture in India is discussed by Mr. Dev Raj Sarad in the *Engineering College Magazine* of the Benares Hindu University, which is an annual conducted chiefly by the students themselves.

Unfortunately, it is not fully realized that the greatest wealth of any country of the world and particularly of India, is obtained from agriculture. Our students of Engineering and our highest intelligentsia and even our agriculturists do not seem to have devoted much attention to the ultimate problem upon which our very existence probably depends. That problem is the improvement

and development of our agricultural resources and methods. Scientific agriculture turns a barren land into a fertile area and grows two blades of corn where only one grew before. Now, every up-to-date engineer knows that if power is to be distributed in small quantities in straggling areas, the only vehicle to do this efficiently is electricity. Strenuous efforts, therefore, must be made all over the country to initiate and accelerate the use of electricity on the land.

Where Public Distribution Mains are within a reasonable reach, probably not much hesitation will be felt by the farmers to electrify their farm fields and dairies. But unfortunately, India at present, possesses a very small number of such distributing centres which would supply electric power even to the rural districts. Only if the people are a little enterprising. Central Power Stations like that of Mandi Hydro-Electric project in the Punjab can as successfully be installed all over India or properly designed independent steam power plants requiring the attendance of only a few experts may be as much economical. The lines upon which farms of India are normally worked at present, are based upon abundance of cheap labour and disregard for time. Working for a full day long a ryot would not, for instance, plough more than one acre. This team would cost him daily not less than three rupees, whereas electricity would do for him the same amount of work in much less time and with a few annas only. By keeping a six inch deep furrow, 14 to 16 K.W.H. are estimated to be sufficient to plough one acre. If the farmers of India are to compete successfully with the world's market a thorough overhauling in their methods of agriculture is required. All their inefficient methods in agriculture must go. The squirrel-cage electric motors of the portable type designed solely to meet the farmer's need are available in the market. The tractive plough driven on ball bearings by these motors which can get their supply in the field by means of flexible cables from the overhead temporarily fixed high-tensioned mains can be most economically employed.

It would accomplish the same amount of work in two days that a team of good oxen could do in ten days. And similarly labour would be greatly economised in mowing, hay-making, etc. In season of low rainfall electric-driven tube well irrigation pumps would obviate the otherwise inevitable perishing of green plants. The pumps can be made economically possible not costing more than Rs. 25 per acre per annum, possibly less.

Our farmers unfortunately possess a great deal of inertia. Even the progressive farmers are not usually aware that electricity can assist them. It is high time that electrical engineers should study the situation and should show the farmer the monetary gains that will be forthcoming by the use of electrical methods in agriculture.

Jatindranath Das

To what depths India has been stirred by the self-immolation of Jatindranath Das is proved by the homages to his memory in the periodical press of the country. One of the latest tributes to him is from the pen of

Dr. Bhagavan Das, M. A., D. Litt. in the *Hindustan Review*. Dr. Das says :

Greater love than this hath no man than that he give his life for his brother—says the Christ. Such love had Jatindranath Das, and such love some others of his compatriots are perfecting. Greater will of self-denial hath no man than that he refrain from food until his body drops away—says Bhishma. "*Tapo nanashanat param.*" Such steadfast will of utter self-denial Jatindranath Das fulfilled! Such will some others of his compatriots are perfecting. The psychic force developed by such love and will is stronger than all physical forces of murderous explosives and poison-gases which the West has sought and found. That psychic force will achieve freedom for India, as the self-sacrifice of the great souled Terence Macswiney and his compatriots did for Ireland. His sister has rightly sent her blessings to India. India should accept it reverently, and should pray that to the psychic force may be added the wisdom and such pure love and will cannot be disjoined for long from the wisdom—that will think out and plan beforehand how to order all things rightly after the freedom has been gained.

For all this progress of the soul of her children India has to be grateful to the present Government. Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and the Lord of All Life has been chastening India through the hands of the Government. Beginning with the Black Acts and the Amritsar butchery of 13th April, 1919, the Government has helped India to complete one act of pure and perfect self-sacrifice on 13th September, 1929. On that day Jatindranath Das made vicarious atonement.

It is true that the scriptures declare that though it needs must be that offences come yet woe unto those through whom they come. But India because glad in the soul though hurt in the body of her sons, prays that the British people through whom such offences have come and are coming to her, may suffer no other woe than repentance and change of heart and of conduct.

The simple and brief life-story of Jatindranath Das should be published in every Indian language, with a portrait, and kept in every Indian home, to inspire the new generations. The son has now become a *pitri*, a noble and ideal ancestor. And the life should especially give a full account of the last sixty-three days during which he progressed so rapidly and so greatly in soul, dying, dying, losing consciousness more and more, and yet ever resisting the forcible administration of food, until the very end. Out of the evil done to his body by the Government shall come great good to India. He was well-named: "Servant of the Lord of self-restrainers." Servant of God; well-done!

The Government's War on Age and Learning

In course of the same article Dr. Bhagavan dealt with another feature of the policy of the Government, their persecution of freedom of speech and thought. He writes :

The Government is waging war impartially on old men and on learning too, as it is on ardent

patriotism and on youths, whom it would cherish with proud affection, if it were a true-hearted Government. Ramananda Chatterji, grown white-haired in public service of high quality, service by righteous education through his worthy journals, spreading sound information and patriotic sentiment, has been fined and sentenced to imprisonment in default, for doing such public service.

The work of determent of patriots would have been more effectively done if the Government had extradited the venerable Dr. Sunderland, still more white-haired, the original offender, for publishing whose writing, Ramananda Chatterji has been thus treated, and put him in prison here. The extradition law would not allow? But a great diplomatic government knows how to satisfy its needs. Savarkar was secured from French territory. A wiser and true-hearted Government would have honoured Ramananda Chatterji and persuaded him to accept the task of a privy councillor, and taken counsel with him diligently how to make the country happier. This Government fines him and threatens him with jail and proscribes a book from which it should have taken lessons and gathered wisdom. But it is quite all right. First deserve and then desire. Heroic youths like Jatindranath Das and sober sages like Ramananda Chatterji must first help the Indian people to become deserving by showing them how to make self-sacrifice for the sake of the country.

British history tells us that in the days of William and Mary, when the deposed King James II sent over, from France to England, a semi-secret proclamation calling on all loyal men to restore him to the throne, the Government of William and Mary got hold of it, and itself printed off many more thousands of copies and distributed them broadcast, but *with comments* which sufficed to make it contemptible. If the conscience of the present Government of India is clear, if it is sure of its facts, if it knows that the statements of books like Dr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* and Sunder Lal's *Bharat men Angrezi Rajya* are false—then commonsense seems to say, the best thing for that Government to do would be to publish convincing refutations and circulate them free of cost, or at cost-price, and invite the public to read them, side by side with the books it thinks to be false. It has much more of the people's money at its command than the publishers of the proscribed books. It is already spending lakhs upon lakhs on its Publicity Department. It has got immense stores of facts and figures in the public archives. It has got hundreds of clever men of literary capacity at its beck and call, paid from the public's funds in its service, and willing and able to do anything for it. It could very easily publish refutations which would convince and enlighten the mind of the public—if the proscribed books were really calumnious. Disaffection is not cured, affection is not created by bludgeoning and bullying and suppression of evidence, but by sweet reasonableness, by sympathetically giving of right information, by sober removal of misunderstandings.

Swaraj and Military Training

The question of training Indians to make them fit for defending their country is

attracting a good deal of attention from Indian politicians in these days. Mr. George Joseph gives an exposition of his ideas in the following passage quoted from *Triveni*:

My scheme will be something like this: In what I should call militarisation of the educated classes. I would for the time being leave the professional Army alone. It has got its traditions with which it may not be wise to interfere, but I would go in for the creation and vigorous expansion of a National Militia, as a second line of defence and for the training of youngmen in the art of National defence. There is the Territorial Army, the University Training Corps, and now the Urban Unit. The present figures are not satisfactory and my proposal will consist in creating facilities for the training of 5,000 men every year in each province. In the nine provinces then, we shall have about 45,000 men trained in the course of a not necessarily to be professional fighters, but to be trained to know the most essential elements of National defence. Barring the essential minimum of trained instructors from the British Army, I would have the whole of these 45,000 composed of Indians, belonging to the educated classes, officers and men alike. I would convert, if I can, the University Training Corps into Officers Training Corps; as in European Universities, a certain number of them going to the Territorial and Urban Units as officers, and a certain number trained to start as subalterns in the professional Army. If the scheme is faithfully carried out, we shall in the course of 10 years, have nearly half a million men more or less trained in the best features of Army discipline. At the end of 20 years, the number will be a million. But what is more important still, there will begin to trickle into the Legislatures at Delhi and in the provinces men who will know what the Army means, something of its mood and with rich suggestion of its place in the Commonwealth. Not only the Legislatures, but the Government will also be composed of some of these men. The unity that will be postulated between the politician and the Army and the harmony necessary for the ordered system of Government will thus be achieved. The divorce between the Civil Government and the fighting men will be at an end.

The reaction on the Army by the slow percolation into it, as officers, of the representatives of the newly-militarised intelligentsia will be immense. The older officers will, by a series of adjustments to the new conditions, find it not particularly hard thing to obey the orders of a Government composed at least partly of those who has fought by their side and learnt how to live and die.

Islam and the World

Dr. Julius Germanus writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* on the role of Islamic civilization in world history:

The history of Islam is inseparably interwoven with the fate of the world. The leading motives in the history of European politics and culture cannot be properly understood without a minute study of Islamic history, while Islam still continues

to be a dominant force in Asia and Africa. Such a study must cover a period of fourteen centuries, and range over a territory larger than any empire in existence. It has numerous sub-divisions, and it includes the study of linguistics, philology, history, sociology and politics. It is inconceivable that the whole field could be surveyed by a single worker, or even a single group workers. A whole class of scholars, working on a co-ordinated plan, must unite to achieve a task so great.

The material dispersed through the medium of a dozen of languages has grown so big that the organization of library on scientific principles will itself be a great step forward in the promotion of Islamic studies. Through the generosity of H. H. the Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad it has become possible to establish a chair for Islamic Studies at Santiniketan, where, under the beautiful Sal-trees, a new foundation for the synthesis of world culture is being firmly laid under the guiding influence of Rabindranath Tagore. And we now appeal to all who have the cause of Islamic studies at heart for books and manuscripts, and also for further benefactions for the maintenance of advanced students and research workers. We have every confidence that our appeal will not be in vain, and that it will be possible to create at Santiniketan, "the Abode of Peace," a living centre for the study of the history and culture of Islam—"the Religion of Peace."

"The American Example" and Money-making in India

America has often been characterized as a country where the dollar is king. A writer in *Ananda* has some interesting remarks to offer on the subject of money-making in India and the "example of America" :

Nor is India immune to the attractions of wealth. Her lawyers, money-lenders, landlords and employers of labour are often cruel in their avarice for money : but contemplate the general poverty—to which they have contributed—as India's desirelessness. They do not worship dollars—too big a unit of wealth for India—they worship almighty quarter annas.

Not long ago Mr. Henry Ford startled the world by voluntarily raising the wages of his twenty thousand workmen. "Everyman in our shop," he said, "is a partner in the business. No wonder, I make money while I have twenty thousand partners helping me instead of twenty thousand workmen watching the clock." He declines to die rich. "The wealth that comes into my hands is going to flow back to the men and women who earned it." Another millionaire distinguished himself

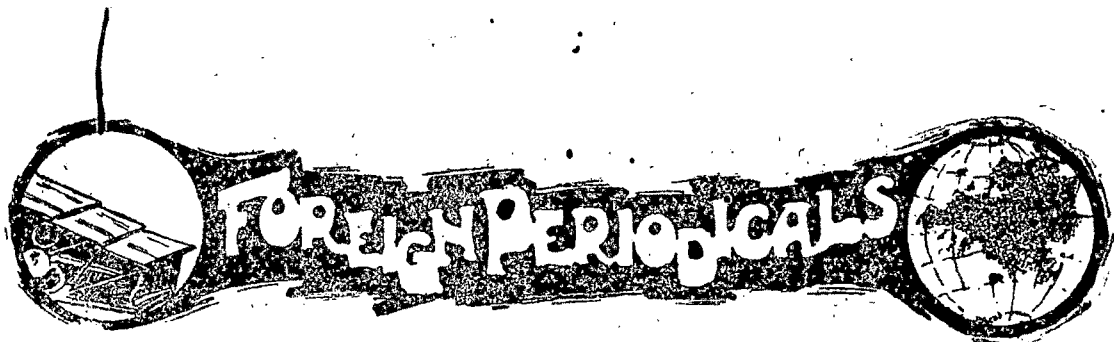
by endowing every important city in America with a library, and another spent his fortunes in building bridges. Such practical idealism specially shines out from the background of commercial unscrupulousness prevalent all over the world. In India, too, rich men exist ; but they usually have regard to their future spiritual welfare, even in their charities ; and much wealth is wasted over temples under whose shadow devadasis often carry on schools of attractive vice.

Inertia is the characteristic property of 'matter' ; and materialistic civilizations contain in their very soul what is relatively more 'matter,' and are therefore inert and unprogressive. 'Mobility' is the characteristic property of 'spirit' ; spiritual civilizations contain in their composition relatively more 'spirit,' and are mobile and progressive. Thus from an inner point of view America is a spiritual civilization ; and what remains for India is that dried up shell of spirituality—religion. Mr. Ernest Wood cites the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad-Gita* in vindication of Hindu spirituality. It is as if a modern Italian should refer to the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius to prove the peaceful dispositions of the Fascisti.

Strangely enough, the greatest men of the world are frequently born in India. The ways of life are mysterious, but the cruelties of Hindu civilization are unmistakable. It almost seems as if the great were born here because we are in special need of their services ; or because God wants to show what he can produce even under the circumstances that exist here.

Swami Vivekananda said, "The Americans are a million times nobler than the Hindus, and I can do more good here than in the land of the 'heartless and the ingrate.'" To-day, when international feelings are strained, it may be difficult for Hindus to see any substantial greatness in America. Still, Mrs. Naidu was so charmed by the behaviour of the Americans of the higher classes that she was betrayed into this rather unexpected compliment : "The Americans are very generous, open-minded, and hospitable, and have got character and capacity to make good. I have never seen a more romantic nation. Unlike other countries, America makes money to give it to the world."

The Sun is frequently seen swallowed by the demons of the air, dashed on mountain tops or drowned in the ocean. Still it always rises in the East, says Kalidasa. Such is the career of nations that have courage and enterprise. Their very evils are of a dynamic kind and are a potentiality for good, as Life the great magician will prove with his wand of time, when India emerges from sleep to activity, and America passes from activity to rhythm—the consummation of the earthly pilgrimage of man.



Pandit Motilal Nehru

The *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of the leading German dailies, publishes a very interesting appreciation of the career and the position of Pandit Motilal Nehru. We reproduce parts of it from the translation given in *The Living Age*:

When Pandit Motilal Nehru lays aside his gold spectacles and takes off his white Khaddar head-dress, he closely resembles an ancient Roman. He wears his robe of hand-spun, hand-wove Indian wool as if it were a toga, and when he raises his finely modelled right hand, one feels that he could teach Mussolini the proper way to make a Roman salute. Before you attempt to discover what manner of man he is, you are captivated by his presence and bearing.

He comes from Kashmir, far in the north of India, where the women are almost white and the faces of the men are of that light bronze colour which goes so astonishingly well with the white hair of old age. They must be of good stock in that region. Motilal, though almost seventy years old, is as vigorous as a youth, in a land where fourteen-year-olds often look like worn-out old men. In addition to dignity, he possesses his share of sound humour. There are lines about his mouth and nose indicative of epicurean capacities. In Europe he would certainly be a connoisseur of wines, but in India this is out of the question, for a 'Pandit' is a Brahman, who cannot allow either meat or intoxicating drink to pass his lips.

This is certainly a joke, probably unconscious, and the first person to enjoy it, we are confident, will be Pandit Motilal Nehru himself. But this is only a digression. The writer passes on to say:

His immediate followers, who do not wholly represent the opinions of all his adherents, are racking their brains over the question of how he will ultimately guide the struggle. Motilal is neither a fanatic nor a person given to ecstasy. His devotion to the cause of India, the magnitude of his own personal sacrifices, the purity of his motives and of his administration are above suspicion. But since the beginning of his political career he has consistently maintained the reputation of being a moderate. People suspect that in the bottom of his heart he does not quite believe such orthodox Nationalist dogmas, as the political panacea of the domestic spinning wheel, so dear to the followers of Gandhi. Incidentally, one can scarcely imagine any greater inner or outer contrast than that between Gandhi and Motilal Nehru. Malicious critics assert that they are alike only in

their extremely autocratic manner of ruling. It seems, too, that the Pandit is not entirely convinced of the possibility of winning complete independence. If one examines his constitutional project very carefully one observes that in the two highly important points of military and financial control it lags far behind the requirements of a true dominion. Evidently Motilal was of the opinion that the British would be deaf to appeals on either of these two scores and he manoeuvred in a manner characteristic of the clever politician or compromiser, whichever you prefer to call it. In any case, the irreconcilables of India will keep a sharp eye upon him.

Motilal, who is nearly seventy years old, Gandhi, who is in his sixties, and other members of their generation envisage very little beyond the strictly political aim of liberating India from foreign domination. These men of the older generation would enjoy political and personal satisfaction in utilizing the present moment to win a great, unassailable success. It is hardly to be expected that the result will be unqualified dominion status. But, if the British do not capitulate in the face of the 1929 ultimatum, it is quite certain that the parliament in London must bring itself to make concessions of some significance. These must be far-reaching enough to justify a man of the calibre of Motilal Nehru urging the Nationalist Congress to accept them, even if they are regarded only as forerunners of later concessions. It is not possible to foresee what will happen in the event of England's offer proving absolutely unacceptable. If that happens, only one thing is certain—India will be a hell. And Pandit Motilal Nehru is the last leader of native India with whom England can reach an amicable understanding.

This is a just estimate of the situation in India.

Germany and America

Dr. M. J. Bonn, Professor of Economics in the University of Berlin contributes an article to *The Realist* on Germany's attitude to other countries. One of the most remarkable features of the post-war German mind is its orientation towards America, and the admiration which Germans have for America is in marked contrast to their indifference towards England. From England, it has been said, Germany's business men and economists are convinced they have nothing to learn, in this age, either by way of precept or of example. It is this fact

which Dr. Bonn tries to explain in this article :

There is a curious sympathetic understanding between Germany and the United States. It is not racial, for since the generation of 1848 has died out, German Americans have not formed an important link between the two countries. It is, one might almost call it, an affinity of the mind, doubly perplexing inasmuch as the religious currents which often make the American mind quiver rarely produce vibrations in the German. It is not historical either, for the political co-operation between the two countries, though friendly in many cases, has never deeply affected the course of events.

It may be due to the fact that both nations to-day are really ruled by business-men have. Not that the successful business-men have turned politicians. They rather despise the politician, whose actions they try to subject to the higher wisdom of big business, or of organised labour—both groups looking at politics as a by-play of economics. In the home of the trust, and in the land of the cartel the public are in the habit of worshipping at the shrine of the god of efficiency.

Thus a nation whose educated classes have been steeped in the idealistic metaphysics of German philosophy is striving after the goal aspired to the surging masses of a new country, whose materialistic creed is leavened by a strong but very naive sentimental idealism. It is no question of blood being thicker than water, or hands across the sea, but rather a case of telepathic international currents. Some romantic groups in Germany may loathe everything American, because it stands for mere utilitarianism. Their voicings correspond very closely to those of certain Radical sections in the United States, who consider the practical achievements of their own country as the killing of the American soul.

But, broadly speaking, classes and masses in both countries understand each other extremely well. The average American business-man no longer looks to Paris as the coveted goal of his European experience. He may go there when he feels inclined to be naughty, but Berlin and its great hotels with their lobbies, where cosmopolitanism is but one hundred per cent. Americanism, is his ideal of "feeling at home in Europe." They attract him far more than the towers of Notre Dame or the dreaming spires of Oxford. For the bulk of the people in both countries are a mass of worthy striving bourgeois (notwithstanding the Marxian theory of class warfare, the Socialistic German Trade Unionist is a typical bourgeois), not content as the bourgeois of the Latin countries are with the *bien-être* they inherited from their fathers, but trying to make the world better by technical efficiency, and permeating the outward results, of that technical efficiency with some sort of spiritual craving, be it religious or metaphysical.

Economics being predominant, Germans understand the main outlines of American politics, and vice versa. And as Germany has neither foreign possessions nor many friction points with the United States, as she is disarmed and incapable for the time being of developing her military strength, her actual situation really approaches fairly closely the ideal of the great bourgeois

nation across the sea, which does not want to waste money and men on military ventures, which is very keen on development work, which needs an outlet for her surplus capital.

German Youth and Drink

The changed attitude of the present day youth of Germany towards the use of alcoholic drink forms the subject of an article in *The International Student* :

The German Youth Movement, begun shortly before the World War, was led largely by two societies, the Wandervogel and the Bund Deutscher Wanderer. It expresses a passionate protest by the youth of the country against materialism, artificiality and depraved customs, especially of the great cities. To return more to natural and simple forms of life with the fewest possible wants, is, one of the main ideas of the movement.

With such principles it became a matter of course that the youth enrolling should disapprove the use of alcohol and tobacco. They were not, however, especially concerned to fight alcoholism, except in certain groups which made this a part of their programme.

The movement fell away considerably during the war, only to be renewed with fresh enthusiasm since its close. The importance of the tendencies it represents may better be understood when we learn that in 1926-27 the societies united in the general council of the movement represented 4,338,85 members, young people under twenty-one years of age, or 47 per cent of the youth of Germany between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one.

Mr. Glass made an inquiry among these various associations as to their definite attitude on the question of alcoholic drink.

The results were as follows :

About fifteen associations with 60,000 members require personal abstinence from alcoholic beverages and include the fight against alcoholism in their programme. The Freischar, the Wandervogel and the Kronacher Bund have no abstinence pledge, but their members are practical abstainers. The Socialist youth are only exceptionally called upon to give a pledge of abstinence, but in practice most of them refrain from the use of alcoholics and support the fight against alcoholism. Among Evangelical youth there is no abstinence obligation, but alcoholic beverages are not served at their meetings and the members are for the most part abstainers. The same is true of the Catholic and Jewish associations and groups. Those societies also which have political tendencies towards "the right" exclude alcoholic drinks from their meetings and a great number of their members are abstainers. The professional and sporting societies of the youthful democratic party do the same.

Towards a World Language

The prospects of a world language is perhaps as remote and as doubtful as the prospects of a world State. But there can be

no doubt that some languages are making more progress than others, and that some peoples, whose mother tongue is what Bernard Shaw once called a minor language, are finding themselves more and more under the necessity of learning one of the three or four great languages of the world. The subject forms the subject of an interesting comment in *The Literary Digest*.

English as a commercial language will soon prevail throughout the world; along-side of it French holds its own as "the language of culture," German lags behind its pre-war popularity, and as for such languages as Japanese and Spanish, people of those lands are learning English in order to conduct their affairs in our tongue. So the New York *World* learns from Dr. Lawrence A. Wilkins and Dr. Jacob Greenberg of the senior and junior high schools in New York. Back of these facts are very natural tendencies, Dr. Greenberg declared:

"French has the same fascination for the average American foreign-language student that a Paris gown has for the average American woman. There are more pupils studying French in New York City schools than there are pupils studying all the other foreign languages combined.

"The English language already dominates the commercial world. It has outstripped German and Spanish. Japanese children are studying English now—American English—and if a sufficient number of them master our language there may be no commercial need for us to learn theirs. German has not regained popularity that it had before the war.

"Although English is likely to become the sole language of the commercial world, the lure of French is sure to remain deep-rooted. Jewish and Russian parents regard it as the language of culture; and so do the peoples of Italy, Spain, and the Balkan countries to a lesser degree. American girls want to know French that they may read Parisian fashion books.

"Both boys and girls want to be able to understand French menus. They want to read the works of French scientists and the French literature of architecture and painting. They know that a practical knowledge of French will enable them to be understood in nearly every part of the world.

"A universal language like Esperanto is not likely to come. It would mean only another form of standardization, and we have enough of that now. The standardization of language takes all the beauty out of it. Language to live must be ever changing. Latin died because it was standardized. I am opposed to any standard form of English."

Minorities in Europe

The problem of minorities in India is a question which has been rather noisily exploited by the opponents of self-government in India. They often forget that the same dilemma exists in an equally, if not more, acute form in Europe. Don Luigi

Sturzo, the distinguished Italian economist and historian has contributed a very thoughtful article to *The Hibbert Journal* on the problem of the European minorities. He writes:

There is no racial and religious minority in Europe to-day which does not possess its share of disorders and difficulties, and which does not nurse grievances created by the War and by post-war policy. Even Alsace is unsettled, and no solution has yet been found for the linguistic and administrative problems of Belgian Flanders.

For over a century the problems of oppressed nationalities and of minorities (problems which are often confused) have been a ferment in Europe, and the avowed motive of many European wars; nor up to the present has the international regime, inaugurated by the Peace Treaties, been able to bring them to a satisfactory settlement.

The existing regime is based on the treaty for the protection of minorities concluded between the Entente and Poland on June 28, 1919, and applied through subsequent treaties and declarations to fifteen States, besides Danzig and Memel. Turkey and Armenia alone have not applied the treaty of August 10, 1920, this having been invalidated by the Treaty of Lausanne, of July 24, 1923. In the regime referred to above the States have pledged themselves to recognise the traditional rights of minorities in respect of language, culture, religion and citizenship; the fulfilment of these pledges is placed under the supervision of the League of Nations.

The charge generally made is that the minorities are not sufficiently guaranteed, either by the separate States or by the timid and the faltering supervision of the League of Nations. This charge reaches those States also which, like France and Italy, are not bound by special treaties, but have pledged their honour to respect the rights of the minorities in the territories recently acquired as a result of the Peace Treaties.

The political treatment of minorities, since the treaties and conventions between different countries made it a matter of international law, is based on the legal equality of all citizens, whether of native or alien birth; in other words, it presupposes and *etat de droit*, and all modern States regard themselves as such.

The principle of legal equality is not denied to-day by any State; yet in practice it is continually violated, either in the purely political field or by legislative and administrative measures. An example of this is to be found in the educational legislation of Hungary, where it has been enacted by law that only 6 per cent. of all students admitted to the Universities may be Jews. This figure is fixed for the University of Budapest and is taken as an average in the others. The reason alleged is that in Hungary the Jews number only 6 per cent. of the total population; this argument is brought forward to prove that it is an equalising law, whereas in reality it is a restrictive law made by the State to protect itself from the influx of a more highly cultured race.

The educational problem is the foremost and the gravest of those which are constantly simmering among the oppressed minorities. It is hoped to achieve assimilation through the teaching of the

language of the dominant race, and the neglect of the language of the minorities.

Assimilation has been the aim of all States which have minorities in their midst. It was, and is still, believed that racial homogeneity and uniformity of language are the essentials for the security of a State, and for its highest development. To this ideal the principles of justice and humanity have often been sacrificed, and to this end whole nations have been downtrodden and oppressed. But, through a natural reaction and an instinct of self-preservation, the more the minority feels its rights assailed, the more deeply it entrenches itself, developing its national and racial character through the sacrifices of many generations of victims and heroes. Naturally the richer the personality of a people, that is to say, the more it has become attached to its religious traditions, institutions, language and culture, the more it resists attempts at assimilation. Nothing then remains but endurance of the yoke to spoliation and exile. Even quite lately there have been cases of the mass deportation of unassimilable minorities under the hypocritical designation of voluntary exchange of populations, such as took place between Greeks and Bulgarians or of compulsory exchange as between Turks and Greeks.

One of the most determined efforts was the attempted assimilation of Prussian Poland, but it was also one of the most conspicuous failures just as in the past the assimilation of Ireland had been a failure despite the fact that the English Government had succeeded in substituting the English language for the Gaelic among the greater part of the population.

These attempts at assimilation and subjugation were combined in the past (recent or remote) with confiscation of estates or curtailment of property rights, with the enforced colonisation of nationals among the minority populations, with oppressive taxation, and sometimes with the worst forms of persecution, even in the nineteenth century, such as the Armenian massacres and pogroms against the Jews.

This lamentable history of bloodshed goes to prove that attempts at assimilation made by a State, whether civilized or uncivilized, are vain, since they give birth to prolonged struggles, and end either in defeat or in the actual extermination of the minorities.

Main Factors of Disarmament

The King has offered to lend the St. James Palace for the sittings of the Disarmament Conference which is going to be held in London in January. The imminence of this conference and the conclusion of something in the nature of an informal understanding between Great Britain and the United States have naturally given a great encouragement to the discussion of the questions at issue in the periodical press of all countries. While many distinguished historians and publicists are enthusiastic over the prospect of an understanding among

the Great Powers of the world, Professor Philips Marshall of the Princeton University (U. S. A.) points out the complexity of the problem in *Current History*.

1. The reduction and limitation of armaments is both a universal and a restricted problem. Some nations may reach regional understandings or special agreements on particular topics, such as navies and armies permitting of a mutual limitation of armaments. The existence, however, of one or several nations pursuing policies of expansion or repression is enough to affect the armaments of many other nations, whether neighbours or not. Universal agreement on limitations of armaments is remotely possible, while regional understandings and special agreements are more practical and feasible.

2. Until conditions throughout the world have basically altered, the need of some armaments, whether for purposes of national security or for the fulfillment of international obligations, is generally conceded.

3. The armaments required for national security are primarily a matter of national concern. They may not be arbitrarily dictated or determined by other nations.

4. The definition of international obligations is primarily an international concern, but it can be reached only by the free consent of nations fully conscious of such obligations.

5. There is immense need of mutual respect and forbearance among nations for their respective interests and special necessities. In the case of pending negotiations between Great Britain and the United States we must concede the right of either to a point of view based on solid experience and a realization of its peculiar situation and needs. There is no legitimate ground for mutual recriminations. Neither can afford to neglect its great interests. Neither can fairly ask that the other should accept a position of inferiority that might permit either to dictate or impose its will under unforeseen and embarrassing circumstances. We must generously recognize each other's needs and rights if we desire to be friends.

6. Finally, we must guard against that kind of intellectual disarmament that would prevent our understanding clearly the whole problem of national and international security. If there is a need of intellectual disarmament on the part of those who think militaristically, there is also a need to avoid the intellectual disarmament which would lull us into illusionment and a false sense of security having disastrous results. Poison gas may be a fearful form of warfare, but so also is the lethal gas of propaganda that would disarm America without a due concern for its national security or the proper fulfillment of its high duties as a world power and a member of the family of nations.

The average man truly wants to know "what it is all about." When he sees clearly and courageously all the major factors in this vast problem the average man of America, as elsewhere may be trusted to support all rational proposals for the substitution of peaceful methods in place of violence to achieve international justice and security. He asks only a common sense answer to the question raised by Article VIII of the Covenant concerning "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with

national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations."

Feminine Twilight

M. Edmond Jaloux belongs to the first rank of contemporary French writers. He contributes a delightful discussion of the modern woman to *Le Temps* of Paris (translated in *The Living Age*). Our only regret is that we can only quote parts of it and thus perhaps give a wholly inadequate idea of the finished art and reasoning of M. Jaloux:

At the seashore and in the mountains, on trains and in Paris, one is struck by the tendency of modern women to deviate from the standard recognized as feminine for centuries and to grow more virile instead. We men did not demand such homage, but we are flattered, none the less. Ever since the close of the pagan period we have become accustomed to passing as the ugly sex, whose role was to address adulations to our ladies. Hence the great surprise and slightly tickled vanity that agitates us to-day. The *nouveau riche* is a familiar figure, but since the War we men have become the *nouveaux beaux*. There is something mildly intoxicating about it.

This re-embance between men and women is obviously more evident during summer, for in winter the cold weather forces women to preserve a certain amount of feminine coquetry. But, alas, it seems that furs are to be the only connecting link between the woman of yesterday and the woman of to-day. For not only have bobbed hair, short skirts, skill at games, and a passion for smoking transformed our lady friends; but a whole body of customs, ideas, and manners is creating a deep fissure between the past and the present.

Obviously, the romantic lady of the 1830's, who had the vapours, who fainted at the mention of certain words, and who mixed God with her love affairs, bears no resemblance to the light, airy, already athletic lady of the Second Empire, who loved laughter and pleasure. Yet even these differences were more superficial than profound. The two types of woman had much in common. First of all, their mystery; and, secondly, a way of acting with men that gave the appearance of remoteness but that actually made them seem very close. How different things are to-day! As women have become more involved in men's daily lives, they have also become more indifferent to masculine attentions, and their morality has come to differ more from the masculine, as their real solitude, which, after all, is an interior affair, increases.

I implore you not to mistake me for a fanatic worshipper of the past or for an enemy of my own time. I contemplate it and it amuses me. I do not complain at being where I am. I would not change my soft collar and waistcoat for the cuirass and helmet of a Crusader or for the plaited ruff of a subject of the Valois. I admit, of course, that I sometimes regret not having been able to hear Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Sir Walter Raleigh converse in the Mermaid Tavern in 1600 and that

I would like to have visited Goethe at Weimar or my great friend, Jean Paul Richter, in Bayreuth. But I have seen too many interesting things and met too many exquisite people to show ingratitude toward my own period. I like it and I do not renounce it, but that is no reason for failing to observe what is happening and for not making comparisons with the past, for refusing to pass judgment even if one's reason makes that judgment critical. In short, I confess that if woman with a capital W were to come to this modest moralist at his humble desk and ask his advice, I should not recommend that she become a supernumerary man.

Political and Philosophical Ideas of Einstein

Mrs. J. H. Holmes gives an account of her interview with Professor Einstein in *Unity*, in course of which Einstein emphasized his faith in democracy and self-determination for all the nations of the world:

We had been told that Mr. Einstein was deeply interested in international politics. He is a member of the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation established by the League of Nations, and including such great names as Gilbert Murray, Madame Curie, Henri Bergson and others of like calibre. So our first question had to do with the tendency in Europe to dictatorship. I shall give what I remember of his talk as if it were a monologue though of course it was really conversation with many questions, some discussion, not to speak of a bit of fun now and then:

"I am a firm believer in democracy and against all despotism, whether of the individual as in Italy or of a group as in Russia. Yet the aims of the two seem to me very different though the means are similar. Italy's is the old familiar dictatorship of power, while Russia is striving against ignorance for ultimate freedom. I am interested in the movement for a free India and revere the ideals of Mr. Gandhi—his humanity and his policy of non-violence; but I doubt the soundness of his economic ideas, especially his antagonism to machinery and his faith in the revival of hand-weaving. Probably India would do well to strive first for cultural independence, and leave political independence to grow out of it; but mankind is impatient and will not wait.

Yes. I am an absolute pacifist (this in answer to a question.) I am willing to be quoted as standing without qualification against war and the method of violence. This attitude is not based on any merely intellectual theory, but on a deep seated aversion and disgust for cruelty and hatred. I am in accord with the Society of Friends in this and in much else. Of course, I know Mr. Eddington, and accept most of his book as interpretation of my position. I have just received a copy of his Swarthmore lecture, but have not read it. I am a determinist. I see no possible place for what is usually called "free will"; it is a world of law. (This from the man who has more than any other loosened up the idea of law) I believe there is still a place for religion in the world of science; but it cannot be based on the idea of a big father god who makes things all right for his children.

but rather on the awe and reverence which develop as one sees the greatness of our world and catches glimpses of its order. As to final knowledge we really know nothing of life and its meaning. I can imagine a good of rigid law, or a god leaving his creatures entirely free; but certainly not one half and half,—playing at dice with his own system. No. I cannot conceive of God as a mere summation of guidance in human good; a pestilence may destroy mankind and such a god would go out with it! That is an American ideal! (This with a laugh.)

I do not see clearly what our committee on intellectual co-operation can do. I hope it may have some influence in introducing international ideals as against narrow patriotism in the primary schools, the world over.

I'm afraid to come to America again because I have so many friends there. My heart is not strong and they would kill me with their energy and kindness.

Party Government in the Irish Free State

When at last, after a terrible experience of civil war and anarchy, Ireland got Home Rule for herself, her statesmen showed a distrust of party machinery and party government in framing the constitution. Mr. Andrew E. Malone writes on this subject in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

The members of the committee which drafted the constitution of the Irish Free State were all very suspicious of party government and party organization. This suspicious attitude did not derive from close study of the writings of Ostro-gorski, Michels or Bryce, but rather from intimate personal experiences of the party machines of Ireland and the United States. The power of the party boss and the misuse of the Tammany organization in the United States were personally known to at least one member of the drafting Committee, and the Irish affiliations of Tammany were known to all. Moreover, every member of the committee had personal, and often painful, experience of the party machine in Ireland. They had all known its rigidity, its local bosses, its stern discipline, and its use of the spoils system of rewards for services rendered. The rewards were, of course, infinitely greater in the United States than in Ireland: in Ireland they consisted mainly of local jobbery, petty profits from contracts, some little bribery, and a few honorary titles of distinction; all except the titles have been abolished since the Free State came to function. In the United States and in Ireland politics would seem to have been synonymous with pickings to most people, and as membership of the Constitution Committee was drawn exclusively from Ireland and the United States the "spoils" view of party organization was implicit in the constitution which was the outcome of their discussions. The Irish members of the committee had all been subjected to personal abuse and petty persecution because of the heterodoxy of their political opinions in days when the Irish Nationalist Party machine dominated the country's politics. Such epithets as "crank", "sorehead", "rainbow-chaser" and "snake-in-the-grass" had been commonly

applied to them by the bosses of the United Irish League, and by the party organs in the press, for many years. They knew that a strong party organization meant inevitably the suppression of independent political opinion, and they knew also that in its earlier stages certainly the Irish Free State would require more than anything else freedom of political thought and freedom of political expression.

Is the Entente Cordiale Ended?

The Anglo-French understanding of 1904 bringing to a close a long chapter of rivalry and misunderstanding between the two countries, was something in the nature of a diplomatic revolution. The motive force behind it was, of course, the rising tide of hostility between Great Britain and Germany. That enmity exists no longer. Is the *Entente Cordiale* also going to end with it? Mr. Sisley Huddleston contributes a discussion of the question to *The New Statesman*, which is quoted and commented upon in *The Literary Digest*:

If by the phrase *Entente Cordiale* is meant a genuine but not exclusive friendship between the two countries, he avers, he would applaud it because he has always striven for a truer understanding between them. But he adds:

"If by the phrase *Entente Cordiale* is meant some kind of special alliance, some kind of first-class friendship, as distinct from second-class friendships with other countries, then surely the *Entente Cordiale* is condemned both by circumstances and by the new international principles which are loudly proclaimed.

"In practice there has frequently been a divergence of views. Whether France or England has been right is not the point. With the *Entente Cordiale* nominally in existence, what could happen—and did happen—when there was a divergence of views? One of two things. Either England and France, insisting on their individual views, felt aggrieved at the obstinacy of each other, and regarded their differences as disloyalty to a binding though unwritten compact; or else one considered it necessary, in loyalty to this imaginary compact, to subordinate its views to the views of the other. In either event a false position was created.

"There are plenty of examples of both events. In recent years there have been times when England has been compelled to take an independent line. France, not unnaturally, regarded such a revolt as a proof of perfidiousness. Believing in the *Entente Cordiale* as a definite pledge that France and England should act together in all circumstances, France became indignant that England would not act with her. Such, it will be remembered, was the case when Lord Curzon refused to enter the Ruhr. England, he it remarked was not under the smallest obligation, legal or moral, to enter the Ruhr, because France chose to do so: and, although one can make legal reservations respecting the rights of France, it may

nevertheless be roundly said that France was under no obligation to stay out of the Ruhr because England would not accompany her. Yet largely because of the supposed existence of this hypothetical Entente, the relations of France and England were rendered almost intolerable."

Mr. Huddleston then calls attention to the fact that England's former Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, "with the hearty accord of Mr. Briand," first denounced in effect the "obsolete Entente Cordiale" when he helped to draw up the Locarno Pact. The Locarno Pact is still little understood, says this correspondent, but its moral effect, if all its implications were fulfilled, would be a certain *rapprochement* of France and Germany. He continues:

"But it would also be a dissolution of the special liens between France and England. The British authorities made it clear that whatever engagements were taken by the guaranteeing Powers toward France were equally taken toward Germany. In future England stood on the same footing with Germany as with France. The Locarno Pact is full of flaws, loopholes, and ambiguities, but if it meant anything, it meant the dissolving of the Franco-British war alliance. There would be co-operation with France, but there would be likewise co-operation with Germany; and it is entirely contrary to the spirit of the Locarno Pact for England to take automatically the side of France, any more than it should automatically take the side of Germany. Independence and interdependence are not incompatible; on the contrary there can be no true co-ordination based upon subservience. The Locarno Pact swallowed up the old Entente Cordiale. It broadened the basis of European understanding. It is said that two Powers should not stand against a third, but that the three should endeavour to work together in amity. That is the law of Western Europe, which has not always been observed. The law of Western Europe is not the Entente Cordiale—with its nebulous and unknown obligations—but the Locarno Pact."

Bertrand Russell on Religion

Religion is the *bête noire* of Mr. Russell. One of his recent remarks on the subject furnishes the editor of *The World To-morrow* with an occasion to write the following note:

Writing for *The Debunker*, a Haldeman-Julius publication, Bertrand Russell delivers himself as follows upon the subject of religion: "My own view of religion is that of Lucretius. I regard it as a disease born of fear, and as a source of untold misery to the human race. I cannot, however, deny that it has made some contributions to civilization. It helped in early days to fix the calendar, and it caused Egyptian priests to chronicle eclipses with such care that in time they became able to predict them. These two services I am prepared to acknowledge but I do not know of any other."

Mr. Russell is a brilliant man, but the outburst, of a piece with many other things he has written in a similar vein, prove how little mental brilliance

is a guarantee of sane judgment. Russell has violent prejudices against religion, probably acquired through some early conditioning in childhood; therefore he makes the most impossible and absurd statements about religion. If he had chronicled the brutalities and iniquities which have been committed in the name of religion, he could have stayed within the facts and filled volumes. But to credit religion with fixing the calendar and prompting priests to record eclipses and let it go at that is silly and dishonest. It is dishonest because Mr. Russell knows history too well to believe what he says. He knows that while religious impulses have at times incited blood-lust and cruelty, they on the other hand prompted every type of generosity and goodness. It was the inspiration of religion which set a Wilberforce and Garrison against slavery; it was through the power of religious imagination that pacifists from Isaiah to William Penn disavowed the brutalities of warfare; the Orient and Africa are dotted with hospitals and schools built through a religiously motivated missionary enterprise. And what will Mr. Russell make of a character like Father Damien or an adventure such as Livingstone's?

Mr. Russell's eminent colleague in the field of mathematics, Professor Alfred Whitehead, writes somewhere: "It is not to be assumed that religion is transcendantly good; it is only transcendantly important." Anyone less prejudiced than Russell would have to concede at least that much. But when a brilliant mind is overcome by a phobia, it is more irresponsible than an average mind. Its resources merely aggravate its aberrations.

This is not the first time that Mr. Russell has proclaimed his defiance against religion. He is almost as constitutionally rebellious as Prometheus, though there is, as Dean Inge once said just a touch of bravado in his Promethean pose.

The Meerut Trial

There is an editorial on the Meerut Trial in *The New Republic* in course of which the writer says that Mr. Langford James' opening speech will "recall the howlings of our own Civic Federation." We reproduce only those parts of the article in which is explained the attitude of leading American public men who approached Mr. MacDonald on this subject during his stay in the United States:

During Mr. MacDonald's visit to America, the International Committee for Political Prisoners will present to him a petition on behalf of thirty-three persons charged with "conspiracy to deprive the King of the sovereignty of British India," and now held in prison at Meerut, awaiting trial. To many persons, the offering of this petition will seem a gratuitous piece of interference in the affairs of another power and an impertinent assault on the privileges of a guest. But Mr. MacDonald will not take this view. He is more fully informed than his hosts on this side of the Atlantic as to the frightful increase in political oppression through-

out Europe since the War, and he certainly realizes that what mitigation has occurred in the situations where it is worst has been the result of international effort by groups and individuals, among whom Henri Barbusse is honourably distinguished. It is safe to say that Mr. MacDonald is in entire sympathy with the general movement to enlist the public opinion of the world in behalf of political prisoners, whether in Russia, Poland, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia or Hungary. He will congratulate himself that Great Britain is of all countries as present the freest from political and class persecution. It is certainly a matter of deep concern to him that this cannot be said of certain other portions of the Empire of which he is the chief executive.

It goes without saying that the Meerut trial is an inheritance of the Labour ministry from the preceding Tory government. The prisoners (three of them Englishmen by birth) are nearly all well-known figures in the trade-union and working-class movement in India, "including the present Assistant Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Secretary of the Federation of Trades Unions in Bengal, and practically all the members of the Executive of the largest textile trade union in Bombay. The arrested include also eight members of the All-India Congress Committee (the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress), and practically every member of the Executive Committee of the recently founded All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party." Some of these are Communists. Others are not; nevertheless, the indictment begins by the statement "that there exists in Russia an organisation called the Communist International," and proceeds through several articles to recite the activities of this organization as a basis for the charges against the accused. It is clear from the character of the list as a whole that Communism is merely the excuse under which to deprive the workers of their leaders. If Mr. MacDonald wishes to study an example of this stratagem he may observe the proceedings in Gastonia and Marion.

Employment of Women in Russian Industry

The employment of women in Russian industry, which was fairly extensive even prior to 1914, acquired considerable proportions during war. It decreased somewhat during the early years of the revolution, only to enter upon a new period of development when activities were resumed following the introduction of the New Economic Policy. An account of the policy of the Soviet Government is given in an article in the *International Labour Review*:

The problems of the protection of women workers have become of special importance in the Soviet Union on account of the more general employment of women. During the early years of the Soviet Republic a very great number of provisions were adopted for prohibiting their employment on certain work, at certain hours (prohibition of night work), or beyond a certain limit (overtime). This was the period of "declaratory" legislation, as it was described later by V. V. Schmidt, People's Labour Commissary:

Without knowing how the economic system would be organized or how the Soviet State would develop politically, the new Government, wishing to satisfy the mass of the workers that their chief claims with regard to labour legislation would be attended to, promulgated in the first days of its existence a whole series of laws, which, while merely declaratory in form, nevertheless accepted these claims (eight hour day, complete social insurance at the cost of the employer, complete protection of the worker) as the starting-point for future labour legislation.

At a later date, in the circles responsible for fixing Soviet social policy, the attitude to prohibition of the employment of women changed fundamentally. The reduction in the number of women workers during the years immediately after the change to the New Economic Policy led to opposition to this kind of prohibition. This opposition was shown in a particularly brutal fashion at the Sixth General Congress of Trade Unions in November 1924. It fell to V. V. Schmidt, the People's Labour Commissary, to express this new conception in the report he submitted to the Congress. His statement runs as follows:

"It must be frankly admitted that in recent years female labour has been displaced, especially when the number of workers and employees was being reduced, and when a process of selection was being applied to the labour force, and that women have always been the first to be discharged.

A great number of our laws prohibiting the employment of women at night or closing unhealthy industries to them must be revised. Where working conditions are difficult, the legislation must be amended so as to facilitate the admission of women."

During the Congress the same idea was even more forcibly expressed by a woman delegate, Mrs. Meleschenko:

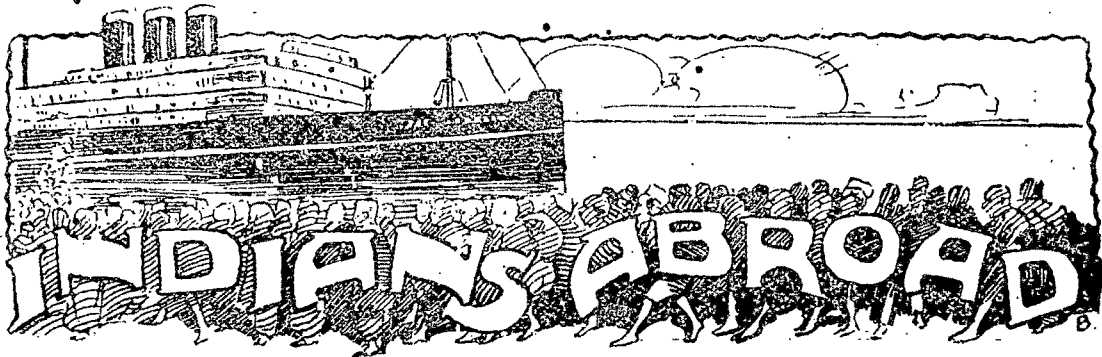
"It is better to reduce the protection of women workers, for it is preferable for them to be less energetically protected but able to earn their living without being forced to 'sell themselves on the streets. . . . We must take various concrete measures to maintain the existing number of women workers in industry. We do nothing, however, because we are afraid of what may be said in the West. It is better to meet life on more concrete ground."

This Congress did in fact declare itself in favour of an extensive reduction of the prohibitions on the employment of women, in a resolution which in some respects marks a turning-point in the history of the protection of women workers in Russia:

"The existing legislation on women's work, which prohibits night work for women and restricts their employment in many branches of industry, actually results in eliminating women (especially the less skilled) from productive work and produces mass unemployment among women workers.

The Congress therefore considers it necessary to re-examine the question of the prohibition of night work for women, and to revise the list of especially heavy and unhealthy occupations in which the employment of women is forbidden or restricted. The trade unions and the labour inspectors must make particular efforts to combat the present tendency to replace women in productive work by men.

Since then the prohibitions on the employment of women have been considerably reduced, and are, moreover, far from being strictly applied in practice.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Distrusting Mr. C. F. Andrews ?

Mehta Jaimini, B. A., LL. B., the well-known Arya-samajist missionary writes to me from Tunapuna, Trinidad :

"The people in British Guiana and Trinidad who showed Mr. Andrews great respect and gave him hearty reception in the beginning are now entirely against him. Some of them blame you even. They say that had not Chaturvedi written to us we would not have received him well. He has been making different statements in different places, somewhere saying (1) Mr. Gandhi has sent me (2) somewhere Congress (3) somewhere Planters' Association, Bombay (The Indian Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay?) (4) somewhere Canadian Government (5) somewhere the Government of this Colony.

Dr. Singh, President East Indian Association, Demrara, told me that he gave them one report while another quite different to the Government. In this way there is much talk against him. Thus when he came second time to Trinidad the East Indians did not mind him at all. He stayed with Miss Greig and left unnoticed."

I need not say that this letter will be read with considerable pain by all of those who know anything of Mr. Andrews and his great sacrifices for our Motherland during the last twenty-five years. There is no doubt that Mr. Andrews has worked harder for our people overseas than any Indian living or dead. That he of all the people should be so distrusted by our compatriots abroad is really deplorable. It is easy to reconcile the different statements of Mr. Andrews regarding his visit to the West Indies. Whenever Mr. Andrews goes outside India he carries with him the blessings of Gandhiji. The Indian Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay—an Indian Association fighting for the rights of Indians overseas—usually finances Mr. Andrews' journeys abroad. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, sent two cables to West Indies, one to the

President of the British Guiana East Indian Association, Demirara and the other to Reverend C. D. Lalla of Trinidad to help Mr. Andrews in his work. The Governor of British Guiana told Mr. Andrews while he was in England that he would give him every facility in case he came to British Guiana for an enquiry. Even the Government of India realizes the considerable influence that Mr. Andrews wields with the Indian public and holds him in high respect for his sincerity and character. The fact is that Mr. Andrews is held in universal respect not only in India or Greater India but throughout the British Empire and even outside it. Our people in British Guiana and Trinidad have only belittled themselves by distrusting this great humanitarian Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews. We are sorry for them and request Mr. Andrews not to mind this treatment at the hands of our countrymen in West Indies for they know not what they have done.

The Late Mrs. J. J. Doke

We are deeply grieved to learn from the *Indian Opinion* of Durban, South Africa, that Mrs. J. J. Doke passed away at Johannesburg some time ago. Readers of Mahatma Gandhiji's biography may remember that it was Rev. J. J. Doke who came to the rescue of Gandhiji when he was brutally assaulted by a Mohamedan in Johannesburg. Mr. and Mrs. Doke nursed Gandhiji with tender care and devotion that won for them the love and admiration of the entire Indian community in South Africa. It is to be noted that Rev. J. J. Doke was the first man to write a biography of Gandhiji in English which was of considerable help in removing many misunderstandings regarding the Satyagraha move-

ment in South Africa. The *Indian Opinion* writes:

"The Rev. J. J. Doke did not only sympathize with the Indian community in their struggle but even led the struggle when the leaders were flung into prison by the authorities by taking over the grave responsibility of editing the *Indian Opinion*. And, when at the tail end of the struggle the shocking news was received of the death under tragic circumstances of the Rev. J. J. Doke, a gloom was cast over the whole Indian community."



The late Mrs. J. J. Doke

We are sure the news of the sudden death of Mrs. Doke will be read with profound regret by Indians not only in South Africa but also in India. We offer our deepest sympathy to Miss Olive Doke, Mrs. Doke's only daughter.

Indians in Fiji

The following cable from Fiji has been published in the Indian papers:

"Indian members motion common franchise rejected Council to-day all three resigned."

These three Indian members, who were recently returned to the Legislative Council, are Messrs Vishnu Deo, Parmanand Singh and Ramchandra Maharaj. Commenting on their resignation Gandhiji writes in the *Young India*:

"I congratulate the three members on their patriotic spirit in having resigned from the Council by way of protest. I hope that they will on no

account reconsider their decision unless a common franchise is obtained. Having resigned however they must not sit idle but continue their agitation for the simple justice to which they are entitled. If the Indian colony in Fiji is well organized, the citadel of anti-Indian prejudice is bound to break down through united effort."

There can be no doubt that our people in Fiji must fight for a Common Roll. They must not remain satisfied with second-rate citizenship. But the question is "Are our compatriots in Fiji prepared to carry on the struggle to the bitter end or have they resigned in a fit of temporary enthusiasm?" In the former case we have every reason to congratulate them on their wise decision but in case they have taken this step without due consideration and are not prepared to resist the temptation of being called 'Honourable Members' we can only feel sorry for them. The demoralizing spectacle of leaving the councils and going in again has been repeated in India *ad nauseum* and we would warn our friends in Fiji against its imitation in Fiji. We know that some friends of Indians Overseas like Mr. Polak were from the very beginning against the acceptance of communal franchise in Fiji by our people there. We were in favour of its acceptance with protest *only for the present*. There could be no difference on the point that the struggle for common franchise was to be begun in right earnest. We were in favour of better organization and thorough preparation before the commencement of the struggle. Whether this struggle has been unduly anticipated or it has begun in right earnest, time alone can show.

Want of Ordinary Manners and Courtesy

The following letter has been sent by Mr. H. Barron, Honorary Secretary of the British Guiana East India Association, Georgetown to Pandit Motilal Nehru, President Indian National Congress, Allahabad:

Sir,

I am instructed by the President of the British Guiana East Indian Association to inform you that in compliance with your cabled request, the Association has accorded Mr. C. F. Andrews a very hearty welcome.

The Association also did its utmost to make him feel as comfortable and happy during his stay here. Mr. Andrews has made extensive enquiries out here concerning the conditions of Indians but no proper solution has been found for any of our problems. We are standing just where we were before his arrival.

We have no doubt that he was deputed by your organization to investigate local conditions affecting our people. We are sending you under separate cover a few copies of his Interim Report for your

Committee's perusal. The final Report is expected to be published in New York at an early date, and we have no doubt that Mr. Andrews will send you a few copies.

This Association desires to make it clear to your Congress that whenever the question of *Immigration from India to this Colony should come up for discussion*, no hasty conclusions must be arrived at without hearing from us. As being on the spot we are in a better position to advise your Congress about the resumption of immigration.

Mr. Andrews sailed on the 9th instant for Trinidad where he intends to spend a fortnight and then would travel on to New York.

Best wishes to yourself and your colleagues.

Very sincerely yours

H. BARRON,
Hony. Secretary.



Mr. H. Barron, Honorary Secretary, British Guiana
East Indian Association

We should not have commented on this letter if it were not meant for circulation in the Indian papers. May we assure the British Guiana East Indian Association that the Indian public will give utmost consideration to their views before making any final decision about the question of re-opening of emigration to British Guiana? Indeed Mr.

Andrews will be the first man to attach due importance to the views of our people on the spot. They need not have any misgivings regarding this point.

As regards their statement that no proper solution has been found for any of their problems and that they just stand where they were before Mr. Andrews' arrival, we can only say that they were a little mistaken in expecting a speedy solution of such intricate problems as date from the days of Indenture system or are after effects of that long continued evil. No man howsoever great not even Mahatma Gandhi could suggest any immediate solution of such problems. And if these problems have become easier of solution, it is principally due to the efforts of Mr. Andrews, whose part in the struggle against Indenture slavery, was undoubtedly the most prominent.

It is to be noted that there is in this letter not a word of appreciation of Mr. Andrews' unselfish work in British Guiana.

I was under the impression that this discourtesy to Mr. Andrews was due to a slight carelessness in drafting but the letter of Mehta Jaimini throws some light on the mentality of our people in British Guiana. We are sorry that they have not only entirely misunderstood Mr. Andrews but have also shown lack of ordinary manners and common courtesy.

An Enquiry into the Condition of returned Emigrants

We heartily welcome Saunyasi Bhawani Dayal of South Africa, who arrived in Bombay on 26th Oct. last. Bhawani Dayalji has been devoting all his time and energy for the cause of Indians abroad for the last eighteen years and intends to spend the remaining portion of his life for the same cause. The first thing that he intends to do in India is to make an enquiry into the condition of returned emigrants. The problem has not yet been tackled efficiently. Many a time an attempt has been made to take up this enquiry work but it has always been left unfinished.

Bhawani Dayal has begun the work in right earnest and has already secured the co-operation of Government officials in charge of emigration affairs. He is at present in Calcutta and will proceed to Madras after finishing his work here. It is to be hoped that he will receive every help from the press and the public in this work, which is primarily humanitarian.



NOTES

Self-government and Good Government

After the article in this issue on "India's Military Defence: What it Implies" had been finished, our eyes chanced to fall on two Notes on Self-government and Good Government which we wrote twenty-two years ago in this Review in August 1907 and September 1907. These are reproduced below.

[From *The Modern Review* for August, 1907]

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has laid it down that good government can never be a substitute for self-government. Many people wonder why. Evidently they do not understand the ideal and object of democracy. These are explained in an admirable manner in an article on "Women and Democracy" in the April (1907) number of the *International Journal of Ethics* [of America], from which we give a few extracts below.

In fact, the supporters of democracy might well be divided into two classes: those who look to it merely as a barrier against oppression and idleness, and those who hold, over and above all this, that even an ideal despotism, where there was no idleness and no oppression, would in itself be inferior to an ideal democracy, simply because it is better that every individual should direct himself rightly than be so directed by others. Those who grasp this ideal of self-government as more than mere good government hold democracy to be something more than a mere political system, as Main thought it, and its goal more than "la carrière ouverte aux talents," as Napoleon phrased it. Further, this power of self-direction, being good for man as man, they take as an ideal to be desired for all men alike. This, of course, as has been pointed out again and again, is the true meaning of the demand for "equality": it is not the ridiculous fancy that everyone has equal abilities, but the conviction that everyone's self-development, whatever their abilities may be, is in itself to be taken as of equal importance. No one can have a special "right" to self-development and self-direction any more than to the enjoyment of pleasure or the exemption from pain.

Self-direction, then, like all other ultimate good, like the rest of virtue and like happiness, must be shared, so far as possible, between all alike, and every man if he forgets this sharing is lacking

in his duty. But how far is it possible? Here, for practice, come the crucial questions that divide modern political thought. All men, plainly, are not capable of self-direction in the same degree; why, then, should we give them the same powers? No doubt it would be a desirable thing for everybody to develop a sense of beauty, but that is no reason why we should encourage every tyro to exhibit his daubs. But to this the democrat answers that life in a society is not, at any rate not in the modern world, a craft like painting, to be taken up or laid aside at the individual's discretion. It is practically forced upon us all. So complex and closely woven have social activities come to be that none of us can move a step without affecting the rest.

No doubt the details of political action must be settled by experts, but every broad question of right and wrong, touching as it does the lives of all individuals, must come up for settlement before them, on pain of stopping their growth. The line may be hard to draw, in fact, many of the hardest problems in constructive statesmanship gather round it, but still the main principle is clear. It is no answer to say that the individuals will often decide wrongly: of course, they will; the vital question is whether it is not worse for them to give up the attempt to decide at all and so be left like puppets to the opinion of others.

As regards the objection that "individuals will often decide wrongly," it is necessary to bear in mind that emperors and kings, autocrats and bureaucrats also often decide wrongly; no one is infallible.

[From *The Modern Review* for September, 1907]

Some people talk as if good government were possible without self-government. *It is not possible.* For, what is good government? It is that kind of government which has for its sole object the material and moral welfare of the people of a country. And in the nature of things foreign autocracy or bureaucracy cannot have such an object. For one thing, it must be more costly than self-government, and, therefore, economically injurious, if not ruinous. But even if it be not economically injurious, it must be morally harmful. For just as that kind of education is the best which enables the pupil to instruct himself, make himself

an original thinker and discoverer and develop his manhood, so that kind of government is the best which enables the people to govern themselves and to grow up to their full intellectual and moral stature. But under an autocracy or bureaucracy they are doomed to everlasting tutelage and intellectual and moral mediocrity. For, if they be allowed to grow up to their full height, foreign domination is threatened: and no conquering nation has as yet proved sufficiently unselfish to welcome such a contingency. Therefore, not only can good government never be a substitute for self-government, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman says, but the former is impossible without the latter.

India and Italy in Past Ages

It is generally thought that of all countries in the world India has been the most disunited and the longest under foreign rule. It is not a thing to be proud of to be disunited and in subjection even for a single year. But it may help to raise some of us from a state of despondency to remember that other countries have risen to a state of unity and freedom after long centuries of subjection. Here is an example:

"The difficulty of Italian history lies in the fact that until modern times the Italians have had no political unity, no independence, no organized existence as a nation. Split up into numerous and mutually hostile communities, they never, through the fourteen centuries which have elapsed since the end of the old Western empire, shook off the yoke of foreigners completely; they never until lately learned to merge their local and conflicting interests in the common good of undivided Italy. Their history is therefore not the history of a single people, centralizing and absorbing its constituent elements by a process of continued evolution, but of a group of cognate populations, exemplifying diverse types of constitutional developments."—Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911, vol. XV, p. 25.

American Liberals and "India in Bondage"

We published in our last issue the wireless message sent to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by distinguished Liberals in America on the "India in Bondage" trial. Writing on this subject to *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* on October 13 from Iowa, Professor Sudhindra Bose observes:

Never before in history a more distinguished,

cultured and representative group of Americans appealed to the head of the London Government on behalf of India, than when twenty of the outstanding leaders of the United States sent a wireless to Premier Ramsay MacDonald on ship-board. The signers of the message, which was sent to Mr. MacDonald as he was crossing the Atlantic to the United States, represent perhaps the cream of American intellectual life.

The message is instinct with passionate love of freedom and charged with a denunciation of oppression and injustice. It demands that the officials implicated should be dismissed forthwith.

After quoting the message in full, Dr. Bose writes:

Among those who signed this message to Mr. MacDonald are such notables as John Dewey, the greatest living American philosopher; R. M. Lovett, editor of "The New Republic"; Norman Thomas, the last socialist candidate for the United States Presidency; Theodore Dreiser, novelist; Harry Elmer Barnes, historian; W. E. D. DuBois, Negro leader; Lewis S. Gannett, an editor of "The Nation"; Stuart Chase, writer; Arthur Garfield Hayes, attorney; Harry F. Ward, University professor; Jenette Rankin, ex-member of the United States Congress; Bolton Hall, lawyer; Floyd Dell, author; Paul Jones, attorney; Jerome Davis, educator; Horace B. Liveright, publisher. Any one who knows America will recognize that these are among the greatest living Americans of to-day.

Many of us do not know the position John Dewey occupies in the world of thought. We, therefore, reproduce the following from *Unity* (Chicago, October 28), edited by John Haynes Holmes, the gentleman who has declared Mahatma Gandhi to be the greatest man living:

In any list of the ten greatest Americans alive today, the name of John Dewey would be certain to appear. It is more than likely that in any list of the four or five greatest living Americans, it would appear. Indeed, there are some of us who would argue that John Dewey is our one greatest American! Certainly, in the matter of creative influence upon the human mind, there is nobody in this age who can compare with him. For better or worse, his ideas and methods have remoulded all educational processes in this country. They have crossed the seas and had their revolutionary effects in other countries. When Russia, undertaking the greatest re-organization of national education known in history, looked for guidance, it turned to Dewey. When the new China realized that right education could alone save the land from chaos, it sought leadership in Dewey. Through all the world this great teacher shines today as the beacon to which men look for light in darkness. But it is not merely as an educator that John Dewey is famous and influential. He is in his own right a mighty figure in philosophy. Not since William James has America produced a thinker so original, comprehensive, and creative. And like James, Professor Dewey is not content to bury himself as an esoteric figure in library or closet, but he comes forth to play his part in the world of

practical affairs. In politics he has at all times been a bold progressive. In the field of international reform he was one of the first to espouse the cause of the Outlawry of War, and thus give this proposal from the start the intellectual distinction of his support. One would never guess, to meet Professor Dewey, that he is one of the dominant influences in the life of a people. He is the quietest of men, modest to a fault, as unassertive in his person as he is revolutionary in his thought. He would never have sought the celebration this month of his seventieth birth-day! But friends and students everywhere remembered, and with one accord arose to acclaim John Dewey.

Regarding the fate of the wireless Dr. Sudhindra Bose writes :

Whether the wireless reached Mr. MacDonald is not known. He did not send an acknowledgment of its receipt although he acknowledged many other messages. It is however known for certain that before he left England arrangements were made that nothing was to reach him of an unpleasant nature or that would divert his attention from the subject of disarmament and whatever else he had in mind in coming to America. His secretaries carefully censored everything before it got to Mr. MacDonald.

It was also arranged before he set sail for the United States that American papers were not to publish anything in relation to Mr. MacDonald which he would not wholly approve. At the time the wireless was dispatched from New York to the English Prime Minister, it was given out to a considerable number of leading American newspapers. But none published it except the New York "World" and that in a very obscure corner. This is what it means—in the current phrase—to "buck against" the big British empire. All is not, however, over yet.

We are then told what the message has done.

The American message attached with great names has accomplished at least one conspicuous result: it has caused all these important and influential men to convert themselves definitely in to the cause of Indian independence. They have enlisted themselves definitely in the circulation and success of Dr. Sunderland's "India in Bondage", scheduled to be placed in the market within the next two weeks.

The following is what was intended to be done, after the publication of the book, when Dr. Bose wrote :

As soon as the book is out, it is proposed to hold as large a public meeting in the city of New York as possible with as important speakers as may be secured. It will of course boom the Indian cause and, incidentally, boost the sale of the book. Those who hoped to keep the public opinion of the world dumb by suppressing "India in Bondage" will be terribly disappointed.

Particulars relating to the publisher of the American edition and the contents and get-up of the book are then given as follows :

Mr. Louis Copeland is the American publisher of Dr. Sunderland's "India in Bondage: Her Right

to Freedom." Mr. Copeland's firm is located at 119 West 57th Street, New York City.

Unlike the Indian edition the American edition of the book will contain many illustrations of Indian art and architecture. The book will also have pictures of Indian celebrities, such as Tagore, Gandhi, Mrs. Besant and others. The work will contain 540 pages and will be handsomely bound. The fact that the book as published in India was confiscated and its publishers arrested has attracted much attention, and will unquestionably help its sale greatly. I am confident its American author will be fabulously famous.

This description of the American edition will perhaps lead many persons in many countries to send orders for copies to America.

Dr. Bose concludes :

H. G. Wells said the other day that the English imperial system is really a system of high and swaggering conquest, sustained by the magic of prestige. Americans will now have an opportunity to learn first hand, from one of their own native sons, how that system is actually working in India.

Chinese Outcry Against Scientific Spoilation

"If a Chinese expedition," writes *The Literary Digest* of America, "should proceed to dig up our [Red] Indian mounds, and carry off what they found, to enrich Chinese museums, we should doubtless object. Just at present, the boot is on the other leg in China." Details are given in *The Science News-Letter* of Washington. It tells the public that the expeditionary work of the American Museum of Natural History in Mongolia, led by Roy Chapman Andrews, has been interrupted by a Chinese organization, the Society for the Preservation of Cultural Objects. Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the Museum, has recently described what has happened, says *The News-Letter* :

"The expeditions of the Museum, of which the present was intended to be the seventh, have attracted world-wide attention because of their sensational discoveries of dinosaur eggs and fossils, and for their hope of finding the original home of the human race.

"The Chinese Society for the Preservation of Cultural Objects is not in any way an official body, but it possesses great influence and has apparently been able to bend officers of the Chinese Government to its will. Roy Chapman Andrews, leader of the American field party, describes much anti-foreign propaganda which this organization has been carrying on through the press and other media, charging American and European scientific expeditions with stealing China's 'priceless treasures,' 'infringing her sovereign rights,' 'seeking for oil and minerals,' 'being spies against the Government' and so on."

Further details follow.

"At the beginning of the 1929 season, Mr. Andrews states, the Chinese demanded joint participation in and control over the field expedition, the retention in China of much of the material obtained, and the eventual return of all specimens sent to the United States for study, and payment by the American Museum of all expenses for Chinese experts sent to this country to carry on research in the museum. After prolonged negotiations in an endeavour to obtain a modification of these demands, the American Museum authorities decided to suspend operations.

"The Chinese Society for the Preservation of Cultural Objects, Mr. Andrews charges, has interfered with the transportation of specimens obtained by the expedition of a year ago, causing Chinese officials to hold them at Kalgan for six weeks, and demanding certain concessions to the Society before they were released. Dr. Osborn adds that through the active interest of the Chinese Minister, Dr. Chao Chu Wu and Secretary of State Stimson, the collection has finally been shipped, and is now on the way to the American Museum, after a delay of more than a year.

"American scientists have not been alone in their molestation through the influence of this Chinese society. A large Swedish expedition, under the noted explorer Sven Hedin, was forced to accept the addition of a group of Chinese to its personnel at Swedish expense and to permit joint Chinese control."

The Chinese Society for the Preservation of Cultural Objects was perfectly right in doing what it did. Even now there are many Chinese who know the value of finds like those which have been taken away to foreign lands. If these priceless treasures could have waited in the bowels of the earth for millions of years, they can undoubtedly wait for a few years, decades, or even a century more to be dug out and taken care of by Chinese explorers.

The spoliation of India in the interests of foreign archaeologists and museums has been going on for some generations. There have been some feeble protests against it. But this sort of pillage should be entirely stopped. There ought to be an active Indian Society for the Preservation of Cultural Objects.

Mr. Gandhi on the Spinning Wheel

Answering a critic, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes thus about the spinning wheel in *Young India* :

The spinning movement aims at restoring spinning to the millions of cottages of India from which it was removed by unjust, illegal and tyrannical methods. The movement could not have been started, if somehow or other the cottages which were deprived of this universal supplementary industry had had a substitute provided for it.

Unfortunately or fortunately no substitute was provided. Hence sheer necessity compelled the students of village life, after having exhausted all other means, to resort to the spinning wheel as the only immediate solution for the serious economic distress that had overtaken the millions of India's homes by reason of the extinction of cottage spinning. The moment these millions can have a better substitute, they are at liberty to give up the spinning wheel, and no one would be more glad than I to see these millions possess a better substitute.

This is also our view of the spinning movement. It does not seek to exclude or displace any cottage job which is more paying than spinning. Moreover, the individual spinners have to invest such small capital, that there would never be much loss if they discontinued the work.

An American Opinion of Britain's Rule of Egypt

Dr. J. Moston Howell was the first American Minister to Egypt and was there in that capacity for six years. He has written a book on "Egypt's Past, Present and Future." He quotes Egyptian authorities as asserting the great Assuan dam to be of more damage than benefit. Though Egypt is said to be independent, England still holds the ruling position there. His conclusion is that "the British are in Egypt for one purpose only, their own material benefit," and adds :

"They have been in Egypt since 1882 and much less than 10 per cent. of the 14,000,000 people are able to read and write. The average wage of the toiler on farm or in workshop is but 30 cents a day. No manufactures of any note owned by Egyptians have been permitted to operate in Egypt whereby they might utilize the products of their soil and provide labour and a decent living wage for the impoverished and numerically over-supplied farm labourers. Lancashire needs the cotton and Lancashire gets it."

If the Egyptian people could have freedom from political domination and foreign interference, it is Dr. Howell's firm belief that they have the loyalty, the ability and the vision so to develop themselves and their rich country as to bring them abreast with the most progressive peoples of the earth.

German Athletes in England

A German army of athletes recently 'invaded' England. At the track meet at Stamford Bridge, near London, the Germans beat the English team by 8 events to 4.

China Spreads Her Wings

That is how a writer describes China's first genuine start toward nation-wide commercial aviation, in the *China Weekly Review*. According to that paper, seasoned American aviators with plenty of money backing were to have made the start in September last. The American corporation to which these men belong has contracts with the Chinese National Government to open three regular air-lines. The Americans do not want to keep the secret of aviation to themselves, but will train Chinese pilots.

While for safety's sake it is deemed essential to start service with men of exceptionally long experience—2000 hours being ordinarily considered a surprisingly long record—it is the desire of the company to train Chinese pilots to take over as soon as such a change would be compatible with security. Accordingly, from the beginning of service each plane will carry a special Chinese pilot in addition to the foreign pilot in charge of the ship. No "green" men will be taken, but Chinese of sufficient previous piloting experience so that they have a substantial basis on which to build.

An American Review of a Year Book of India

A foreign paper has published a somewhat humorous and slightly imaginative review of a year book of India published by an Anglo-Indian firm. It runs as follows in part:

The historical sketch is the stereotyped British viewpoint, with the "black hole of Calcutta" thrown in and all reference to the more horrible and more recent black holes (i. e. the Moplah black hole) for which the British are responsible, being gracefully avoided. In this sketch we read that the Prince of Wales was joyously greeted in India when he went there in 1922 to try and marshal Indian boot-lickers behind the English. The truth is that when he arrived in Bombay the troops had to guard him, and soldiers shot down protesting crowds. When he travelled through the states of native Princes, he was, of course, treated as a toy God—that is why the Princes are permitted to rule; but when he went through other Indian cities he proudly cantered through streets as deserted as cities of the dead, even the cats having been locked in the houses.

It is of interest that Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet are included in this year book of India.

Soldiers shooting down protesting crowds, the streets of all British-Indian cities being deserted and the cats being locked up are not mathematically accurate statements.

Just how Anglo-Indians (old style) see values is proved, according to the reviewer,

by the space given to various subjects in this book.

For instance, horse racing in India is assigned 20 pages and here you read the elevating lists of horse owners, the names of the horses, distance and time. Then comes the heading "Social and Economic Conditions." Just a little over one page is given to this subject. It's a shame they didn't have any more horse races to fill up the space. Opium, about which the Indian nationalists wage a desperate struggle because the British opium policy is ruining the lives of countless Indians, is assigned 1½ pages, and we read that the policy of the Government has not been to suppress the "indulgence of the almost universal desire of human beings for a stimulant or narcotic", and they add, especially of those whose occupations involve exposure or hard physical labour. They fail to add that opium pills are given to miserable coolies after they have reached the end of their physical strength in brute labour; and they fail to mention that the white civilized owners of the tea plantations of Assam give opium as a part of the daily wage of the plantation serfs—and that these people would not remain serfs but for the opium that drugs them. They also fail to mention that Englishmen are guarded against indulging in the "universal desire for a stimulant or narcotic."

The reviewer proceeds:

As horse racing is given 20 pages in this year book, boxing is given 6½ pages; child welfare is given just 1½ pages, although this topic begins with the statement that "among the most pressing problems of India is that presented by the appalling infant mortality"; scientific surveys are treated liberally with 4 pages, famine is given 4, local government 3, and forests 5½. The gun salutes accorded to the various English overlords, and the *** Indian princes whom they maintain, as well as the list of names of *** upon whom imperialist honours have been conferred, take up 32 pages of the volume. The last 200 pages have been devoted to a "Who's Who" in which such honoured names as Gandhi are given a few lines, along with all the British nincompoops and *** Maharajas in the country. Tagore is called "Sir", although he returned this title to the rulers of India after the Amritsar massacre in 1919.

Soviet Russia as Seen Today

Dr. Sherwood Eddy is a really religious man who has in his travels girdled the globe more than once. He is not likely to be particularly prepossessed in favour of an "irreligious" set of people like the Bolsheviks who govern Russia today. Therefore, his account of that country after his recent, fifth, visit, published in *Unity* (Chicago), must be taken to be free from bias, as far as that is humanly possible. He has seen the country twice under the Czarist and thrice under the present regime. His last visit was with a score of American educators.

We have gone everywhere with perfect freedom. We chose our own interpreters, to make us independent of professional guides, bringing one all the way from Texas. We have interviewed American, British and German business men and newspaper correspondents, and Russians of all shades of opinion, friends and foes of the government. We have made our own investigations and reached our own independent conclusions, just as we did in England, France and Germany.

In his opinion the significance of Russia for the world lies in this :

Here is the largest country in the world trying the boldest social experiment known in history. Its area is more than twice that of the United States, more than double that of all the rest of Europe combined, almost one-sixth of the habitable land area of the globe. Siberia alone, with vast undeveloped resources, if populated with the same density as Belgium, could accommodate the whole present population of the world.

In India we constantly hear of our numerous races, languages, religions, and so on, which, in the opinion of our critics, make it impossible for us to be welded into any sort of single political entity inspired by a common political ideal. But look at Russia :

Her population embraces 149 different languages and 182 different nationalities in a group of federated republics united in "voluntary centralism." Some of these peoples are more primitive and much less civilized than were Egypt and Babylon six thousand years ago. Some of their languages are now reduced to writing for the first time. In our voyage down the Volga we have passed the Tartar Republic and the "German Republic," each with its own autonomous government, education, language and culture, yet as much a part of the Union as our federated forty-eight states. Russia is the world's vast laboratory of social experiment. From Plato onward we have read of Utopias and theories for a new social order. But Russia is the first country that has ever attempted on a national and international scale actually to carry out such a colossal experiment. Both for good and evil Russia must be reckoned with."

Dr. Eddy strongly condemns some of the Russians' methods ; but he gives the results achieved by them all the same. Of the rapid development of the country, he says :

Eight years ago industrial production had fallen to little more than one-tenth of its pre-war maximum. Last year it was 125 per cent of that of 1913 without the aid of a single foreign loan. The national wealth has increased 34 per cent in the last three years, and the national income nearly 50 per cent in the last two. They have now inaugurated a five-year programme in industry and agriculture which contemplates a doubling of the industrial output, and an increase in agricultural production of 30 per cent, calling for an expenditure of over three and a half billion dollars on capital improvements and a billion and a half for new plants. At the close of the first year we hear

that in some quarters they are equalling and in some exceeding these estimates.

During the last six years Russia has trebled her production of electric power.

The Russian has lower wages but more security than the American working man. Soviet Russia is not exclusive. Of the 97 concessions in operation, 31 are German, 12 American, 10 English, 7 Japanese, 6 French, etc. The average profit of each of these concessions is about 60 per cent a year. Russia has multiplied the number of her tractors 66 fold since 1913. Ninety-seven per cent of all the land in European Russia is in the hands of individual peasants. The total membership in the Co-operative societies, which was less than 2,000,000 under Czarist opposition, has now risen to nearly 35,000,000, by far the largest in the world. Last year the Co-operatives conducted 55 per cent of the wholesale trade of Russia and 62 per cent of the retail trade. All the land is held in trust by the State for the people, and is worked by individuals or groups under a system of perpetual leasehold. Regarding the condition of workers in Russia Dr. Eddy observes :

The Russian peasant is and always has been poor. He is and always has been heavily taxed. But all things considered, the peasant is probably somewhat better off, and the industrial labourer very much better off, than under the old regime. Added to all this the country belongs to the worker and he knows it. He holds his head high. He has entered upon a new creative epoch in history and he believes in his own destiny. The workers are better clad and better paid than ever before in Russia. Nowhere have we seen great poverty, pestilential slums or neglected and unrelieved unemployment. Nowhere is child labour permitted in industry. Nowhere has woman so many protected rights. American workers are better off at a hundred points, but the Russian workers are creating the first workingmen's republic in history. It is a new venture of which they are justly proud.

The homeless children, left as a heritage of the famine, that at one time were estimated at a million, were reduced last year to 25,000, and have now practically disappeared. They are being cared for in over 200 colonies and placed in homes and on the farms.

Russia's educational achievement has been very remarkable.

The schools now enroll about eleven and a half million children, or one and a half times as many as before the war. It is claimed that 70 per cent of the children of school age are in school. The number of men who can read and write has been doubled and the women trebled. The campaign against illiteracy is being carried forward with great enthusiasm in seventy national tongues against terrific odds.

The population of Soviet Russia is given as 150,000,000. The population of British India was 247,333,423 in 1921; it should be more now. In Russia *in schools alone* there are about eleven and a half million pupils. In British India, in all classes and grades of educational institutions, from universities downwards, there were, in 1927, only 11,157,496 pupils.

Dr. Sherwood Eddy pronounces the following opinion on Russians' methods and ideals:

"However we may condemn the Russians' methods, and I shall condemn many of them unsparingly, there can be no question as to the seriousness of their ideal—"To suppress all exploitation of man by man;" to abolish all parasitic elements in society; abolish all secret treaties; free from enslavement millions of labourers in Asia; obtain self-determination for oppressed nationalities; a complete education free for all, and the ultimate equality of all citizens regardless of race or nationality; "to make war impossible and to transform the whole world into a co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom."

Russia's death-roll has been appalling.

Ten millions perished in the World War, two revolutions, civil war, and the famine, pestilence and chaos that followed. A hunger blockade was particularly effective just at this critical time. For six years the Russians faced perhaps the most colossal combination of difficulties that ever confronted a modern nation in the same period of time.

According to the writer Russian embassies have carried on propaganda. "But were they alone guilty of this?" "Time and again Russia has captured arms and ammunitions of certain imperialist foreign powers that were being used against her by others."

Regarding the result of the non-recognition of Russia by the Powers, Dr. Eddy thinks that it has given rise to "*an almost unbelievable fear psychosis.*"

"First, there is a marked and unmistakable development of *defensive militarism.*" "A second result is the recrudescence of the terror against all their internal enemies, both left and right, real or supposed, including Trotskyists, Socialists, Zionists, Counter Revolutionists, etc."

Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy

The death of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy, at the age of 70, removes from our midst Bengal's greatest giver in modern times. He was perhaps also India's greatest giver in our day. During his lifetime he spent for others than himself and his

family more than a crore of rupees—what he has left by his will is not yet known.

Born in 1860, he lost his mother at the age of two and his father when he was thirteen. Up to his 37th year he spent his days in comparative poverty. Then he succeeded to the Kasimbazar Raj Estate on the death of his maternal aunt, Maharani Swarnamayi, famous in Bengal for her charities. Manindra Chandra's charities surpassed hers in volume and variety. All public movements organized for public good received his help. Few men really in need or pretending to be in need came away disappointed from his doors.

He maintained various kinds and grades of educational institutions. Krishnanath College at Berhampur is the greatest of them all. It is a first grade College having both Arts and Science classes, with perhaps the best botanical department in all Bengal. It has a big high school attached to it. He established and maintained a polytechnic institute in Calcutta, a Mining School at Ethora, and several high and middle schools at Beldanga, Mathrun, Jabagram and other villages. The Bose Institute in Calcutta, the Benares Hindu University, the National Council of Education of Bengal, the Bengal Technical Institute, the Association for the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, the Deaf and Dumb School, the Blind School, the Daulatpur Hindu Academy, the Ranchi Brahmacharya Vidyalaya, the Rangpur College and some other institutions received substantial help from him. He gave the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad the piece of land in Calcutta on which its premises stand.

He used to pay the tuition fees of fifty students of the Sanskrit College and every year gave many poor students their examination fees. He helped many such to purchase books. One hundred and fifty students received their board and lodging year after year at his expense.

He helped many authors to publish their books. He employed Sanskrit scholars to edit, translate and publish Sanskrit books. Several authors and researchers received regular subsidies from him to purchase manuscripts and printed books for carrying on their researches. The Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan or Bengali Literary Conference, which is held annually, held its first sittings under his patronage at the Kasimbazar palace.

The first industrial exhibition organized by the Indian National Congress was opened

by him. When during the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal the memorable meeting for the boycott of British goods was held in the Calcutta Town Hall, he presided over it. He helped to send many students to England, Japan, America, and other countries for technical education. The Bengal Potteries Ltd., the Rajgaon Store Company and the china clay mines of Chaibassa bear witness to his industrial activities. He was a big colliery proprietor. He was interested in life insurance business also, being a director of a life insurance company.

He gave Rs. 15,000 to the Albert Victor Hospital at Belgachia, and established hospitals and dispensaries, one of them being Ayurvedic. The Berhampore waterworks,



Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy

inaugurated by his aunt, were completed by him.

For more than fifteen years he was chairman of the Berhampur Municipality, and chairman of the Murshidabad District Board and president of the British Indian Association till the day of his death. He was a vice-president of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. He was for some time a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. As a member of the Imperial Legislative Council he took a prominent part in opposing the Rowlatt Bill.

The man was greater than his work. Being a very kind-hearted man, he must have been sometimes cheated out of large sums

by persons pretending to be in distress or by other designing men. Some whom he had helped requited him with ingratitude or worse. But such conduct on the part of these unworthy people could not make him a misanthrope or a cynic. Till his dying day, he remained as kind-hearted and charitable as ever. He was a man of unassuming manners, modest, retiring in disposition and free from luxurious or vicious habits. That he became involved in debt to an enormous extent was due mainly to his unbounded generosity and readiness to help cultural and industrial enterprises.

He was a devout Vaishnava and liberal in his religious outlook. The land on which the Buddhist Vihara stands in Bowbazar, Calcutta, was given to it by the Maharaja. He had friends among the followers of different religions.

His son is expected to maintain all the institutions established by his father and continue his charities.

The Viceroy's Announcement

This *Review* is necessarily rather late in commenting on the Viceroy's announcement. Its last issue was published just on the eve of that declaration, and we write again after a month, when the jubilation of some, the disappointment of others and the criticism of some other politically-minded people have ceased to receive much public attention. The debates in the two houses of parliament have also cleared the air to some extent.

As we have shown in two previous issues, there was nothing new in Dominion Status being officially declared as India's political goal. The King's revised Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, given to the latter in 1921, is, we presume, an official document. Its eighth paragraph distinctly says that India is in due course to take her place among the Dominions, though no time is assigned for that event. But neither did the Viceroy say when India was to become a Dominion. Had he said so, that would no doubt have been something new. We are aware that he could not possibly say so. For no man can definitely forecast what the British Parliament will do when it next turns its attention to the reform of the Indian constitution.

As the Viceroy said nothing regarding the date by which India was to be given Domi-

nion Status, there was nothing in his announcement on the basis of which anything could be assumed regarding the time of fruition of the hope of those who wanted Dominion Status. The leaders, however, assumed that the Round Table Conference was to meet to frame a scheme of Dominion Status for India. Their statement, issued from the metropolis on the 2nd of November last, runs as follows :

"We, the undersigned, have read with careful consideration the Viceregal pronouncement on the question of India's future status among the nations of the world. We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declaration, as also the desire of the British Government to placate Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion constitution suitable for India's needs.

But we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of the principal political organizations in the country. We consider it vital for the success of the proposed conference that (a) a policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere; (b) political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty; and (c) the representation of progressive political organizations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress as the largest among them should have predominant representation.

"Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand, however, that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy.

"Until the new constitution comes into existence we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the Government of the country, that the relations of the executive and the legislature should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed conference and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices. We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced even from today and that the new constitution is to be but a register of that fact. Lastly, we deem it as an essential factor for the success of the conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible."

The leaders—it is to be presumed that all who have hitherto signed the manifesto are entitled to that appellation—"appreciate the sincerity underlying the declaration, as also the desire of the British Government to placate Indian opinion." Not being

statesmen, but mere journalists, we have not been able to appreciate the necessity or the strict relevancy of these words of the statement. Such words are always exploited for the purpose of showing that India has been or is contented. Sincerity always implies harmony between profession and practice. The profession has come, practice has still to overtake it. It is, therefore, premature to pronounce judgment. If the leaders' words were meant to be merely courteous, even then one may observe that the Government at whose head Lord Irwin stands is not particularly polite to political workers, many of whom are rotting in jail or have been fined for the mere expression of political opinion. As for the desire to placate Indian opinion, except the verbal performance of the Viceroy, what proof is there of any such desire? Perhaps the ever-increasing number of sedition trials proves this desire. Perhaps the handcuffing and chaining of gentlemen accused of expressing political opinions not liked by the Government, is another proof. Earlier still, perhaps the failure of the Government to meet the just claims of Jatindranath Das as regards the treatment of political prisoners, which could have been very promptly met, leading to his martyrdom, was also a proof.

Much has been said by British, Anglo-Indian and some Indian journals of Lord Irwin's sincerity and its magic effect. The magic effect is not perceptible. If his sincerity has put an end to all unrest, what are the sedition cases for? The cessation of unrest and the lulling of discontent would have meant that more than ever people had ceased to agitate and cry out against British rule. But Lord Irwin's rule, both before and after the announcement, has been remarkable for a bumper harvest of sedition trials. If Lord Irwin be really the magician that his eulogists would have the world believe him to be, how are these cases to be explained? Are they all unhappy dreams?

We are not unwilling to believe in the sincerity of any man. But politics is politics. The paying of compliments is not its essence. The present Viceroy and Secretary of State are not the first among India's British rulers to receive certificates of sincerity of intention, earnestness and the desire to do good to India. Have the good intentions of the earlier notable men substantially benefited India, or have they merely gone to pave a certain unnameable place? We are sorry not to be able to appreciate any Indian's hurry to bear public

testimony to the sincere desire, intention, goodwill, etc., of British statesmen, before there has been any concrete proof of these good qualities. The Government or persons connected with the Government do not at all care for *our* good intentions. They always reward us or punish us according as we promote or are opposed to *their* interests. We ought to learn the lesson of reciprocity or at least dignified reserve.

The leaders "understand" "that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion Status for India." They "hope" that they "are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy." Mr. Lloyd George's repeated questions in the Commons could not elicit any reply from the Secretary of State either in confirmation or in contradiction of the leaders' assumption. Indian optimists would construe this silence of Mr. Binn into corroboration of their interpretation, whilst British die-hards may construe it similarly in favour of their own views—both parties acting on the principle underlying the Sanskrit proverb, *maunam sammati-lakshanam*, "silence betokens assent." Mr. Binn has, however, said repeatedly that the policy of 1917 has not been changed. That vague policy has hitherto reminded Indian publicists of the British saying, "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Of course, the Birkenhead tone is gone. But if the steel gauntlet be there, does the velvet glove matter much? We do not say, it is always wise statesmanship to openly attribute bad motives or to openly express suspicion of the existence of such motives, but it certainly is wise statesmanship to hold judgment in suspense until facts are forthcoming to enable one to make a definite pronouncement. Soft words and vague promises should never be publicly accepted, even indirectly or by implication, as being even fractionally equivalent to the expected deed.

The Leaders' Conditions

The leaders deemed it necessary that "certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and insure the co-operation of the principal political organizations in the country." Neither in Britain nor in India

have the rulers of India given any indications either in words or in actions that they are inclined to fulfil these conditions. But the leaders, after meeting again at Allahabad during the third week of November, have stood by their original manifesto and decided to wait till the day of meeting of the Congress at Lahore for some response on the part of the earthly arbiters of India's destiny. And, of course, the Working Committee of the Congress have said ditto.

British Tactics and Indian—(?)

So British strategy has won the day. The Calcutta Congress had resolved that if Dominion Status were not conceded by the 31st December, 1929, the next Congress would declare for independence and launch some sort of civil disobedience campaign and thus make a bid for freedom. It was almost a certainty in December, 1928, that Dominion Status could not be attained by the end of the present year and it is a dead certainty now that Britain is not going to, cannot, give it this year. Now, the launching of a civil disobedience campaign presupposes earnest previous preparation. There has not been any such preparation. Still there was some time and chance for an eleventh hour preparation. But the Viceroy's announcement, the leaders' assumption that it promises early parliamentary legislation on the basis of Dominion Status, and their further resolve to wait till the meeting of the Congress at Lahore for a clear response to their demands, have practically given a quietus to all preparations for civil disobedience. Therefore, even if the Lahore Congress decides for independence and civil disobedience, it will remain a paper decision for lack of any previous preparation. Mahatma Gandhi has no doubt exhorted his countrymen to go on, making preparations, in disregard of what the Government attitude may be. But, we are afraid, as he has helped to produce an expectant and mendicant mood, any hope of exorcising it and replacing it by zeal for a non-violent struggle for independence does not stand much chance of fulfilment.

The British cabinet and Viceroy may not have meant to circumvent or outwit the Congress, but they have succeeded in doing so. The Congress leaders cannot justly complain if the world takes them to have only bluffed, to have never meant business,

but to have been only waiting in a beggarly spirit for some verbal crumb, however vague, to enable them to save their face while giving the go-by to their heroic conditional independence resolution.

We have spoken only of Congressmen. Politicians who do not belong to the Congress school were under no obligation to follow their lead. And for the sake of a united front, Congressmen could certainly stretch a point. They could say that they would not interpret the last Calcutta Congress resolution quite literally, but would be prepared to hold its terms fulfilled if a definite promise came from the British side that the very next step in Indian constitutional evolution would be Dominion Status. But there has not been any such clear promise. Therefore, practically the Congress leaders who have signed and abide by the manifesto are in this matter as good as Liberals, yept Moderates in popular parlance.

If British politicians were not consummate strategists, they could not have run a large empire. If our leaders want to be masters in their own household, they should be able to meet strategy with strategy. Strategy need not mean any dishonest trick or lying diplomacy. But it would certainly demand as a pre-requisite that our leaders should not be eager to be easily satisfied. One need not assume that they are gullible or can be duped.

In the estimation of some of our politicians, British susceptibilities as to what, coming from them, would be considered graceful or its opposite, appear to be a more important consideration than the sufferings of their own countrymen. We will take a paragraph from the *Servant of India* to make our meaning plain.

"Conditions Detract from Gracefulness of Acceptance."

Writing of the leaders' conditions, the *Servant of India* says :

At the other end of the scale are several other leaders who are for accepting the offer of the Viceroy without seeming to make any conditions such as are contained in the manifesto prepared by representatives of all parties in Delhi. Among such are no less influential leaders than Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jayakar, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. The conditions mentioned in it require (1) a general policy of conciliation to be inaugu-

ated, (2) amnesty to be given to political prisoners, and (3) the personnel of the representatives to the Round Table Conference to be selected predominantly from the Congress group. The first two conditions are regarded by these leaders as unnecessary, being more or less implicit in the new policy. It is felt inconceivable, e. g., that the Government will be anything but conciliatory in their general attitude if, as is believed by the signatories of the Delhi manifesto, the Government intend to formulate and adopt a constitution, more or less of the Dominion type. And when the Act conferring Dominion Status is passed, it will necessarily be followed, as is usual whenever such big constitutional changes take place, by a general amnesty. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and others therefore feel that, by attaching what look like conditions to the acceptance of the offer, we gain nothing which would not in the ordinary course be secured, but only detract from the gracefulness of our acceptance. This seems to be their reasoning, since Mr. Jinnah himself in his own statement has referred to general amnesty as a thing which will or must come.

Assuming the anticipations of our graceful politicians would all turn out true, which is by no means certain, there is no knowing when the Act conferring Dominion Status would be passed. It may be a year, it may be more, hence. In the meantime our brothers and sisters, the political prisoners are to serve out their terms in jail—some may have to end their days there away from their near and dear ones, under-trials are to go to prison or to pay fines, and so on and so forth, because whatever happens we must above all be graceful !

An Omission in the Conditions

As the leaders did lay down conditions, in spite of their being considered ungraceful by some Indian politicians, it strikes us that they might have added one more without which the conciliation of Indians would be impossible. Anti-Indian propaganda has been going on vigorously for some time past, and after the Viceroy's announcement it has taken a more virulent form. Many of the propagandists draw pensions from the Indian treasury and some are actually still in some Indian service or other. It should be made a costly luxury for them to carry on such propaganda. We know Government will not accede to this request or demand. But neither will they to any other that has been made before. So, irrespective of what the authorities may or may not do, we should tell them what will bring about a contented state of mind. And we all know that anti-Indian propaganda stands in the way of the establishment of

right relations between Indians and the British people. The Government of India may not be able to do anything or much to prevent such propaganda by persons who are not its pensioners or servants; but in the case of those who are either, it ought certainly to make its will felt.

"Misgivings and Dissatisfaction" and the Graceful Politicians

The leaders passed the following resolution at Allahabad on the 19th ultimo :

"This Conference has viewed with misgivings and dissatisfaction the recent debates in Parliament in regard to the Viceroy's declaration. This conference, however, decides to stand by the Delhi Manifesto and hopes that full early response will be made to it."

This represents the popular view, as we understand it, slightly more nearly than the Delhi Manifesto, which in our opinion cannot be said to reflect popular opinion.

What, however, will the "graceful" Indian politicians think of the words "misgivings and dissatisfaction?"

The Congress Working Committee's Resolution

On November 19, later than midnight, the Working Committee of the Congress passed the following resolution :

"Having regard to the Viceregal pronouncement of Nov. 1, the Delhi Manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to other political parties in the country and the events that have subsequently happened and having regard to the opinions of friends that the response from the British Government to the Delhi Manifesto should be further awaited before the policy laid down therein is revised, the Working Committee confirms the action taken by Congressmen at Delhi, it being clearly understood that this confirmation is constitutionally limited to the date of holding of the forthcoming session of the Congress.

The probable indirect effect of this policy of waiting has been pointed out in a previous note. Apart from it, however, the matter was too important to be disposed of by the Working Committee. The decision of the Congress can be reversed or kept in abeyance only by the Congress. It is greater than its committees, greater than its greatest leaders.

Could Labour Cabinet Promise Dominion Status ?

It is well known that before Mr. Ramsay MacDonald became premier for the second time, he clearly and definitely prophesied at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference on July 9, 1928, that India would become a Dominion very early. Now that he is in power, he is no doubt in honour bound to redeem his promise given in the shape of prophecy. But could he definitely promise Dominion Status now as premier? Of course, he could not. But he could certainly do the next best thing. He could certainly say that his cabinet would introduce a Bill in parliament with that object, and its fate would depend on the strength of party votes. But it may be objected that, as the Simon Commission has not yet reported, how could he ignore and override the Commission? Where there is a will, there is a way. It would no doubt be only proper to allow the Report of the Commission to appear before saying anything. But the drafting and publication of the Report of that body could have been expedited. The Hartog Committee was appointed much later than the Simon Commission. It reported some time ago. The Indian Central Committee was appointed much later than the Simon Commission and it had to report on much the same kind of problems as the Commission. Its report, too, was completed some time ago. The Hartog Committee and the Indian Central Committee could have been influenced to report much earlier than they have done, and the Simon Commission also could thus have been influenced to submit its report early enough to enable the Cabinet to make a declaration weeks before next Christmas. But it may be objected, the Commission might not have recommended the granting of Dominion Status, and in that case how could the Labour Cabinet have promised to introduce an Indian Dominion Bill in parliament? This is not an insuperable objection. So far as India is concerned there have been several reports of several Commissions and Committees whose recommendations have not been carried into effect. Why must the Simon Commission's Report be slavishly followed?

The fact is, the British Government have not taken the Congress resolution seriously. And that is not to be surprised at; for Congressmen themselves do not appear to have been quite in earnest about it. Had

they been so, Government also would have tried to meet them half way, instead of coming out with an announcement which may not amount to anything or may mean something.

As the *Servant of India* puts it,

No one can challenge the truth of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's statement that "there is no acceptance by the British Government of the demand for immediate and full Dominion Status without reservation; nor is there any promise that the decision of the Conference will *ipso facto* be accepted by the British Government." He is therefore right when he says that honesty alone should require Congressmen to reject the Viceroy's offer and prepare themselves for the action to which they have committed themselves.

The Round Table Conference

What has been spoken of as the Round Table Conference was promised by the Viceroy in the following words:

When therefore the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports, and these have been published, and when His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them, separately or together as circumstances may demand, for the purpose of conference and discussion in regard both to the British-Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

It will be at once seen that this is not the kind of Round Table Conference which Indian legislators and other representative men wanted long before the Viceroyal utterance.

The conference will be called after the British Government and the Indian Government have in consultation with each other considered the Simon Commission's Report and the Indian Central Committee's Report in the light of other materials also then available. It is neither the nature nor the practice of Governments to consult each other without arriving at some sort of decisions, call them tentative if you will. So though Mr. Benn says that the Indian representatives at the conference will be heard with an *open* mind, the mind may really be only one-eighth or one-tenth open, if at all. It must also be borne in mind that the choice of representatives rests entirely with the Government. Another disturbing factor is that the Govern-

ment members may meet the representatives of the States and of British India together. We think the princes have no right to say what form of government British India is to have within the Empire. They are only concerned with their relation to British India. In no Act or official document has the political evolution of British India been declared to be dependent on the opinion of the ruling princes. Let it first be settled what form of government British India is to have, and then let the princes have their say as to how they want to stand related to it.

There is no hope held out or suggestion made that the opinions of the Indian representatives will be the decisive factor, or even have greater influence than the opinions of witnesses giving evidence before a commission. Mr. Benn has said that the views of the Indian representatives will be considered. But the views of those who appeared before the Simon Commission were also considered. The only important difference, therefore, between the witnesses before the Commission and the Indian representatives at the proposed Conference would be that the former spoke to some Englishmen called the Commission and the latter will speak to some other Englishmen called the Government. It would not then be very wide of the mark to call these representatives glorified witnesses before a body which, like the Simon Commission, has no Indian member. The Simon Commission was boycotted because it had no Indian member. But the Conference is not to be boycotted for that reason. Not that we are suggesting a boycott of the Conference. Boycotts, whether economic or political, are negative things. They cannot bear fruit unless the boycotters can do something positive and constructive to organize and help the nation. That neither the Congress nor any other body has been doing in earnest.

Wrong Uses of Power and A Remedy

A report of the proceedings of the eighth annual conference of the E. B. Railway Indian Employees' Association held this year was received some time ago. It appears from this publication that after Mr. J. K. Chatarji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. I. B. Sen, the President, had spoken, Mr.

P. H. Maffin, Agent, E. B. Ry., addressed the Conference. There is only one reference in his speech to the address of the President, and that is contained in the sentence, "I have listened with interest to the speeches of your President, and particularly of the Chairman of your Reception Committee, whom I congratulate on the moderation with which he has spoken." That Mr. Sen's speech was not noticed any further is not to be wondered at for, in addition to discussing such questions as the attitude of the State to trade unions, compulsory allegiance and automatic inheritance of allegiance, tie of service and wages, "insecurity of service of the Indian employees of this Railway," the need of carrying on persistent agitation, etc., he went on to say :

"Give a man power and he is sure to abuse it" was a saying of an English lawyer friend of mine. That may be too sweeping a generalization : but sociologists have pointed out that "Power is liable to be diverted to the private benefit of the power-holders. Always and everywhere public moneys are spent chiefly for the few, when the few rule." To misapply a sacred paradox : unto him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away. That may be a common enough experience in this selfish world. But our Association has expressly aimed at setting right such wrongs, putting forth its small fund of energy in bringing about a new world with equal opportunity for all, irrespective of colour, creed and race. No wonder then that we have protested and shall continue to protest against the new scheme of assessment of house-rent for quarters supplied by the Railway administration to its staff.

Mr. Sen then proceeded to bring home to his audience the iniquity of the new scheme by mentioning the following details :

The Agent earning Rs. 3,650 a month will pay Rs. 82 a month less under the new policy than under the old. The Deputy Heads of Departments earning Rs. 2,145 a month will pay Rs. 83 per month less as a result of this innovation. The senior scale officers on Rs. 1,199 a month will pay Rs. 60 a month less and the junior scale officers on Rs. 1,075 a month will pay Rs. 71 a month less. To come to the European subordinates, the senior subordinates on Rs. 300 a month to Rs. 450 a month or over, will have to pay as a result of his innovation Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 a month more than formerly. And the junior subordinates on Rs. 225 a month or under to Rs. 299 a month or under will have to pay Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 a month more than formerly. The above practical result is a sufficient proof of the sound corporate wisdom of the direction. But how do the Indian subordinate staff stand under the new policy ? The increase in the burden in their case has been sometimes Rs. 9 a month to an individual drawing Rs. 250 to Rs. 350 a month. To an individual drawing Rs. 40—Rs.

124 or Rs. 80—Rs. 199 a month, the increased burden has come up to Rs. 3-12 a month. And the menial staff drawing monthly Rs. 30. or less, though entitled to free quarters or allowance in lieu thereof, have not yet got any benefit of the new provision. These may be small details ; but the life of the poor is made up of small details. Those in power should be reminded from time to time of the hardship of small details upon the daily life of the powerless and the poor. And it is good for those in power and for society generally that the former should be reminded that power is liable to be diverted to the private benefit of the power-holders.

No man in power can possibly like such a homethrust.

Mr. I. B. Sen gave the E. B. Railway Indian Employees' Association very good advice as to how its strength and the strength of other Indian organizations can be increased. Said he :

I have never tired of urging you to enlist proletarian members as equal comrades, by thousands, and I shall never tire of reminding my countrymen of that imperative duty in every sphere of our organized activity. That is the one royal road to strength without which all reason, all truth, all claims of justice, all that man can rightly be proud of as peculiarly humane and noble, are but mere unrealized dreams. Strength for the Association is the most imperative necessity. Without it the justest cause, merely by reason of its justice, will never be near achievement. India wants to-day nothing so much as organized strength for her salvation. And our Association is subject to the same sociological laws and must guard against the same dangers that make our activity everywhere in India futile and unreal and theatrical.

Mr. Narottam Morarjee

The death under painfully sudden circumstances of Mr. Narottam Morarjee has been a great loss to the Indian business world. And not to the business world alone. As *The Indian Social Reformer* says, "it is as a cultured and warm-hearted friend with overflowing sympathy for all good causes that Mr. Narottam Morarjee will be best remembered by those who knew him."

Non-official and Official Preparations for the Congress

The Reception Committee of the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress have been energetically pushing forward all necessary arrangements. The denizens of the official world, too, are not asleep. They too are busy making preparations. Additional police forces are to be drafted into Lahore, for which a large grant has been obtained.

The worst that the Congress can resolve to do at its coming session is to revive non-violent non-co-operation. It is, therefore, to be hoped, the police will not, as its antidote, indulge in violent co-operation with any 'strong' bureaucrat of the type of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

A so-called "Women in India" Conference

A statement bearing the signatures of some prominent Indian women now in England has appeared in some British and Indian papers. It relates to a conference on "Women in India," held in London in October last under the auspices of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, presided over by Miss Rathbone, M. P., when 25 British women's organizations were represented. How this conference was like a gathering of she-wolves in sheep's skin will appear from the following passages of the statement :

At the opening of the Conference, the Chair-woman made it perfectly clear that it was a Conference of British women only and that Indian women were present in the capacity of experts to report on the work of Women's Organizations in India. A question was raised quite early regarding the composition of the Committee responsible for the programme and the Resolutions. The Chair confessed that the Committee was "a very valuable workable Committee, a Committee of two, namely, Miss Caton and myself."

Since the Resolutions all urge voluntary societies to carry out certain measures in the interests of reform, it is only natural that the representatives of these societies should enquire into the credentials of those who offer their help. A close scrutiny reveals that the more important of this "useful Committee of two," Miss E. Rathbone, had some months previously written an article published in the *Hibbert Journal*, supporting Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," which the "Office of the Women of India Proposed Survey" has since published in pamphlet form for distribution.

It is common knowledge that no voluntary Men or Women's Organizations in India, religious or non-religious, will identify themselves with supporters and apologists of Katherine Mayo, and if the "Office of the Women of India Proposed Survey" lends its authority to pamphlets of this nature, we, the representatives of voluntary efforts in India, dissociate ourselves completely from the work of the said Office and its organizers.

When at the Conference the Indian representatives drew attention to these facts and many irregularities of procedure, they were ruled out of order. No mention of or reference to the pamphlet was allowed. Are we to take this, as proof that its author is ashamed of her publication?

Death of the Maharaja of Nepal

The death of Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal removes a striking personality from that country. The Prime Minister of Nepal is the real ruler, the king is a mere figure-head. The greatest achievement of the late Prime Minister, that which will for ever shed a lustre on his name and immortalize him, was the abolition of slavery in Nepal at great expense to the State and to his private purse. That the measure did not rouse any opposition in the country shows the great influence which he had over his countrymen. This act of philanthropy he did of his own motion. An attempt was made by a certain British bureaucrat to give the credit for it to the League of Nations. We exposed this attempt, and it was acknowledged publicly afterwards that the League of Nations had nothing to do with it.

The Rana was a cultured man and a patron of learning and education. He did much to modernize Nepal by the introduction of railway transport, the carrying out of a hydro-electric scheme for the supply of electric power, the establishment of a hospital equipped with up-to-date scientific instruments and appliances, and other measures.

Some Andhra Reformers

Swarajya of Madras has published an article on social reform in the Andhra-desh by Mr. M. V. Ramana Rao, in the course of which the writer gives short character-sketches of some social reformers. He begins, of course, with the illustrious Viresalingam Pantulu.

After Bengal, where the seed of social reform was sown, it is Andhra where the principles of the Brahmo Samaj have spread with a rich luxuriance. Although, as in Bengal, it has not gained a considerable number of recruits to its fold, its influence has permeated every home, and those who are still bound by orthodoxy have had their hearts made receptive to liberal impulses and their minds opened to the illumination of noble ideals. The memory of the late Mr. K. Viresalingam Pantulu, the pioneer Social Reformer in Andhra, is still cherished as an imperishable perfume of rich achievement. He was not a Brahmo Samajist until the fag-end of his career; during which his existence was crowded by events whose magnitude and magnificence can be gauged only by their results. But he imbibed, I believe, the best that was in the teachings of the Bengalee reformer and sought to introduce into the atmosphere of Andhra, the new

air of social justice, freedom and righteousness that until then he found to be absent. He took up the cause of the child-widow and by discussions and disquisitions, through speeches and writings, by quotations from religious texts and appeals to humane impulses, he tried to convince and convert the people of Andhra to the necessity of putting an end to the insufferable horror, called 'the child widow' by permitting her to remarry. Some were convinced, others were converted. But the majority held back. Widow marriages were performed according to Hindu Sastrie rites, but the parties were excommunicated.

The writer then narrates what the honest lieutenants of the great reformer have done. Among them, he refers first to the saintly and scholarly Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu. Whole passages relating to him and some younger persons are worth quoting, but room can be found only for brief extracts.

One stalwart figure, among the old and venerable, stands out prominent in the social annals of modern Andhra that has sown in every young heart the seed of moral uprightness and intellectual rectitude. Sir R. Venkataratnam, who is among the old but is of the young, an educationist of the first order, recalling the historical personality of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, a social reformer of the very ideal type, in his immaculate white robes that are the external symbols of a pure and rare heart, that they not merely don but adorn, has wielded enormous influence in the Andhra Society. As a teacher, he not merely confined himself to the text of the lessons that he was expected to teach, but made it a pretext for the inculcation of a moral idealism that no student could get from any other teacher, living or dead, in Andhra. Every young man that came to him as a student to learn lessons became a disciple that would spread his message wherever he went. Thus, although he was not of the dynamic and fighting variety like Viresalingam, by a splendid example of moral excellence and intellectual eminence, by imperceptibly converting a lesson on Shakespeare into an oration on ethics and transforming the lecture hall into a pulpit, he made raw hearts mellow. As a Brahmo Samajist, he spread the message of the Bengalee reformer.

Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao and Mr. P. Ramaswamy have been among the very foremost of his adherents.

The reader is then introduced to younger men.

As the spiritual adviser, if I be permitted to use such a phrase, of the Maharaja of Pittapur, he has been responsible for social and religious reform in Andhra to not an inconsiderable extent.

Long before politicians took up the cry of removal of untouchability that now reverberates throughout India Sir Raghupathi fostered daughters from the lowest of the low and kept them in his own house and gave them food, raiment and education and by his example showed that social reform might be effected by other means than by political trumpeting and tub-thumping.

Last of all, we would quote the writer's paragraph on the Maharaja of Pithapuram.

I would refer to another personality in Andhra society from among the aristocracy of the country who has been devoting his wealth to the uplift of the downtrodden and fallen members of humanity. The Maharajah of Pithapuram has established an orphanage at Cocanada, wherein all children who have lost their parents are admitted and cared for, educated and married according to Brahmo rites, no distinction of caste is allowed, where all children live as brothers and sisters with common meal, with common prayer and with common ideals. In such splendid and profitable ways has the Maharajah been extending his munificence in Andhra and elsewhere for spreading equality and fraternity among the people and stifling all that is narrow, communal and unclean in society. The Prarthana Samaj at Cocanada is his gift.

'The Graphic' on "Divide and Rule"

The Graphic wrote in its issue of May 23, 1891:

"Perhaps it may be just as well that the antagonism [between Hindus and Mahomedans] has sprung up: 'divide and rule' is a maxim of sovereign efficacy in the East."

Increase in the Number of Sedition Trials

In the peroration of his argument against the accused in the *India in Bondage* case, the Advocate-General of Bengal observed that "sedition has become fashionable." So it has, indeed. For, the number of sedition trials has been gradually increasing—incidentally showing that not only the committing of the offence of sedition has become fashionable, but the prosecution of people on the charge of sedition is also now the vogue. Seriously, the Government here and in Britain ought to appoint a commission to enquire why people should have taken a fancy to following this particular fashion, though it brings hardships on them.

They say in English, "It is darkest before dawn." Apologists and defenders of the Labour Government in England and its subordinate government in India may interpret the increasing number of sedition trials in India as an effort on the part of these two Governments to prepare for the dawn of freedom in India by trying to provide the maximum amount of darkness before its advent.

"Long Live Revolution"

According to a Free Press message, at a meeting of the Naujawan Sabha (Youth

League) of Gujranwala in the Punjab a resolution was passed protesting against the arrest of students on the ground of their shouting "Long live Revolution," and "Down with Imperialism," before the court of the Special Magistrate of Lahore. The resolution states that every one has the right to utter these cries. It is difficult for laymen to say what cries are or are not legal, when even High Court Judges have differed in their interpretation of the law of sedition. But young enthusiasts will pardon an old cynical journalist for confessing that the cry "Long Live Revolution" has sometimes appeared to him to be a bit funny. A revolution may now and then have been a necessity in the world's history, and we should personally like an early non-violent social, economic and political revolution in India. But what is the exact meaning of "Long live Revolution?" To be at work is a sign of life. When a desire is expressed for revolution to live long, is it desired that the revolutionary process should be at work every hour, day, week, month and year of our lives? In other words, are we to have a revolution as often as possible? Such ceaseless revolutions may make for change, but scarcely for progress, improvement and enlightenment. What one revolution effects must have time to settle down and take root and bear fruit. A ceaseless revolutionary process would make India like what James Russell Lowell called "the Catharine-wheel republics of South America" of his day. No doubt, no revolution can produce a final state of improvement; there must be changes even after a revolution. But these should be brought about by evolution. There may again be a revolution after several generations, if not centuries, have passed. But that is not what is implied in the shout "Long live Revolution."

Philippine Independence Bill

NEW YORK, Nov. 27.

Mr. Knutson, a member of the House of Representatives is introducing a Bill in that House authorizing President Hoover to proclaim independence for the Philippine islands and to convene a convention for drafting a constitution for the Philippines on the basis of its independence.

The Bill has aroused considerable opposition in the imperialist circles, which contend that Philippine independence is incompatible with the safety of the American investments in those islands and that the islands are unprepared to bear the risks attached to independence and are

strategically too important to be separated.—
"Free Press Beam service."

There is a family resemblance between the arguments of imperialists of different nations separated by thousands of miles of air and water. For instance, this talk of American investments is matched by one of the latest of British cries, namely, General MacMunn's article in "Sunday Reference," where he says, Britain cannot lightly abandon what is admittedly a capital investment and represents the work of generations of empire builders.

Training of Indians for Air Force and Navy

In the House of Commons, replying to Com. Kenworthy regarding facilities for training Indians for the Air Force Mr. Benn stated that no Indian who had given the Air Force college at Cranwell his first choice, had succeeded in qualifying as the result of the two Army and Air Force examinations hitherto held.

Indian cadets passing out of Cranwell would be given Commissions in a separate Indian air force and not in the R. A. F.

As far as Mr. Benn was aware there was no Indian in the Air Force in India at present and it was naturally desired to secure them.

Com. Kenworthy inquired about facilities for training Indians as officers in the Navy and the Indian Marine.

Mr. Benn said that Indians were recruited only for the Indian Marine. It was intended to send selected candidates to Britain in the executive branch for two years' training in the Navy, in the engineering branch unless they were qualified engineers, for five years' training in shipyards, and for three months under the Admiralty. The policy was to provide the best available training.... "Reuter."

But how many Indians gave the Air Force College at Cranwell their first choice? The failure of one or two cannot be conclusive. And so long as a big country like India has the very scanty facilities of training in a distant country, only a very few can avail themselves of it. And they may not be the ablest. Money and brains do not always go together, to say the least. Another reason why Indians will not go to Cranwell in sufficient numbers is that "Indian cadets passing out of Cranwell would be given commissions in a separate Indian Air Force and not in the R. A. F." That is to say, there would be segregation of Indians in the Air Force, as there is such segregation in the Land Force under the "eight units scheme," which the Sandhurst Committee recommended to be abandoned.

So far as the Navy is concerned, the position of Indians is the worst, because it

is nil. Or, perhaps, it is the best. For it is better not to participate in anything if one cannot do so without sacrificing human dignity and self-respect.

The Indian National Social Conference

The Reception Committee of the Indian National Social Conference at Lahore had elected Mahatma Gandhi president of its forthcoming session. But he has declined the offer on the ground of pre-occupation and also because "his way is often different from that of the orthodox reformers." The first ground is quite valid. The second is also important, because in such matters the feasibility of harmonious co-operation must be taken into consideration. No doubt, Mahatma's way is also sometimes different from that of orthodox Swarajist Congressmen. But then he likes them, and they associate with him and are very much under his influence in all public affairs, which cannot be said to be true in the case of "orthodox social reformers." Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy has been now offered the presidentship.

All-India Theistic Conference

The Reception Committee of the All-India Theistic Conference which meets at Lahore next Christmas has elected Babu Ramananda Chatterjee its president. He has accepted the offer with thanks.

Calcutta Municipal Gazette Annual

The fifth Annual of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is as fine a production as any of its predecessors. The get-up is excellent, and the contents varied and interesting and instructive. One could wish that Calcutta were as good a city to live in as its Municipal Gazette Annual is pleasant and profitable to look at and read.

"The Leader" of Allahabad

The appearance of *The Leader* of Allahabad in an improved form with the help of up-to-date machinery is an event of importance. The paper has at present a more attractive appearance than before, and, with the increased experience of those who work the

machines, the get-up is sure to improve still further. The editor is now able to give his readers a greater quantity and variety of matter to read, for their information, instruction and recreation. Without meaning the least injustice to the editor's assistants and contributors, who have all worked for its success, it may be said that *The Leader* owes its present position most to Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

"Isolation" and Independence

It has been a favourite argument with those who want Dominion Status for India that independence implies isolation, whereas Dominion Status would mean association with the British people and the self-governing countries included within the British Empire. There is no denying the fact that if Dominion Status ever came, actually to mean complete equality of political status with Great Britain, which at present it does not even in the case of the most advanced Dominions, it would be equivalent to independence. It is also true that Dominion Status is not static and stationary, but assumes higher and higher forms by evolution. It is further true that Dominion Status can be obtained without a revolution of any kind, which independence can scarcely be. And Dominion Status is not a bar to but may facilitate the attainment of independence. But when all this has been said, it still remains true that independence is a higher ideal and status, and worthier for freedom-loving men to strive for than Dominion Status. As for isolation, it is not true that the fifty or more independent states in the present-day world lead isolated lives. They have their allies and friends. They have political intercourse and cultural and commercial co-operation with other countries. And this they have as equals. In the case of the British Empire, the Dominions are no doubt associated with Great Britain, but they are so, to use plain language, yet as *proteges*—we will not use the harsher word 'inferiors.' That is scarcely a position to be envied or aspired to as the highest goal by lovers of liberty.

Under Dominion Status a dominion is associated with the British empire; but under independence, a country is at liberty to associate itself with or dissociate itself from any other country that it pleases and can. Dominion Status, then,

means a somewhat circumscribed association and a wider dissociation; whilst independence means as wide an association with other peoples as a country's neighbourliness, statesmanship and capacity for cultivating friendship may enable it to attain.

A German Professor on Indian Scientists

At one of the sittings of a conference of Indian and European students, held at Dresden on April 3 to 9 this year, the Chairman, a German professor, said:

This survey from all sides has been most valuable. We have heard of Tagore, of Gandhi, and of the medical schools of Delhi and Hardwar. But there are others also, there is the laboratory of Sir J. C. Bose. There are those of Sir P. C. Ray, where the old Hindu passion for scientific truth is still to be found, and there is Professor Raman in Calcutta, the greatest authority on the molecular dispersion of light. Moreover, the old schools themselves exist, as you can see by reading Lord Ronaldshay's book "The Heart of Aryavarta."

Indian States Subjects and the Round Table Conference

An Associated Press message informs the public that

In reply to the various Indian States Subjects' Associations who have claimed that they should be represented at the Conference of which intimation was given in H.E. the Viceroy's statement on October 31, the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy has pointed out that so far as the Indian States are concerned the questions, which, it is contemplated, will be discussed at the Conference, will be confined to broad questions of constitutional policy in regard to which the acknowledged rulers of Indian States are the only persons who can speak with authority. It is also pointed out that questions concerning the internal government of the States will not arise at the Conference and that, indeed, their discussion is precluded because such matters are within the purview of the Rulers of each state subject to the responsibility of the Paramount Power for protecting the people against gross misgovernment.

The Viceroy's reply may be technically correct. But the Indian States Peoples' demand is just. The people of British India are proposed to be given an opportunity to have their say, not before their immediate rulers the Governor-General and Governors, but before the British Government in Great Britain which is the paramount power.

Similarly, the ruling princes, like the Governor General of India, are not independent potentates, but have to acknowledge the suzerainty of Great Britain. Why then, like the people of British India, should the people of the Indian States not have an opportunity to place their views regarding new constitutional or political developments, affecting the whole of India, before those in London who are authorized to act for Great Britain?

The Twenty-fourth Year of The Modern Review

With its present issue *The Modern Review* completes the twenty-third year of its existence. It will enter on its twenty-fourth year in January next. The editor is getting old, but the *Review* is still young. As such it is expected to be able to make many improvements yet in its career of service to the country and the world. That it may be able to do so, it solicits the kind co-operation of all who are in any way connected with it. It has made mistakes and has defects. But we hope and trust that in spite of its mistakes and defects it has friends all over the country and abroad, as is betokened by the expression of the unanimous opinion on all sides that it is the leading Indian monthly. If all those who like it would kindly continue to support us and also speak to their friends to take it and keep it in their homes, that would greatly help and encourage us to effect improvements. It has no doubt the largest circulation of all Indian monthlies; but that is not sufficient.

As an earnest of what we intend to do, we shall make the January issue a special number. In addition to the usual features, it will contain more coloured and other plates than usual and illustrated articles on Art, Archaeology and History. We hope to be able to include more than the usual number of topical articles, too. As all this will mean increased expense, the price of the January number will be higher than usual. But subscribers will not have to pay anything extra for it. The enhanced price is meant only for cash purchasers of the number.

Benares Municipal Board Schools

The editor of this Review had occasion recently to get some knowledge of the elementary schools maintained by the Benares Municipal Board. In addition to the usual general education, the pupils are taught spinning, weaving, knitting hosiery, tailor's work, etc. Pupils belonging to the so-called untouchable castes are admitted to these schools as a matter of course. If pupils coming from "high caste" families object or threaten to leave any school on account of their admission, the superintendent rightly does not take any notice of such things, and so they die out. That should be the attitude of all school authorities everywhere. The superintendent of the Benares municipal board schools has introduced some new devices for teaching the pupils their letters.

The Right to Worship in Temples

As Indians in general want to have their political rights, so the so-called lower-caste Hindus are striving to obtain their social and religious rights. It is the duty of all right-minded men and women to help them to secure them. What "lower-caste" men now want is simply to have entry to temples, and the right of having a sight of the gods or goddesses and doing obeisance to them. Those priests, trustees and managers of temples in C. P. and Bombay and Bengal who, of their own accord or as the result of *satyagraha*, have agreed to all Hindus exercising this right, have done what is reasonable and just. Those who are still resisting are unreasonable and unwise.

All kinds of *satyagraha* cannot, however, be approved. Any kind of *satyagraha* which leads to the blocking of the way to temples or interferes with the devotions of those who usually resort to them for worship, cannot be supported. And recourse to physical force by either party must of course be strongly condemned. It would be best to obtain results by conference and negotiation. And if "higher-caste" men took the lead in such conferences and negotiations and, if need be, in the right kind of *satyagraha*, the chances of friction and caste-war would be minimized.

It is a pleasure to note in this connection

that Mr. Padmaraj Jain and several Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders are trying to effect an amicable settlement of the *satyagraha* at Kali's temple in Munshiganj.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn on the Proposed Conference

A Reuter's cable, dated London, the 27th November, informs the public that

In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Graham Pole, Mr. Benn recalled that the purpose of the proposed Conference was to seek the greatest possible measure of agreement for final proposals to be submitted later to Parliament.

He gave the assurance that the Government of India would co-operate in securing, when the time came, that the Conference included those who could authoritatively speak for British-Indian political opinion and was fairly and fully representative of all viewpoints.

Let us wait and see.

Mahatma Gandhi's Gift of his Press

The Associated Press of India informs the public that

Mr. Gandhi has made a trust deed of the Navajivan Printing Press, from which are published the "Navajivan" in Gujarati and Hindi and the "Young India" in English, making the whole property, worth about one lakh of rupees, over to the public. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Kaka Kalelkar, Mr. Mahadev Desai and Mr. Mohanlal Bhatt, Manager of the Press, are made trustees with power to add to their number. They have to conduct the institution with the object of preaching non-violence for the attainment of Swaraj, doing propaganda work for "khadi", for removal of untouchability, communal unity and cow protection work. The programme also includes propaganda for establishment of Hindi as national language by undermining the unnatural position which English has occupied in the country by publishing newspapers and books for social, religious, economic and political progress of the people. In the books, newspapers and leaflets published from this Institution such advertisements must not be accepted and the printing work is not to be done which may contravene the objects of the institution. All activities of the institution should always be conducted on a self-supporting basis.

Indian Medical Practitioners and the Indian Medical Service

We have said in a previous issue that a number of European members of the Indian

Medical Service have preferred certain charges against Indian Medical Practitioners. This statement will be supported by the following abstract of the representation made to the last Royal Commission on Public Services in India by some officers of the Indian Medical Service. We have got the names of the signatories, but it is not necessary to publish them :

Much has been said recently about the need for fostering the indigenous medical profession, European and Indian. We feel that when the question was first considered by the India Office the actual facts were not known, and the agitators' demands were listened to and acted on without critical examination. Some of the signatories of this representation have been in actual touch with the practice of their profession both in the Mofussil and in the city of Bombay for from 20 to 30 years, and are therefore well qualified to express their views. The indigenous profession is in a very active and virile state and instead of officers of the Service encroaching on the rights of independent members of the profession, it is they who have acquired the practice formerly enjoyed by officers in the Service. Not only are many Europeans attended professionally by doctors educated in this country, but there are many more pure European private practitioners than existed some years ago. These permanently resident practitioners have an enormous advantage over the Service Officers ; whereas, owing to the latter being liable to transfer, the former gradually acquire the bulk of the practice, because patients naturally go to those who are known to them rather than to an officer of the Service brought down a stranger to the city. The "family doctor" in every Indian household is, without exception, a doctor of their own community : if a member of the Service is called in, it is as a consultant. Further, the Service does not hold a monopoly of consultations, for a certain number of Indian practitioners also enjoy this position. About 20 years ago a "union" was

formed in this city composed of some members of the medical profession, and one of the acts of this body was to form a bond to boycott "Service" medical officers. The influence of the "Union" in this direction is still exercised. Regarding practice in the Mofussil towns the same remarks apply ; it is practically entirely in the hands of Indian members of the profession.

The representation proceeds :

We submit that this "Medical Union" is an admittedly anti-service organization, and that one of the primary objects of the agitation organized by this body is the gradual, and ultimately complete, acquisition of the higher appointments held by the Service. Whilst we recognize that certain appointments should be given to members of the profession belonging to this country when men of recognized ability are available, we would regard with apprehension any policy of Government which would ultimately jeopardize the appointments at present held by the Service, and which constitute some of its chief attractions. We submit that in deciding what appointments should be allocated to members of the indigenous profession, care should be exercised that they should in no way be those which might ultimately be regarded as stepping-stones to the higher appointments. If this precaution be not taken it will be found in a few years that, when senior officers are going on leave or retiring, the "Union" will bring forward the claims of its proteges for these appointments. That this possibility is not hypothetical can be shown by instances which have occurred in the past. It is desirable to avoid such contingencies, as recurring agitations lead to much bad feeling.

In conclusion, we respectfully submit that it is the interests of the Service which require protection if its prestige and high traditions are to be maintained. By virtue of our profession we come in contact with the "masses" as men in no other Service can do and, unless our interests are guarded, men of the standard of those who in the past were a credit to their service and to Government will cease to be attracted.